Daily Patriot and Union.

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PUBLISHED EVERY MORNING,
SUNDAYS EXCEPTED,
BY O. BARRETT & CO.

THE DAILY PATRIOT AND UNION will be served to subscribers residing in the Borough for SIX CENTS PER WEEK payable to the Carrier. Mail subscribers, FOUR DOLLARS PER ANNUM.

THE WEEKLY will be published as heretofore, semi-weekly during the session of the Legislature, and once a week the remainder of the year, for *two dollars* in advance, or *three dollars* at the expiration of the year.

Connected with this establishment is an extensive JOB OFFICE, containing a variety of plain and fancy type, unequalled by any establishment in the interior of the State, for which the patronage of the public is solicited.

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Four lines or less constitute half a square. Ten lines or more than four, constitute a square.

Half sq., one day	$0.25	One sq., one day	$0.50
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" one year	5.00	" one year	10.00

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☞ The number of insertions must be designated on the advertisement.

☞ Marriages and Deaths will be inserted at the same rates as regular advertisements.

Books, Stationery, &c.

SCHOOL BOOKS.—School Directors, Teachers, Parents, Scholars, and others, in want of School Books, School Stationery, &c., will find a complete assortment at E. M. POLLOCK & SON'S BOOK STORE, Market Square, Harrisburg, comprising in part the following:—

READERS.—McGuffey's, Parker's, Cobb's, Angell's
SPELLING BOOKS.—McGuffey's, Cobb's, Webster's, Town's, Byerly's, Combry's.
ENGLISH GRAMMARS.—Bullion's, Smith's, Wood bridge's, Monteith's, Tuthill's, Hart's, Wells'.
HISTORIES.—Grimshaw's, Davenport's, Frost's, Wilson's, Willard's, Goodrich's, Pinnock's, Goldsmith's and Clark's.
ARITHMETIC'S.—Greenleaf's, Stoddard's, Emerson's, Pike's, Ross's, Colburn's, Smith and Duke's, Davie's.
ALGEBRAS.—Greenleaf's, Davie's, Day's, Ray's, Bridge's.
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NATURAL PHILOSOPHIES.—Comstock's, Parker's, Swift's. The above with a great variety of others can at any time be found at my store. Also, a complete assortment of School Stationery, embracing in the whole a complete outfit for school purposes. Any book not in the store procured at one days notice.

☞ Country Merchants supplied at wholesale rates.
ALMANACS.—John Baer and Son's Almanac for sale at E. M. POLLOCK & SON'S BOOK STORE, Harrisburg.
☞ Wholesale and Retail. my1

JUST RECEIVED
AT
SCHEFFER'S BOOKSTORE,
ADAMANTINE SLATES
OF VARIOUS SIZES AND PRICES,
Which, for beauty and use, cannot be excelled.
REMEMBER THE PLACE,
SCHEFFER'S BOOKSTORE,
NO. 18 MARKET STREET. mar2

BOOK AUCTION.
BEN F. FRENCH
Will supply his old friends and customers with the following Books at Auction prices:
Pacific Railroad, 10 vols., complete, 4 illustrations $24.
Japan Expedition, 3 vols., complete, illustrated and illuminated, $12.
Emery's Expedition, 2 vols., complete, illustrated illuminated, $10.
Congressional Globe, $1.50 per volume.
Waverly Novels, complete, 12 vols., cloth, $10.
" " " 27 vols., half calf, $34; &c., &c., &c.
All of the above Books I will deliver in Harrisburg free of charge. BEN F. FRENCH,
278 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D. C.
feb6-dtf

NEW BOOKS!
JUST RECEIVED
"SEAL AND SAY," by the author of "Wide, Wide World," "Dollars and Cents," &c.
"HISTORY OF METHODISM," by A. Stevens, LL.D.
For sale at SCHEFFERS' BOOKSTORE,
ap9 No. 18 Marke st.

JUST RECEIVED,
A LARGE AND SPLENDID ASSORTMENT OF
RICHLY GILT AND ORNAMENTAL
WINDOW CURTAINS,
PAPER BLINDS,
Of various Designs and Colors, for 8 cents,
TISSUE PAPER AND CUT FLY PAPER,
At [my24] SCHEFFER'S BOOKSTORE.

WALL PAPER! WALL PAPER!!
Just received, our Spring Stock of WALL PAPER, BORDERS, FIRE SCREENS, &c., &c. It is the largest and best selected assortment in the city, ranging in price from six (6) cents up to one dollar and a quarter ($1.25.)
As we purchase very low for cash, we are prepared to sell at as low rates, if not lower, than can be had elsewhere. If purchasers will call and examine, we feel confident that we can please them in respect to price and quality. E. M POLLOCK & SON,
ap3 Below Jones' House, Market Square.

LETTER, CAP, NOTE PAPERS, Pens, Holders, Pencils, Envelopes, Sealing Wax, of the best quality, at low prices, direct from the manufactories, at
mar30 SCHEFFER'S CHEAP BOOKSTORE

LAW BOOKS! LAW BOOKS!!—A general assortment of LAW BOOKS, all the State Reports and Standard Elementary Works, with many of the old English Reports, *scarce and rare*, together with a large assortment of second-hand Law Books, at very low prices, *at the one price Bookstore of*
E. M. POLLOCK & SON,
my8 Market Square, Harrisburg.

Miscellaneous.

AN ARRIVAL OF
NEW GOODS
APPROPRIATE TO THE SEASON!
SILK FANS! LINEN FANS!! PAPER FANS!!!
ANOTHER AND SPLENDID LOT OF
SPLICED FISHING RODS!
Trout Flies, Gut and Hair Snoods, Grass Lines, Silk and Hair Plaited Lines, and a general assortment of
FISHING TACKLE!
A GREAT VARIETY OF
WALKING CANES!
Which we will sell as cheap as the cheapest!
Silver Head Canes! Loaded Canes! Sword Canes! Hickory Canes! Fancy Canes!
KELLER'S DRUG AND FANCY STORE,
NO. 91 MARKET STREET,
South side, one door east of Fourth street je9.

B. J. HARRIS,
WORKER IN TIN,
SHEET IRON, AND
METALLIC ROOFING,
Second Street, below Chestnut,
HARRISBURG, PA.
is prepared to fill orders for any article in his branch of business; and if not on hand, he will make to order on short notice.
METALLIC ROOFING, of Tin or Galvanized Iron, constantly on hand.
Also, Tin and Sheet-Iron Ware, Spouting, &c.
He hopes, by strict attention to the wants of his customers, to merit and receive a generous share of public patronage.
☞ Every promise strictly fulfilled.
B. J. HARRIS,
jan7-dly] Second Street, below Chestnut.

FISH!! FISH!!!
MACKEREL, (Nos. 1, 2 and 3.)
SALMON, (very superior.)
SHAD, (Mess and very fine.)
HERRING, (extra large.)
COD FISH.
SMOKED HERRING, (extra Digby.)
SCOTCH HERRING.
SARDINES AND ANCHOVIES.
Of the above we have Mackerel in whole, half, quarter and eighth bbls. Herring in whole and half bbls.
The entire lot new—DIRECT FROM THE FISHERIES, and will sell them at the lowest market rates.
sep14 WM. DOCK, JR., & CO.

FAMILY BIBLES, from 1$ to $10, strong and handsomely bound, printed on good paper, with elegant clear new type, sold at
mch31 SCHEFFER'S Cheap Book store.

CRANBERRIES!!!—A SPLENDID LOT just received by
oct16 WM. DOCK, Jr., & CO.

FOR a superior and cheap TABLE or SALAD OIL go to KELLER'S DRUG STORE.

THE Fruit Growers' Handbook—by WARING—wholesale and retail at
mch31 SCHEFFER'S Bookstore.

SPERM CANDLES.—A large supply just received by
sep18 WM. DOCK, Jr., & CO.

KELLER'S DRUG STORE is the place to find the best assortment of Perfumes.

Coal.

TO THE PUBLIC!
JOHN TILL'S
COAL YARD,
SOUTH SECOND STREET,
BELOW PRATT'S ROLLING MILL,
HARRISBURG, PA.,
Where he has constantly on hand
LYKENS VALLEY BROKEN, EGG, STOVE AND NUT COAL.
ALSO,
WILKESBARRE STEAMBOAT, BROKEN, STOVE AND NUT COAL,
ALL OF THE BEST QUALITY.
It will be delivered to consumers clean, and full weight warranted.
☞ CONSUMERS GIVE ME A CALL FOR YOUR WINTER SUPPLY.
☞ Orders left at my house, in Walnut street, near Fifth; or at Brubaker's, North street; J. L. Speel's, Market Square; Wm. Bostick's, corner of Second and South streets, and John Lingle's, Second and Mulberry streets, will receive prompt attention.
jy13-d6m JOHN TILL.

COAL! COAL!!
ONLY YARD IN TOWN THAT DELIVERS
COAL BY THE
PATENT WEIGH CARTS!
NOW IS THE TIME
For every family to get in their supply of Coal for the winter—weighed at their door by the *Patent Weigh Carts. The accuracy of these Carts no one disputes*, and they never get out of order, as is frequently the case of the Platform Scales; besides, the consumer has the satisfaction of proving the weight of his Coal at his own house.
I have a large supply of Coal on hand, consisting of
S. M. CO.'S LYKENS VALLEY COAL all sizes,
LYKENS VALLEY do " "
WILKESBARRE do. " "
BITUMINOUS BROAD TOP do.
All Coal of the best quality mined, and delivered free from all impurities, at the lowest rates, by the boat or car load, single, half or third of tons, and by the bushel.
JAMES M. WHEELER.
Harrisburg, September 24, 1860.—sep25

UP TOWN!
PATENT WEIGH CARTS.
For the convenience of my numerous up town customers, I have established, in connection with my old yard, a Branch Coal Yard opposite North street, in a line with the Pennsylvania canal, having the office formerly occupied by Mr. R. Harris, where consumers of Coal in that vicinity and Verbekstown can receive their Coal by the
PATENT WEIGH CARTS,
WITHOUT EXTRA CHARGE FOR HAULING,
And in any quantity they may desire, as low as can be purchased *anywhere*.
FIVE THOUSAND TONS COAL ON HAND,
Of LYKENS VALLEY and WILKESBARRE, all sizes.
☞ *Willing to maintain fair prices, but unwilling to be undersold by any parties.*
☞ All Coal forked up and delivered free from all impurities, and the best article mined.
Orders received at either Yard will be promptly filled, and all Coal delivered by the *Patent Weigh Carts.*
Coal sold by Boat, Car load, single, half or third of tons, and by the bushel.
JAMES M. WHEELER.
Harrisburg, October 13, 1860.—oct15

LYKENS VALLEY NUT COAL—For Sale AT TWO DOLLARS PER TON.
☞ *All Coal delivered by PATENT WEIGH CARTS*
JAMES M. WHEELER.
☞ Coal delivered from both yards. no17

Medical.

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FOR SECRET AND DELICATE DISORDERS.
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FOR SECRET AND DELICATE DISORDERS.
FOR SECRET AND DELICATE DISORDERS.
A Positive and Specific Remedy.
A Positive and Specific Remedy.
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A Positive and Specific Remedy.
A Positive and Specific Remedy.
FOR DISEASES OF THE
BLADDER, GRAVEL, KIDNEYS, DROPSY,
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And all Diseases of Sexual Organs,
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And all Diseases of Sexual Organs,
ARISING FROM
Excesses, Exposures, and Imprudencies in Life.
Excesses, Exposures, and Imprudencies in Life.
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Excesses, Exposures, and Imprudencies in Life.
Excesses, Exposures, and Imprudencies in Life.
From whatever cause originating, and whether existing in
MALE OR FEMALE.
Females, take no more Pills! They are of no avail for Complaints incident to the sex. Use
EXTRACT BUCHU.
Helmbold's Extract Buchu is a Medicine which is perfectly pleasant in its
TASTE AND ODOR,
Bat immediate in its action, giving Health and Vigor to the Frame, Bloom to the Pallid Cheek, and restoring the patient to a perfect state of
HEALTH AND PURITY.
Helmbold's Extract Buchu is prepared according to Pharmacy and Chemistry, and is prescribed and used by
THE MOST EMINENT PHYSICIANS.
Delay no longer. Procure the remedy at once.
Price $1 per bottle, or six for $5.
Depot 104 South Tenth street, Philadelphia.
BEWARE OF UNPRINCIPLED DEALERS
Trying to palm off their own or other articles of BUCHU on the reputation attained by
HELMBOLD'S EXTRACT BUCHU,
The Original and only Genuine.
We desire to run on the
MERIT OF OUR ARTICLE!
Their's is worthless—is sold at much less rates and commissions, consequently paying a much better profit.
WE DEFY COMPETITION!
Ask for
HELMBOLD'S EXTRACT BUCHU.
Take no other.
Sold by JOHN WYETH, Druggist, corner of Market and Second streets, Harrisburg.
AND ALL DRUGGISTS EVERYWHERE.
no14 dawSm.

EXTRACTS! EXTRACTS!!
WOODSWORTH & BUNNEL'S
SUPERIOR FLAVORING EXTRACTS
OF
BITTER ALMOND,
NECTARINE,
PINE APPLE,
STRAWBERRY,
ROSE,
LEMON AND
VANILLA,
Just received and for sale by
je29 WM. DOCK, Jr., & CO.

The Patriot & Union.

THURSDAY MORNING, JAN. 10, 1861.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE COMMISSIONERS OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

The Charleston journals give publicity to the official correspondence between the President of the United States and the Commissioners of South Carolina during their late visit to Washington city. It was laid before the South Carolina Convention, when in secret session, on Friday night last. We place the whole of it before our readers.

The Commissioners to the President:

WASHINGTON, Dec. 28, 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, lighthouses, and other real estate, with their appurtenances, 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 confederated 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."

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 powers she delegated to the Government of the United States, and has declared her perfect sovereignty and independence.

It would also have been our duty to have informed you that we are ready to negotiate with you upon all such questions as are necessarily raised by the adoption of this ordinance, and that we are prepared to enter upon this 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 good will 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 we cannot doubt, determined to trust to your honor rather than to its own power. Since our arrival here an officer of the United States, acting, as we are assured, not only without, but against your [illegible] another, thus altering, to a most important extent, the condition of affairs under which we came.

Until these circumstances are explained in a manner which relieves us of all doubt as to the spirit in which these negotiations shall be 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 the immediate withdrawal of the 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 speedily to bring to a bloody issue questions which ought to be settled with temperance and judgment.

We have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servants,

R. W. BARNWELL,
J. H. ADAMS,
JAMES L. ORR,
Commissioners.

To the PRESIDENT of the United States.

The President to the Commissioners.

WASHINGTON, December 30, 1860.

GENTLEMEN: I have had the honor to receive your communication of the 28th instant, together with a copy of "your full powers from the Convention of the people of South Carolina," authorizing you 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 instant, declaring that "the Union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of the United States of America, is 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 instant. In that I stated that "apart from the execution of the laws, so far as this may be practicable, the Executive has no authority to decide what shall be the relations between the Federal Government and South Carolina. He has been invested with no such discretion. He possesses no power to change the relations heretofore existing between them, much less to acknowledge the independence of that State. This would be to invest a mere executive officer with the power of recognizing the dissolution of the Confederacy among our thirty-three sovereign States. It bears no resemblance to the recognition of a foreign *de facto* Government, involving no such responsibility. Any attempt to do this would, on his part, be a naked act of usurpation. It is, therefore, my duty to submit to Congress the whole question in all its bearings."

Such is my opinion still. I could, therefore, meet you only as private gentlemen of the highest character, and was entirely willing to communicate to Congress any proposition you might have to make to that body on the subject. Of this you were well aware. It was my earnest desire that such a disposition might be made of the whole subject by Congress, who alone possess the power, as to prevent the inauguration of a civil war between the parties in regard to the possession of the Federal forts in the harbor of Charleston, and I therefore deeply regret that, in your opinion, "the events of the last twenty-four hours render this impossible."

In conclusion, you urge upon me "the immediate withdrawal of the troops from the harbor of Charleston," stating that "under present circumstances they are a standing menace, which render negotiations impossible, and, as our recent experience shows, threaten speedily to bring to a bloody issue questions which ought to be settled with temperance and judgment."

The reason for this change in your position is, that since your arrival in Washington "an officer of the United States, acting, as we (you) are assured, not only without but against your (my) orders, has dismantled one fort and occupied another—thus altering to a most important extent the condition of affairs under which we (you) came." You also allege that you 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 we (you) cannot doubt, determined to trust to your (my) honor rather than to its power."

This brings me to a consideration of the nature of those alleged pledges, and in what manner they have been observed.

In my message of the 3d of December last, I stated, in regard to the property of the United States in South Carolina, that it "has been purchased for a fair equivalent, by the consent of the Legislature of the State," for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, &c., and over these the authority "to exercise exclusive legislation" has been expressly granted by the Constitution to Congress. It is not believed that any attempt will be made to expel the United States from this property by force; but if in this I should prove to be mistaken, the officer in command of the forts has received orders to act strictly on the defensive. In such a contingency the responsibility for consequences would rightfully rest upon the heads of the assailants.

This being the condition of the parties, on Saturday, 8th December, four of the Representatives from South Carolina called upon me and requested an interview. We had an earnest conversation on the subject of these forts, and the best means of preventing a collision between the parties, for the purpose of sparing the effusion 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.

WASHINGTON, 9TH DECEMBER, 1860.

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 convictions that neither the constituted authorities, nor any body of the people of the State of South Carolina, will either attack or molest the U. S. forts in the harbor of Charleston, previously to the action of the Convention, and we hope and believe not until an offer has been made through an accredited representative to negotiate for an amicable arrangement of all matters between the State and the Federal Government, provided that no reinforcements shall be sent into those forts and their relative military status shall remain as at present.

JOHN M'QUEEN,
M. L. BONHAM,
W. W. BOYCE,
LAWRENCE M. KEITT.

And here I must, in justice to myself, remark that at the time the paper was presented to me I objected to the word "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 should not so consider it. It is evident they could enter into no reciprocal agreement with me on the subject. They did not profess to have the authority to do this, and were acting in their individual character. I considered it as nothing more, in effect, than the promise of highly honorable gentlemen to exert their influence for the purpose expressed. The event has proven that they have faithfully kept this promise, although I have never since received a line from any one of them or from any member of the Convention on the subject. It is well known that it was my determination, and this I freely expressed, not to reinforce the forts in the harbor, and thus produce a collision until they had been actually attacked or until I had certain evidence that they were about to be attacked.—This paper I received most cordially, and considered it as a happy omen that peace might still be preserved, and that time might be thus given for reflection. This is the whole foundation for the alleged pledge.

But I acted in the same manner as I would have done had I entered into a positive and formal agreement with parties capable of contracting, although such an agreement would have been on my part, from the nature of my official duties, impossible. The world knows that I have never sent any reinforcements to the forts in Charleston harbor, and I have certainly never authorized any change to be made "in their relative military status." Bearing upon this subject, I refer you to an order issued by the Secretary of War, on the 11th instant, to Major Anderson, but not brought to my notice until the 21st instant. It is as follows:

"*Memorandum of verbal instructions to Major Anderson, First Artillery commanding Fort Moultrie, S. Carolina.*

"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 and forts in this harbor which shall guard against such a collision. He has therefore carefully abstained from increasing the force at this point, or taking any measures which might add to the present excited state of the public mind, or which would throw any doubt on the confidence he feels that South Carolina will not attempt by violence to obtain possession of the public works, or interfere with their occupancy.

"But, as the counsel and acts of rash and impulsive persons may possibly disappoint these expectations of the Government, he deems it proper that you should be prepared with 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 up any position which could be construed into the assumption of a hostile attitude; but you are to hold possession of the forts in this harbor, and, if attacked, you are to defend yourself 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 attempt to take possession of, either of them will be regarded as an act of hostility, 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 also authorized to take similar steps whenever you have tangible evidence of a design to proceed to a hostile act.

"D. P. BUTLER,
"Assistant Adjutant General.

"FORT MOULTRIE, (S. C.,) DECEMBER 11, 1860.

"This is in conformity to my instructions to Major Buell.

"JOHN B. FLOYD, Secretary of War."

These were the last instructions transmitted to Major Anderson before his removal to Fort Sumpter, 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 without 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 condemned without a fair hearing.

Be this as it may, when I learned that Major Anderson had left Fort Moultrie and proceeded to Fort Sumpter my first promptings were to command him to return to his former position, and there to await the contingencies presented in his instructions. This could only have been done with any degree of safety to the command by the concurrence of the South Carolina authorities. But before any step could possibly have been taken in this direction we received information that the "Palmetto flag floated out to the breeze at Castle Pinckney, and a large military force went over last night (the 27th) to Fort Moultrie." Thus the authorities of South Carolina, without waiting or asking for any explanations, and doubtless believing, as you have expressed it, that the officer had acted not only without but against my orders, on the very next day after the night when the removal was made seized, by a military force, two of the three Federal forts in the harbor of Charleston, and have covered them under their own flag instead of that of the United States.

At this gloomy period of our history startling events succeed each other rapidly. On the very day, the 27th instant, that possession of these two forts were taken, the Palmetto flag was raised over the Federal custom-house and post office in Charleston; and on the same day every officer of the customs—Collector, Naval Officer, Surveyor and Appraiser—resigned their offices. And this, although it was well known from the language of my message that as an executive officer I felt myself bound to collect the revenue at the port of Charleston under the existing laws. In the harbor of Charleston we now find three forts confronting each other, over all of which the Federal flag floated only four days ago; but now over two of them, this flag has been supplanted, and the Palmetto flag has been substituted in its stead.

It is under these circumstances that I am urged immediately to withdraw the troops from the harbor of Charleston, and am informed that without this negotiation is impossible. This I cannot do; this I will not do. Such an idea was never thought of by me in any possible contingency. No such allusion had 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 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 Capt. Humphreys, in command of the Arsenal at Charleston, that "it has to-day (Sunday, the 30th) been taken by force of arms." It is estimated 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 Sumpter 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.

To Honorable ROBERT W. BARNWELL, JAMES H. ADAMS, JAMES L. ORR.

Second Letter of the Commissioners to the President, (but returned by him.)

WASHINGTON, Jan. 1, 1861.

SIR: We have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 30th of December, in reply 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 the message to Congress of the 3d instant;" that you possess "no power 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, in the exercise of that great right of self-government which underlies all our political organizations, declared herself sovereign and independent, we, as her representative, felt no special solicitude as to the character in which you might recognize us.

Satisfied that the State had simply exercised her unquestionable right, we were prepared, in order to reach substantial good, to waive the formal considerations which your constitutional scruples might have prevented you from extending. We came here, therefore, expecting to be received as you did receive us, and perfectly content, with that entire willingness of which you assured us, to submit any proposition to Congress which we might have to make upon the subject of the independence of the State. That willingness was ample recognition of the condition of public affairs, which rendered our presence necessary.

In this position, however, it is our duty both to the State which we represent and to ourselves, to correct several important misconceptions of our letter into which you have fallen. You say:

"It was my earnest desire that such a disposition might be made of the whole subject by Congress, who alone possesses the power to prevent the inauguration of a civil war between the parties in regard to the possession of the Federal forts in the harbor of Charleston; and I therefore deeply regret that in your opinion the events of the last twenty-four hours render this impossible."

We expressed no such opinion; and the language which you quote as ours is altered in its sense by the omission of a most important part of the sentence. What we did say was:—"But the events of the last twenty-four hours render such an assurance impossible." Place that "assurance," as contained in our letter, in the sentence, and we are prepared to repeat it.—Again, professing to quote our language, you say:

"Thus the authorities of South Carolina, without waiting or asking for any explanation, and doubtless believing, as you have expressed it, that the officers had acted not only without but against my orders," &c.

We expressed no such opinion in reference to the belief of the people of South Carolina. The language which you have quoted was applied solely and entirely to *our* assurances obtained here, and based, as you well know, upon your own declaration—a declaration which, at that time, it was impossible for the authorities of South Carolina to have known.

But, without following this letter into all its details, we propose only to meet the chief points of the argument.

Some weeks ago the State of South Carolina declared her intention, in the existing condition of public affairs, to secede from the United States. She called a convention of her people to put her declaration in force. The Convention met and passed the Ordinance of Secession. All this you anticipated, and your course of action was thoroughly considered in your annual message. You declared you had no right, and would not attempt to coerce a seceding State, but that you were bound by your constitutional oath, and would defend the property of the United States within the borders of South Carolina, if an attempt was made to take it by force. Seeing very early that this question of property was a difficult and delicate one, you manifested a desire to settle it without collision. You did not reinforce the garrison in the harbor of Charleston. You removed a distinguished and veteran officer from the command of Fort Moultrie because he attempted to increase his supply of ammunition. You refused to send additional troops 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. You compelled an officer stationed at Fort Sumpter to return immediately to the arsenal forty muskets which he had taken to arm his men. You expressed, not to one, but to many, of the most distinguished of our public characters, whose testimony will be placed upon the record, whenever it is necessary, your anxiety for a peaceful termination of this controversy, and your willingness not to disturb the military status of the forts, if Commissioners should be sent to the Government, whose communications you promised to submit to Congress. You received and acted on assurances from the highest official authorities of South Carolina that no attempt would be made to disturb your possession of the forts and property of the United States if you would not disturb their existing condition until the Commissioners had been sent, and the attempt to negotiate had failed. You took from the members of the House of Representatives a written memorandum that no such attempt should be made, "provided that no reinforcements shall be sent into those forts, and their relative military status shall remain as at present." And although you attach no force to the acceptance of such a paper—although you "considered it as nothing more in effect than the promise of highly honorable gentlemen"—as an obligation on one side without corresponding obligation on the other, it must be remembered (if we are rightly informed) that you were pledged if you ever did send reinforcements to return it to those from whom you had received it before you executed your resolution. You sent orders to your officers commanding them strictly to follow a line of conduct in conformity with such an understanding. Besides all this you had received formal and official notice from the Governor of South Carolina that we had been appointed Commissioners, and were on our way to Washington. You knew the implied condition under which we came; our arrival was notified to you, and an hour appointed for an interview.

We arrived in Washington on Wednesday, at three o'clock, and you appointed an interview with us at one the next day. Early on that day, Thursday, the news was received here of the movement of Major Anderson. That news was communicated to you immediately; and you postponed our meeting until half past two o'clock on Friday, in order that you might consult your Cabinet. On Friday we saw you, and we called upon you then to redeem your pledge. You could not deny it. With the facts we have stated, and in the face of the crowning and conclusive fact that your Secretary of War had resigned his seat in the Cabinet upon the publicly avowed ground that the action of Major Anderson had violated the pledged faith of the Government, and that unless the pledge was instantly redeemed he was dishonored, denial was impossible; you did not deny it. You do not deny it now, but you seek to escape from its obligations on the grounds—first, that we terminated all negotiations by demanding, as a preliminary, the withdrawal of the United States troops from the harbor of Charleston; and, second, that the authorities of South Carolina, instead of asking explanation and giving you the opportunity to vindicate yourself, took possession of other property of the United States. We will examine both.

In the first place, we deny positively that we have ever in any way made any such demand. Our letter is in your possession; it will stand by this on record. In it we informed you of the object of our mission. We say that it would have been our duty to have assured you of our readiness to commence negotiations with the most earnest and anxious desire to settle all the questions between us amicably and to our mutual advantage, but that events had rendered that assurance impossible. We stated the events, and we said that until some satisfactory explanation of these events was given we made this request for explanation, we added: "And, in conclusion, we would urge upon you the immediate withdrawal of the troops from the harbor of Charleston. Under present circumstances they are a standing menace, which renders negotiation impossible." &c. "Under present circumstances!" What circumstances? Why clearly the occupation of Fort Sumpter and the dismantling of Fort Moultrie by Major Anderson, in the face of your pledges and without explanation or practical disavowal. And there is nothing in the letter which would or could have prevented you from declining to withdraw the troops and offering the restoration of the status to which you were pledged if such had been your desire. It would have been wiser and better, in our opinion, to have withdrawn the troops; and this opinion we urged upon you, but we *demanded* nothing but such an explanation of the events of the last twenty-four hours as would restore our confidence in the spirit with which the negotiations should be conducted.

In relation to the withdrawal of the troops from the harbor we are compelled, however, to notice one passage of your letter. Referring to it you say:

"This I cannot do. This I will not do. Such an idea was never thought of by me in any possible contingency. No allusion to it had ever been made in any communication between myself and any human being."

In reply to this statement we are compelled to say that your conversation with us left upon our minds the distinct impression that you did seriously contemplate the withdrawal of the troops from Charleston harbor. And in support of this impression, we would add that we have the positive assurance of gentlemen of the highest possible reputation and the most unsullied integrity—men whose name and fame, secured by long service and patriotic achievement, place their testimony beyond cavil—that such suggestions had been made to and urged upon you by them, and had formed the subject of more than one earnest discussion with you. And it was this knowledge that induced us to urge upon you a policy which had to recommend it its own wisdom and the might of such authority.

As to the second point, that the authorities of South Carolina, instead of asking explanations, and giving you the opportunity to vindicate yourself, took possession of other property of the United States, we would observe: 1st. That even if this were so, it does not avail you for defence, for the opportunity for decision was afforded you before these facts occurred. We arrived in Washington on Wednesday; the news from Major Anderson reached here early on Thursday, and was immediately communicated to you. All that day men of the highest consideration—men who had striven successfully to lift you to your great office—who had been your tried and true friends through the troubles of your Administration, sought you and entreated you to act—to act at once. They told you that every hour complicated your position. They only asked you to give the assurance, if the facts were so—that if the commander had acted without and against your orders, and in violation of your pledges, that you would restore the status you had pledged your honor to maintain. You refused to decide. Your Secretary of War, your immediate and proper adviser in this whole matter, waited anxiously for your decision until he felt that delay was becoming dishonor.—More than twelve hours passed and two Cabinet meetings had adjourned before you knew what the authorities of South Carolina had done, and your prompt decision at any moment of that time would have avoided the subsequent complications.

But, if you had known the acts of the authorities of South Carolina, should that have prevented your keeping your faith? What was the condition of things? For the last sixty days you have had in Charleston harbor not force enough to hold the forts against an equal enemy. Two of them were empty; one of those two the most important in the harbor.—It could have been taken at any time. You ought to know better than any man that it would have been taken but for the efforts of those who put their trust in your honor. Believing that they were threatened by Fort Sumpter especially, the people were with difficulty