"THAT COUNTRY IS THE MOST PROSPEROUS WHERE LABOR COMMANDS THE GREATEST REWARD." BUCHANAN.

The Lancaster Intelligencer.

VOL. LXIII.

LANCASTER CITY, PA., TUESDAY MORNING, NOVEMBER 11, 1862.

THE LANCASTER INTELLIGENCER. this fort down to about the 12th of Febru- agreed upon, viz : "At the first favorable BLISHED SVERY TUESDAY, AT NO. 8 NORTH DUKE STREET, BY GEO. SANDERSON.

IMPORTANT LETTERS.

Gen. Scott's Views on the Rebellion.

SOUTHERN FORTS-A SUMMARY, &C. October 30, 1860, I emphatically called the attention of the President to the ne-the West." That vessel, but for the hescessity of strong garrisons in all the forts itation of the master, might, as is generbelow the principal commercial cities of the ally believed, have delivered at the fort the Southern States, including, by name, the men and subsistence on board. This atforts in Pensacola harbor. October 31, tempt at succor failing, I next, verbally, I suggested to the Secretary of War that submitted to the late Cabinet either that a circular should be sent at once to such succor be sent by ships-of-war, fighting of those forts as had garrisons to be on the their way by the batteries (increasing in alert against surprises and sudden assaults. strength daily,) or that Major Anderson -(See my "Views," since printed.)

After a long confinement to my bed in by the muzzles of his guns—that is, enforc-New York, I came to this city (Washington) December 12. Next day I personally ing to merchant vessels, helping himself views, viz : strong garrisons in the Southern forts-those of Charleston and Pensacola harbors, at once; those on Mobile Bay and the Mississippi, below New Orleans, next, &c., &c. I again pointed out culties about the want of suitable war vesthe organized companies and the recruits at the principal depots available for the purpose. The Secretary did not concur in any of my views, when I begged him Holt and Toucy, Capt. Ward of the Navy, to procure for me an early interview with the President, that I might make one President (Buchanan)-settled upon the effort more to save the forts and the Union.

By appointment the Secretary accom-eager for the expedition) of three or four panied me to the President, December 15, small steamers belonging to the Coast when the same topics, Secessionism, &c., Survey. At that time (late in January) I were again pretty fully discussed. There have but little doubt Capt. Ward would being at the moment (in the opinion of the have reached Fort Sumter, with all his President) no danger of an early Secession, vessels. But he was kept back by somebeyond South Carolina, the President, in thing like a truce or armistice [made here], reply to my arguments for immediately embracing Charleston and Pensacola harreinforcing Fort Sumter, said :

"The time has not arrived for doing so; that he "The time has not arrived for doing so; that he should wait the action of the Convention of South Carolina, in the expectation that a Commission would be appointed and sent to negotiate with him and Congress respecting the Secession of the States and the property of the United States held within its limits; and that if Congress should decide against the Secession, then he would send a reinforement, and telegraph the commanding officer (Møjor Ander-son) of Fort Moultrie to hold the Forts (Moultrie and Sumter) against attack." And the Secession, with enimetion ad

And the Secretary, with animation, ad- ter, and before the exhaustion of its subded :

"We have a vessel of war (the Brooklyn) held in the change of circumstances, impracticareadiness at Norfolk, and he would then send three hundred men in her from Fort Monroe to Charles.

To which I replied, first, that so many | of the fort, as well as by Brig. General men could not be withdrawn from that | Totten, Chief of the Corps of Engineers; garrison, but could be taken from New and concurring in that opinion

ary. In this long delay Fort Moultrie had moment you will land with your company, been re-armed and greatly strengthened reinforce Fort Pickens, and hold the same T E E M S. SUBSORIPTION.—Two Dollars per annum, payable in ad-vance. No subscription discontinued until all arrear-ages are paid, unless at the option of the Skitor. ADVERTISTING.—Advertisements, not exceeding one square, (12 lines,) will be inserted three times for one dollar, and twonty-five cents for each additional inser-tion. Those of greater length in proportion. T E E M S. SUBSORIPTION.—Two Dollars per annum, payable in ad-vance. No subscription discontinued until all arrear-ages are paid, unless at the option of the Skitor. ADVERTISTING.—Advertisements, not exceeding one square, (12 lines,) will be inserted three times for one tion. Those of greater length in proportion. T E E M S. Subscription discontinued until all arrear-ages are paid, unless at the option of the Skitor. Advertisements, not exceeding one square, (12 lines,) will be inserted three times for one tion. Those of greater length in proportion. T is a state of the set in every way by the Rebels. Many pow- till further orders." This order, in dupli-Joe PRINTING—Such as Haud Bills, Posters, Pamphlets, Blanks, Labels, &c., &c., executed with accuracy and on the shortest notice. The difficulty of re-enforcing had thus been patches taken from one of them, and a increased ten or twelve fold. First, the third, to escape like treatment, forecd to late President refused to allow any attempt turn back when near that city. Thus those authorities have not ceased to make to be made because he was holding negotiations with the South Carolina Commiswar upon the United State since the capture by them of the Navy Yard, January 12. sioners. Afterward Secretary Holt and myself

Respectfully submitted. endeavored, in vain, to obtain a ship of war WINFIELD SCOTT. for the purpose, and were finally obliged to Headquarters of the Army, Washington, March 30, 1861.

MR. BUCHANAN'S REPLY. To the Editors of the National Intelligencer :

On Wednesday last I received the National Intelligencer containing Gen Scott's address to the public. This is throughout an undisguised censure of my conduct during the last months of the Administration in regard to the seven Cotton States now in rebellion. From our past relations I was greatly surprised at the appearance of such a paper. In one aspect, however, it was highly gratifying. It has justified me; nay, it has rendered it absolutely necessary that I should no longer remain silent in respect to charges which have been long vaguely circulating, but are now endorsed by the responsible name of Gen. Scott.

1. The first and most prominent among these charges is my refusal immediately to garrison nine enumerated fortifications, scat-tered over six of the Southern States, according to the recommendation of Gen. Scott, in his views" addressed to the War Department on the 29th and 30th of October, 1860. And it has even been alleged that if this had been done it might have prevented the civil war.

employment, under the Captain (who was This refusal is attributed without the least cause to the influence of Governor Floyd. All my Cabinet must bear me witness that I was, the President myself, responsible for all the acts of the Administration; and certain it is that during the last six months previous to the 29th of December, 1860, (the day on which he resigned his office after my request,) he exercised less influence on the Administration than any other member of the Cabinet. Holt was immediately thereafter transferred from the Post Office Department to that of War; so that from this time until the 4th of March, 1861, which was by far the most im-portant period of the Administration, he per-formed the duties of Secretary of War to my entire satisfaction

But why did I not immediately garrson 'these nine fortifications, in such a manner, to use the language of Gen. Scott, "as to make many formidable batteries below Fort Sumauy attempt to take any one of them by surprise or coup-de-main ridiculous ?" There is one answer, both easy and conclusive, even sistence-having been pronounced, from if other valid reasons did not exist. There were no available troops within reach which could be sent to these fortifications. To have (Chief Engineer,) and all the other officers attempted a military operation on a scale so extensive by any means within the President's power would have been simply absurd. Of this tien. Scott himself seems to have been convinced for on the day after the date of

reader will judge what encouragement these views, proceeding from so distinguished a source, must have afforded to the Secessionists of the Cotton States. I trust I have said enough, and more than

enough, to convince every mind why I did not, with a force of five companies, attempt to reinforce Forts Jackson and St. Philip, on the Mississippi; Fort Morgan, below Mobile; Forts Pickens and McRae, in Pensacola har-bor: Fort Pulosh, below Screened, Fort bor; Fort Pulaski, below Savannah; Forts Moultrie and Sumter, Charleston harbor, and Fort Monroe, in Virginia. These "views," both original and supple-

mentary, were published by General Scott in the National Intelligencer of January 18, 1861, at the most important and critical period of the Administration. Their publication at that time could do no possible good, and might do much harm. To have published them without the President's knowledge and consent was as much in violation of the sacred confidence which ought to prevail between the Commanding General of the army and the Commanderin-Chief, as it would have been for the Secretary of War to publish the same documents without his authority. What is of more im-portance, their publication was calculated inuriously to affect the compromise measures then pending before Congress and the coun-try, and to encourage the Secessionists in their mad and wicked attempt to shatter the Union into fragments. From the great respect which I then entertained for the General, I passed it over in silence.

It is worthy of remark, that soon after the Presidential elections representations of what these "views" contained, of more or less correctness, were unfortunately circulated, especially throughout the South. The editors of the National Intelligencer, in assigning a rea-son for their publication, state that both in while are the source of the sourc public prints and public speeches allusions had been made to them, and some misapprehension of their character had got abroad.

II. and III. General Scott states that he arrived in Washington on the 12th, and accompanied by the Secretary of War, had a con-versation with the President on the 15th of December. Whilst I have no recollection whatever of this conversation, he doubtless states correctly that I did refuse to send three hundred men to reinforce Major Anderson at Fort Moultrie, who had not then removed to Fort Sumpter. The reason for this refusal is manifest to all who recollect the history of the time. But twelve days before, in the annual message of the 3d of December, I had urged upon Congress the adoption of amendments to the Constitution of the same character with the constitution of the same character with those subsequently proposed by Mr. Critten-den, called the "Crittendon Compromise." At that time high hopes were entertained through-out the country that these would be adopted. Besides, I believed, and this correctly, as the event proved, that Major Anderson was then in no danger of attack. Indeed, he and his command were then treated with marked kindness by the authorities and people of Charleston. Under these circumstances, to have sent such a force there would have been only to impair the hope of compromise, to pro-voke collision, and to disappoint the country. There are some details of this conversation regard to which the General's memory must

be defective. At present I shall specify only one. I could not have stated that on a future contingent occasion I would telegraph "Major Anderson, of Fort Moultrie, to hold the forts (Moultrie and Sumpter) against attack ;" because, with prudent precaution, this had al-ready been done several days before through a special messenger sent to Major Anderson for this very purpose. I refer to Major Buell, of the army.

The General's supplementar

ble to collect the revenue.

derstood to terminate with it

from the following statement :

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e preserved

with Washington.

were placed, by virtue of this arrangement, in perfect security until an adequate force had arrived to defend it against any attack. The fort is still in our possession. Well might Gen. Scott have expressed his satisfaction with this arrangement. The General was correct Well might in the supposition that this arrangement was to expire on the termination of the Peace Conventior

V. But we now come to an important period when dates will be essentially necessary to disentangle the statement of Gen. Scott. The South Carolina Commissioners were appointed on the 22d, and arrived in Washington on the 27th December. The day after their arrival it was announced that Major Anderson had re-moved from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumpter. This rendered them furious. On the same day they addressed an angry letter to the President and abandonment. demanding the surrender of Fort Sumpter. The President answered this letter on the 30th to refer was not the *quasi*, but the actual, truce of arms concluded at Charleston, on the December by a peremptory refusal. This brought forth a reply from the Commissioners on the 2d January, 1861, of such an insulting character that the President instantly returned it to them with the following endorsement :--"This paper, just presented to the President, is of such a character that he declines to reder the American flag, was fired upon in the harbor of Charleston by order of Governor Pickens. Immediately after this outrage Ma-jor Anderson sent a flag to the Governor staceive it." From that time forward all friendly, political and personal intercourse finally ceased between the revolutionary Senators and the President, and he was severely attacked thorized, and for that reason he had not openby them in the Senate, and especially by Mr. ed fire frem Fort Sumter on the adjacent bat-Jefferson Davis. Indeed, their intercourse had previously been of the coldest character this were not sent in a reasonable time, he would consider it war, and fire on any vessel ever since the President's anti-Secession mes sage at the commencement of the session of

Congress. Under these changed circumstances, Gene-ral Scott, by note on Sunday, the 30th of De-cember, addressed the following inquiry to the President :

"Will the President permit General Scott, with-out reference to the War Department, and otherwise as secretly as possible, to send two hundred and fifty recruits from New York harbor to reinforce Fort Sumpter, together with some extra muskets or rifles, ammunition and subsistence? It is hoped that a sloop of war and cutter may be or-dered for the same purpose 'to-morrow.'"

The General seems not to have then known

that Mr. Floyd was out of office. Never did a request meet a more prompt compliance. It was received on Sunday eve-ning, December 30th. On Monday morning, I gave instructions to the War and Navy De partments, and on Monday evening, General Scott came to congratulate me that the Secre-taries had issued the necessary orders to the army and navy officers, and that they were in his possession. The Brooklyn, with troops, military stores and provisions, was to sail forthwith from Fortress Monroe to Fort Sumter. I am, therefore, utterly at a loss to imagine why the General, in his statement, should have asserted that "the South Carolina Commissioners had already been many days in Washington, and no movement of defence (on the part of the United States) was permitted." Washington These Commissioners arrived in on the 27th December; General Scott's request was made to the President on the 30th It was complied with on the 31st, and a single day is all that represents the "many days" of the General.

law denominate "a partial aruce under which hostillities are suspended only in certain Again, General Scott asserts, in the face of these facts, that the President refused to allow any attempt to be made-to reinforce Fort Sumter-because he was holding negotiations with the South Carolina Commissioners. And still again, that "afterwards Secretary Holt laws of war, might have annulled this truce upon due notice to the opposite party ; but and myself endeavored in vain, to obtain a neither Gen. Scott nor any other person ever suggested this expedient. This would have ship-of-war for the purpose, and were finally obliged to employ the passenger steamer 'Star of the West.'" Will it be believed that the substitution of the 'Star of the West' for the been to cast a reflection on Major Anderson, same day presenting to me Gen. Jackson's con-duct in 1833, during the period of nullification powerful war steamer Brooklyn, of which he now complains, was by the advice of General Scott himself? I have never heard this doubt as an example, requires no special notice. Even if the cases were not entirely different, I had previously determined upon a policy of ed until I read the statement. At the interview already referred to between the General and myself, on the evening of myown, as will appear from my annual message. This was, at every hazard, to collect the customs of Charleston, and outside of the port, Monday, the 31st of December, I suggested to that, although I had not received the if need be, in a vessel of war. Mr. Colcock, the existing collector, as I had anticipated, South Carolina Commissioners in their official capacity, but merely as private gentlemen, yet resigned his office about the end of December it might be considered an improper act to send the Brooklyn with reinforcements to Fort Sumter until I had received an answer from and immediately thereafter. I nominated to the Senate, as his successor, a suitable person prepared at any personal risk to do his duty. That body, however, throughout its entire sesthem to my letter of the preceding day; that the delay could not continue more than fortysion, declined to act on this nomination. Thus eight hours. He promptly concurred in this without a Collector, it was rendered impossisuggestion as gentlemanly and proper, and the orders were not transmitted to the Brook-IV. Gen. Scott's statement alleges that "the Brooklyn, with Capt. Vogdes' company alone, lyn on that evening. My anticipations were correct, for on the morning of the 2d of Janleft the Chesapeake for Fort Pickens about January 22d, and on the 29th President Buchuary I received their insolent note, and sent it back to them. In the meantime, however, the General had become convinced, by the repanan, having entered into a quasi armistice with certain leading seceders at Pensacola and resentations of a gentleman whom I forbear to elsewhere, caused Secretaries Holt and Toucey to instruct in a joint note the commander of the war vessels off Pensacola, and Lieut. Slemname, that the better plan, as the Secretaries of War and Navy informed me, to secure se cresy and success and reach the fort, would mer, commanding Fort Pickens, to commit no act of hostillity, and not toland Capt. Vogdes' be to send a fast side-wheel mercantile steam er from New York with the reinforcement .-Accordingly the "Star of the West" was secompany unless the fort should be attacked. lected for this duty. The substitution of this mercantile steamer for the Brooklyn, which rwards states, within brackets, "That joint note I never saw, but supposed the armistice was consequent upon the meetings of the Peace Convention at Washington, and was unwould have been able to defend herself in case of attack, was reluctantly yielded by me to the high military judgment of Gen. Scott The change of programme required a brief space of time; but the Star of the West, left These statements betray a singular want of memory on the part of Gen. Scott. It is scare-ly credible that this very joint note, presented New York for Charlestown on the evening of the 5th January: On the very day, however, when this ill-fated steamer left New York, a in such odious colors, was submitted to Gen. Scott on the day it was prepared, (29th Janutelegram was dispatched by General Scott to ary,) and met his entire approbation. I would not venture to make this assertion if I did not Colonel Scott to countermand her departure possess conclusive evidence to prove it. On but it did not reach its destination until after that day Secretary Holt addressed me a note. she had gone to sea. The reason for this countermand shall be stated in the language from which the following is an extract : "1 have the satisfaction of saying that on submitting the paper to Gen. Scott he expressed himself satigfied with it, saying that there could be no of Secretary Holt, to be found in a letter ad dressed by him to Mr. Thompson, the late Secretary of the Interior, on the 5th of March, objection to the arrangement in a military point of view or otherwise." This requires no com-1861. and published in the National Intelligen cer. Mr. Holt says : ment. That the General had every reason to "The countermand spoken of (by Mr. Thomp be satisfied with the arrangement will appear son) was not more cordially sanctioned by the President than it was by General Scott and my self: not because of any dissert from the orde self; not because of any dissent from the order on the part of the President, but because of a letter received that day from Major Anderson, stating A revolutionary outbreak had occurred in Florida; the troops of the United States had been expelled from Pensacola and the adjacent in effect, that he regarded himself secure in his po Navy Yard; and Lieut. Slemmer, of the arition; and yet more from intelligence which late on Saturday evening (5th January, 1861) reached the Department, that a heavy battery had been erected among the sand hills, at the entrance of Charleston harbor, which would probably destroy tillery, with his brave little command, had been forced to take refuge in Fort Pickens, where he was in imminent danger every moment of being captured by a vastly superior force. Owing to the interruption of regular any unarmed vessel (and such was the Star of the communications, Secretary Holt did not re-ceive information of these events until several West, which might attempt to make its way to Fort Sunter. This important information satis-fied the Government that there was no present ne-cessity for sending reinforcements, and that when days after their occurrence, and then through a letter addressed to a third person. He insent they should go, not in a vessel of commerce, but of war. Hence the countermand was dis-patched by telegraph to New York; but the ves-sel had sailed a short time before it reached the stantly informed the President of the fact, and reinforcements, provisions and military stores were dispatched by the Brooklyn to Fort Pickens without a moment's unnecessary delay.--officer (Colonel Scott) to whom it was addressed." She left Fortress Monroe on the 24th of Jan-A statement of these facts, established by dates, proves conclusively that the Presiden Well-founded apprehensions were, however, was not only willing but anxious in the brief entertained at the time of her departure that est period to reinforce Fort Sumter. On the 4th of January, the day before the departure of the Star of the West from New the reinforcements, with the vessels of war at no great distance from Port Pickens, could not arrive in time to defend it against the im-pending attack. In this state of suspense, York, as General Scott in his statement admits succor was sent to Fort Taylor. Key West, and to Fort Jefferson, Tongugas Island, which reached these points in time for their security. and whilst Lieutenant Slemmer was in extreme peril, Senators Slidell, Hunter and Big-He nevertheless speculates on the consequen-ces which might have followed had the reinler, received a telegraphic dispatch from Sen-ator Mallory, of Florida, dated at Pensacola, on the 28th January, with the urgent request forcements not reached their destination in due time; and even expresses the extraordithat they should lay it before the President .-nary opinion that, with the possession of these This dispatch expressed an earnest desire to maintain the peace, as well as the most posi-tive assurance that no attack would be made forts "the rebels might have purchased an early recognition." on Fort Pickens if the present status should I shall next advert to the statement that the expedition under Captain Ward, "of three or four small steamers belonging to the This proposal was carefully considered, both Coast Survey," was kept back by something with a view to the safety of the fort and to the like a truce or armistice, [made here,] embra-cing Charleston and Pensacola harbors agreed anhappy effect which an actual collision either at that or any other point might produce on the Peace Convention, then about to assemupon between the late President and certain principal Seceders of South Carolina, Florida, ble at Washington. The result was that a joint dispatch was carefully prepared by the Secretaries of War and Navy, accepting the proposal, with important modifications, which was transmitted by telegraph on the 29th Louisana, &c. And this truce lasted to the end of the Administration." ' Things altogether distinct in their nature are often so blended in this statement that it is difficult January to Lieutenant Slemmer and to the to separate them. Such is eminently the case naval cummanders pear the station. It is too nnecting the facts relative to Charleston long for transcription : suffice it to say, it was with Pensacola. carefully guarded at every point for the secu-rity of the fort and its free communication Having already treated of the charge of having sheady treated of the charge of having kept back reinforcements from Pen-sacola, I shall now say something of the charge of having also kept them back from Charleston. Neither a truce, nor quasi truce, The result was highly fortunate. The

THE LANCASTER INTELLIGENCER JOB PRINTING ESTABLISHMENT. No. 8 NORTH DUKE STREET, LANCASTER, PA. The Jobbing Department is thoroughly furnished with new and elegant type of every description, and is under the charge of a practical and experienced Job Printer.the President could never surrender Fort Sumter, nor deprive himself of the most en-tire liberty to send reinforcements to it whenever it was believed to be in danger, or requested by Major Anderson. It is strange that Gen. Scott was not apprized of this well-known fact. It was then, with some astonment, that I learned from the statement of the General that he had, on the 12th of March, 1861, advised that Major Anderson should be instructed to evacuate the fort as soon as suitable transportation could be procured to carry himself and his command

ting that he presumed the act had been unau-

teries; but demanded its disavowal, and, if

Two days after this occurrence, on the 11th

January, Governor Pickens had the audacity

to demand of Major Anderson, the surrende

of the fort. In his answer of the same date the Major made the following proposition: "Should your Excellency deem fit, previous

to a resort of arms, to refer this matter to

Washington, it would afford me the sincerest

pleasure to depute one of my officers to ac-

company any messenger you may deem proper to be the bearer of your demand." This pro-

position was promptly accepted by the Gover-nor, and, in pursuance thereof, he sent on his part Hon. J. W. Hayna, the Attorney General

of South Carolina, to Washington, whilst Ma-jor Anderson deputed Lieut. Hall, of the Uni-

ted States Army, to accompany him. These gentlemen arrived together in Washington on the evening of the 13th January, when the President obtained the first knowledge of the transaction. But it will be concluded

transaction. But it will be recollected that

no time intervened between the return of the

Star of the West to New York and the arrival

been possible to send reinforcements to Fort

Thus a truce, or suspension of arms, was concluded between the parties, to continue

until the question of the surrender of the fort should be decided by the President. Until

this decision Major Anderson had placed it

ou. of his own power to ask for reinforcements,

lic faith. This was what writers on public

places, as between a town and the army be-

It is possible that the President, under the

and equally out of the power of the Govern-

ment to send them without a violation of pub

Sumter.

same time.

ieging it."

that attempted to leave the harbor.

The charge of a practical and experienced Job Printer-The Proprietors are prepared to PRINT CHECKS, NOTES, LEGAL BLANKS, OARDS AND CHECKLARS, BILL HEADS AND HANDRILLS, PROGRAMMES AND POSTERS, PAPER BOOKS AND PAMPHILETS, PAPER BOOKS AND PAMPHILETS, PRINTING IN COLORS AND PLAIN PRINTING, with nestness, accuracy and dispatch, on the most reasonal ble terms, and in a manner not excelled by any establish-ment in the city. 450 Orders from a distance, by mail or otherwise, promptly attended to. Address GEO. SANDERSON & SON, Lintelligencer Ofice, br to New York. A military necessity for a capitulation may have existed in case there should be an attack upon the fort, or a de-mand for its surrender, but surely none such Intelligencer Office, No. 8 North Duke street, Lancaster, Pr could have existed for its voluntary surrender

A STATE AND A STAT

RADE SALES! TRADE SALES!!

NO. 44.

Probably that to which the General means The subscriber, having just returned from the Philadel-phia Trade Sales, offers at the lowest prices all kinds of Books, embracing LAW, FICTION, MEDIOAL, RE-LIGIOUS, BIOGRAPHY, MEORIANICAL and other kinds. These books will be sold at the lowest prices, as we had the advantage and were the only Bookseller from Lencas-ter at the Trade Sales, and, as a consequence, we can sell lower than any other Store. A faw of the Books are here mentioned: lith of January, 1861, between Governor Pickens and Major Anderson, without the knowledge of the President. It was on the 9th of January that the Star of the West, un-

ier at the Trade Bales, and, as a consequence, we can sell iower than any other Store. A few of the Books are here mentioned: WEBSTER'S UNABRIDGED DIOTIONARY, WORCESTER'S UNABRIDGED DIOTIONARY, SOLDIERS' TEXT EOOKS, REVISED ARMY REGULATIONS, MCLELLAN'S BAYONET EXERCISES, U.S. INFANTRY TACTICS, ZOUAYE DRILL BOOK, GHT BOOKS OF ALL KINDS, PHOTOGRAPHIC ALBUMS, For the Pocket or Centre Table, in great variety. The GIFT BOOK for the season. SOHOOL MAPS, OHARTS AND OARDS, PELTON'S OUTLINE MAPS, SANDERS' ELOCUTIONARY OHART, SANDERS' ECHOOL CARDS, BIBLES in great variety, from twenty-five cents to twenty-five dollars, some of them having the finest bind-ings and illustrations ever received in town. SUNDAY SCHOOL BOOKS-Methodist, Lutheran, Episcopal, Presbyterian, American Tract Soclety, Ameri-can Sundsy School Union. SCHOOL BOOKS-Sanders', Towers', Sergeant's, WH ED'S CHOOL DOKS-Methodist, Attimer-ties, Grammars, Histories, Dictionaries, dc. Stationery, Opy and Composition Books, Cap, Note and Letter Paper. Blake Books, States, Lead and Slate Pencils. Pens and Holders, Ints and Ink Stands, Rulers, Buschwood's, etc. At the Cheap Book Store of JOHN SHEAFFER, Nov 12 tf 141 No. 32 North Queen St, Lancaster, Pa LINDERS HEAST GRASS AND CARDES.

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of the messenger bearing a copy of the truce at Washington within which it would have Both events occurred about the

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500, 500, 50, 500 gives in the store of the store of

late, as the South Carolina Commissioners Anderson be instructed to evacuate the would then have the game in their hands, fort, so long gallantly held by him and by first using and then cutting the wires ; his companions, and immediately on prothat as there was not a soldier in Fort curing suitable transportation to take them Sumter, any handful of armed Secession- to New York. His relative weakness had ists might seize and occupy it, &c.

Here the remark may be permitted, days. that if the Secretary's 300 men had then, It was not till Jan. 3 (when the first or some time later, been sent to Forts Commissioners from South Carolina with-Moultrie and Sumter, both would now have drew) that the permission I had solicited been in the possession of the United Oct. 13, was obtained to admonish com-States, and not a battery below them could manders of the few Southern forts with have been erected by the Secessionists; | garrisons to be on the alert against surconsequently the access to those forts from prises and sudden assaults. (Maj. Anthe sea would now (the end of March), be derson was not among the admonished, unobstructed and free,

The same day, December 15, I wrote the following note :

prior to the issue of his proclamation, and in part prior to the passage of the ordinance of nullifica-tion, President Jackson, under the act of March 3, 1807, "authorizing the employment of the land and tion, President Jackson, under the act of March 3, 1807, 'authorizing the employment of the land and maval forces,' caused reinforcements to be sent to Fort Moultrie, and a sloop-of-war, the Natchez with two revenue cutters, to be sent to Charleston harbor, in order 1, to prevent the seizure of that fort by the nullifiers, and 2, to enforce the execution of the revenue laws. Gen. Scott himself arrived at Charleston the day after the passage of the ordi-companies were then en route for the same destina-tion.

President Jackson familiarly said at the time, and performed, working night and day, an " Fresheen Jackson familiarly said at the time, that by the assemblage of those forces, for the law-ful purposes, he was not making war upon South Carolina; but that if South Carolina attacked them, it would be South Carolina that made war upon the Hwited State? United States.

S., who received his first instructions (oral) from the President, in the temporary absence of the to reinforce Fort Pickens, but a good deal secretary of War, (Gen. Cass,) remembers those exfrom the Pre

"SATURDAY NIGHT, December 15, 1860."

Dec. 28.-Again, after Major Ander- made by the United States, Fort McRae son had gallantly and wisely thrown his handful of men from Fort Moultrie into Fort Sumter-learning that, on demand of South Carolina, there was great danger he might be ordered by the Secretary back corresponding local movements, and the to the less tenable work, or out of the harbor-I write this note :

"Lieut.-Gen. Scott (who has had a bad night and can scarcely hold up his head this morning) begs to express the hope to the Secretary of War. 1. That orders may not be given for the eracuation of Fort Sumter. 2. That 150 recruits may instantly be sent from Governor's Island to re-enforce that garrison, with ample supplies of ammunition and subsistence, including fresh versetables as noticed enforcements in a unarmed able uawal versel...the manual problem is a suitincluding fresh vegetables, as potatoes, onions, able naval vessel—the Brooklyn being turnips; and, 3. That one or two armed vessels be long held in reserve at Norfolk for some sent to support the said fort.

e most distant points of the Atlantic coast and the Missouri Missis, ton Roads, and re-enforce Lieut Slamper the most distant points of the Atlantic coast and the people on the upper waters of the Missouri, Missis-sippi, and Ohio Rivers than to the State of Florida. There is only a feeble company at Key Westfor the defense of Fort Taylor, and not a soldier in Fort Jefforeon to resist a handful of fillibusters or a row-boat of pirates; and the Gulf, soon after the begin-ning of Secession or revolutionary troubles in the adjacent States, will swarm with such nuisances."

dent again, as follows : `

"Lieut.-Gen. Soci begithe President of the United States to pardon the irregularity of this communica-tion. It is Sunday, the weather is bad, and Gen. S. is not well enough to go to church. "But matters of the highest national importance mem the fixed of the state of the state

"But matters of the highest national importance seem to forbid a moment's delay, and. if misled by zeal, he hopes for the President's forgiveness "Will the President permit Gen. S., without re-ference to the War Department, and otherwise as secretly as possible, to send 250 recruits from New York harbor to reinforce Fort Sumter, together with some extra muskets or rifles, ammunition, and sub-sistence?

"It is to be hoped that a sloop of war and cutter may be ordered for the same purpose as early as to-

morrow. "Gen. S. will wait upon the President at any moment he may be called for.

The South Carolina Commissioners had already been many days in Washington, and no movements of defense (on the part of the United States) was permitted.

I will here close my notice of Fort Sumter by quoting from some of my previous reports.

It would have been easy to re-enforce

lid no York. Next, that it would then be too besitate to advise (March 12) that Major steadily increased in the last eighteen

should be left to ameliorate his condition

(giving orders for payment,) or, finally, be

allowed to evacuate the fort, which, in that

But before any resolution was taken the

late Secretary of the Navy making diffi.

sels, another Commissioner from South

When this had passed away Secretaries

and myself-with the knowledge of the

bors, agreed upon between the late Presi-

dent and certain principal seceders of

Carolina arrived, causing further delay.-

case, would be inevitable.

being already straitly beleaguered.) January 3.-To Lieut. Slemmer, commanding in Pensacola Harbor :

"Lieux Gen. Soot begs the President to pardon him for supplying, in this note, what he omitted to say this morning at the interview with which "Long prior to the force bill (March 2, 1833.) bor, by surprise or assault, consulting first with Commander of the Navy Yard, who will prob-have received instructions to co-operate with y have received instructions to co-operate with y (This order was signed by Aid de-Camp Lay.)

It was just before the surrender of the torious officer has since held Fort Pickens. immense amount of labor in mounting guns, keeping up a strong guard, &c., &c. Early in January 1 renewed, as has been seen, my solicitations to be allowed of time was lost in vacillations. First, the President " thought if no movement is by the United States, which will doubtless be made known by the wires, there will be attempt to re-enforce will be useless."-(Quotation from a note made by Aid-de-

able naval vessel-the Brooklyn being Lieut. Gen. S. avails himself of this opportunity | parpose unknown to me. Finally, after I ⁴Lieut. Gen. S. avails himself of this opportunity also to express the hope that the recommendations heretofore made by him to the Secretary of War res-pecting Forts Jackson, St. Philip, Morgan and Pu-laski, and particularly in respect to Forts Pickens and MacRea and the Pensacola Navy Yard, in con-nection with the last two named works, may be re-considered by the Secretary. "Lieut-Gen. S. will further ask the attention of the Secretary to Forts Jefferson and Taylor, which are "are respected by the Secretary of Ports Pickens and to co-considered by the Secretary." ton Roads, and re-enforce Lieut. Slemmer in Fort Pickens, but without a surplus SAYS:

The Brooklyn, with Capt. Vodges' company alone, left the Chesapeake for Fort Pickens about January 22, and, on the December 30 .-- I addressed the Presi- 29th, President Buchanan, having entered into a quasi armistice with certain leading seceders at Pensacola and elsewhere, caused Secretaries Holt and Toncy to instruct. in a joint note, the commanders of the war vessels off Pensacola, and Lieut. Slemmer, commanding Fort Pickens, to commit no act of hostility, and not to land Captain Vodges' company unless that fort should be attacked.

That joint note I never saw until March 25, but supposed the armistice was consequent upon the meet-ing of the Peace Convention at Washington, and was understood to terminate with it.j

Hearing, however, of the most active preparations for hostilities on the part of the seceders at Pensacola, by the erection of new batteries and arming Fort McRea -that had not a gun mounted when it was seized-during the Peace Convention and since, I brought the subject to the notice of the new administration, when this note, dated March 12, to Capt. Vodges was

convinced, for on the day after the date his first "views," he addressed (on the 30th October) supplemental views to the War Department, in which he states : "There is one (regular) company in Boston, one here (at the Narrows), one at Pittsburg, one at Augusta, (Ga.,) one at Baton Rouge"—in all five companies only within reach to garrison or reinforce the forts mentioned in the " views."

Five companies-four hundred men-to or cupy and reinforce nine fortifications in six highly excited Southern States! The force "within reach" was so entirely inadequate that nothing more need be said on the subject.---To have attempted such a military operation with so feeble a force, and the Presidential election impending, would have been an in vitation to collision and sesession. Indeed, if the whole American army, consisting then of only sixteen thousand men, had been "within 'they would have been scarcely sufficient for this purpose. Such was our want of troops that, although Gen. Scott, believing, in opposition to the opinion of the committee raised in the House of Representative, that the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln might be interrupted by military force, was only abl to assemble at Washington, so late as the 4th March, six hundred and fifty-three men, rank and file of the army. And, to make up this were

brought from West Point. But why was there no greater force within reach? This question could be better an-swered by General Scott himself than by any other person. ()ur small regular army, with the exception of a few hundred men, were out of reach, on our remote frontiers, where i had been continuously stationed for years, to protect the inhabitants and the emigrants on their way thither against the attacks of hor tile Indians. All were insufficient, and both General Scott and myself had endeavored in vain to prevail upon Congress to raise several additional regiments for this purpose In recommending this augmentation of the army, the General states in his report to the Wan Department of November, 1857, that "if would not more than furnish the reinforcements now greatly needed in Florida, Texas New Mexico, California, Oregon, Washington (T.) Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, leaving not a company for "Utah." And again, in his report of November, 1858, he says :--

"This want of troops to give reasonable securi ty to our citizens in distant settlements, including emigrants on the plains, can scarcely be too strongly stated : but I will only add, that as often as we have been obliged to withdraw troops from on frontier in order to reinforce another, the weaker ed points have been instantly attacked or threat-ened with formidable invasion.",

These "views" of General Scott exhibit the crude notions then prevailing even among in-telligent and patriotic men on this subject of In the first sentence the General whilst stating that " to save time the right secession may be conceded," yet immediately says, "this is instantly balanced by the conrelative right on the part of the Federal Government against an interior State or States to re-establish by force, if necessary, its former continuity of territory." (For this he cites "Paley's Moral and Political Philosophy, last chapter." It may be there, but I have been unable to find it.) Whilst it is difficult to ascertain his precise meaning in this passage, he renders what he did not mean quite clear in his supplementary "views." In these he "It will be seen that the "views" only apply to a case of secession that makes a gapin the present Union."

The falling off say of Texas, or of all the Atlantic States, from the Potomac south, (the very case which has occurred) was not within the scope of Gen. S.'s "provisional remedies;" that is to say, to establish by force, if neces sary, the continuity of our territory. "views" he also states as follows : "B In hi "But break this glorious Union by whatever line or lines that political madness may contrive, and there would be no hope of recruiting the fragments except by the laceration and despotism of the sword. To effect such result the intestine wars of our Mexican neighbors would, in com parison with ours, sink into mere child's play. In the General's opinion, "a smaller evil (than these intestine wars) would be to allow the fragments of the great Republic to form them selves into new Confederacies, probably four." He then points out what ought to be the boundaries between the new Unions; and at boundaries observed the for a seven to indi-the end of each goes so far as even to indi-cate the cities which ought to be the capitals of the three first on this side of the Rocky

Mountains, to wit: "Columbia, South Caroli-na," "Alton, or Quincy, Ill," and "Albany, New York," excluding Washington City altogether. This indication of capitals contained in the original, now in my possession, is cu-riously omitted in the verson published in the National Intelligencer. He designates no cap-ital for the fourth Union on the Pacific. The nor anything like it, was ever concluded between the President and any human suthority concerning Charleston. On the con-trary, the South Carolina Commissioners, first and last, and all the time were informed that

and purest motives. Did Gen. Scott ever propose to violate this truce during its existence? If he did, I am not now, and never was, aware of the fact. Indeed, I think he would have been one of the last men in the world to propose such a measure.

who beyond question, acted from the highes

Col. Hayne did not deliver the letter which he bore from Governor Pickens, demanding the surrender of the fort, to the President until the 31st of January. The documents con-taining the reasons for this worrying delay, were communicated to Congress in a special message of the 8th of Febuary, to which I refer the reader. On the 5th of February, the Secretary of War, under the instructions of the President, gave a peremptory refusal to this demand in an able and comprehensive letter. reviewing the whole subject, explaining and justifying the conduct of the President throughout. Its concluding sentence is both

eloquent and emphatic :

"If, (says Mr. Holt,) with all the multiplied proofs which exist of the President's anxiety for peace, and of the earnestness with which he has oursued it, the authorities of that State shall asse Fort Sumter and imperil the lives of the handful of brave and loyal men shut up within its walls and thus plunge our country into the horrors of civil war, then upon them and those they repre-sent must rest the responsibility." The truce was then ended, and General Scot

is incorrect in stating "that it lasted to the end of that Administration."

An expedition was quietly fitted out at New York, under the supervision of General Scott, to be ready for any contingency. He arranged its details, and regarded the reinforcement thus provided for as sufficient. This was ready to sail for Fort Sumpter on five hours' notice. It is of this expedition that Gen. Scott thus

speaks : "At that time, when this (the truce) had passed away, Secretaries Holt and Coucey, Capt. Ward, of the navy, and myself, with the knowledge of the President, settled upon the employment, under the Captain, of three or four steamers belonging to the Coast Survey, but he was kept back by

A strange inconsistency. The truce had expired with Mr. Holt's letter to Col. Hayne the 5th of February, and General Scott, in on the 5th of reordary, and General Scott, in his statement says, "It would have been easy to reinforce this fort down to or about the 12th of February." Why then did the reinforce-ments not proceed? This was simply because of communications from Major Anderson. was most fortunate that they did not proceed ; because the three or four small steamers which were to bear them would never have reached the fort, and in the attempt must have been captured or destroyed. The vast inadequacy of the force provided to accomplish the object, was demonstrated by information received from Major Anderson at the War Department on the last day of the Administration

I purposely forbear at present to say more on this subject, lest I might, however uninten-tionally, do injustice to one or more of the

parties concerned, in consequence of the brevity required by the nature of this communica-The facts relating to it, with the approtion. priate acccompaniments, have been fully presented in a historical review, prepared a year ago, which will ere long be published. This review contains a sketch of the four last months of my administration. It is impartial : at least That it has such is my honest conviction. not yet been published has arisen solely from an apprehension, no longer entertained, that something therein might be unjustly perverted into an interference with the Government in a vigorous prosecution of the war for the maintenance of the Constitution and the restoration of the Union, which was far, very far, from

my intention. After a careful retrospect, I can solemnly declare, before God and my country, that I cannot reproach myself with any act of com-

mission or omission since the existing troubles. commenced. I have never doubted that my countrymen would yet do me justice. In my special message of the 8th of January, 1861, I ll and fair exposition of the presented a alarming condition of the country, and urged Congress either to adopt measures of compro-mise, or, failing in this, to prepare for the last alternative In both aspects, my recommendation was disregarded. I shall close this document with a quotation of the last senten-

ces of that message, as follows : "In conclusion, it may be permitted me to remark that I have often warned my countrymen of mark that I have often warned my countrymen of the dangers which now surround us. This may be the last time I shall refer to the subject officially. I feel that my duty has been faithfully, though it may be imperfectly, performed; and whatever the result may be, I shall carry to my grave the consciousness that I at least meant

for my country." Your obedient servant, JAMES BUCHANAN Wheatland, near Lancaster, Oct. 29, 1872.

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Brooklyn had a long passage. Although she left Fortress Monroe on the 24th January, she did not arrive at Pensacola until the 6th February. In the meantime, Fort Pickens, with Lieutenant Slemmer (whose conduct deserves high commendation) and his brave little band,

army, even the Sappers and Miners