CARLISLE HERALD

A. K. RHEEM, Proprietor.
Wm. M. PORTER, Editor.

A PAPER FOR THE FAMILY CIRCLE.

$1 50 per annum in advance
$2 00 if not paid in advance

VOL. LXI. CARLISLE, PA., FRIDAY, JANUARY 18, 1861. NO. 8.

Business Cards.

J. W. FOULK, Attorney at Law Office with J. R. Smith, Esq., in Glass' Row, in rear of First Presbyterian Church. All business entrusted to him will be promptly attended to.
May 9, '60.-1y.

CARD.—DR. JNO. K. SMITH, respectfully announces to his old friends and former patrons, that he has returned from his south western tour, with his health greatly improved, and has resumed his practice in Carlisle.
OFFICE on Main Street, one door west of the Railroad Depot, where he can be found at all hours, day and night, when not out professionally.
Carlisle, Oct. 26, 1859-tf.

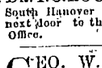
J. J. BENDER, M. D.
(HOMŒOPATHIST.)
PHYSICIAN, SURGEON & ACCOUCHER.
Office on South Hanover Street, formerly occupied by Dr. Smith.

DR. S. B. KIEFFER Office in North Hanover street two doors from Arnold & Son's store. Office hours, more particularly from 7 to 9 o'clock A. M., and from 5 to 7 o'clock, P. M.

DR. GEO. Z. BRETZ, Dentist Office North Pitt Street Carlisle.
Aug. 3, 1860. 6t.

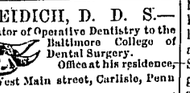
DR. GEORGE S. SEARIGHT, DENTIST, from the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery.
☞ Office at the residence of his mother, East Louther street, three doors below Bedford.
March 19, 1858—tf.

DOCTOR ARMSTRONG has removed his office to the South west corner of Hanover & Pomfret st where he may be consulted at any hour of the day or night. Dr. A. has had thirty years experience in the profession, the last ten of which have been devoted to the study and practice of Homœopathic medicine. May 20, '576m.



DR. J. C. NEFF respectfully informs the ladies and gentlemen of Carlisle, and vicinity, that he has resumed the practice of Dentistry, and is prepared to perform all operations on the teeth and gums, belonging to his profession. He will insert full sets of teeth on gold or silver, with single gum teeth, or blocks, as they may prefer. Terms moderate, to suit the times.

DR. I. C. LOOMIS South Hanover street, next door to the Post Office.



Aug. 1, '59.

GEO. W. NEIDICH, D. D. S.—Late Demonstrator of Operative Dentistry to the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery.

Office at his residence, opposite Marion Hall, West Main street, Carlisle, Penn
Nov. 11, 1857.

S. W. HAVERSTICK, Druggist, North Hanover Street, Carlisle.
Physician's prescriptions carefully compounded
A full supply of fresh drugs and chemicals.

REMOVAL.
A. L. SPONSLER,
Has removed his office to his New House, opposite Glass' Hotel. [March 28, 1860-tf.

LAW CARD.—CHARLES E. MAGLAUGHLIN, Attorney at Law, Office in Inhoff's building, just opposite the Market House.
Carlisle, March 14, '60—1y.

JOHN HAYS, ATTORNEY AT LAW.—Office on Main Street, opposite "Marion Hall," Carlisle, Pa. [Oct. 26, '59-1y.

C. P. HUMRICH, Attorney at Law.—Office on North Hanover street, a few doors south of Glass' Hotel. All business entrusted to him will be promptly attended to. [April 15.

LAW NOTICE.—REMOVAL.—W. M. PENROSE has removed his office in rear of the Court House, where he will promptly attend to all business entrusted to him.
August 19, 1857.

LAW OFFICE.—LEMUEL TODD has resumed the practice of the Law. Office in Centre Square, west side, near the First Presbyterian Church.
April 8, 1857.

ANDREW J. WILCOX, Attorney at Law. Office No. 19 Lexington St. Baltimore. Business promptly attended to.
REFERENCES.
H. M. Johnson, Jacob Rheem,
H. A. Sturgeon, Esq.
Carlisle April 25, '60.-3m.

W. C. RHEEM
ATTORNEY AT LAW AND GENERAL AGENT.
Minneapolis, Minnesota.
WILL give special attention to collections through out the State, make investments, buy and sell Real Estate and securities. Negotiate loans, pay taxes, locate land warrants, &c., &c. Refer to the members of the Cumberland County Bar, and to all prominent citizens of Carlisle, Pa. [Aug 4'68-1y.

☞ FARE REDUCED. ☜
STATES UNION HOTEL,
606 & 608 Market St., above sixth,
PHILADELPAIA.
JAMES W. POWER, Proprietor.
TERMS:—$1.25 per day. ja30'58.

UNITED STATES HOTEL.—
S. E. Cor. 11th & Market Sts.,
PHILADELPHIA.
H. W. KANAGA,
PROPRIETOR.
Jan. 4, 1860.

N. HANTCH,
MERCHANT TAILOR.
WEST MAIN STREET,
Opposite the Rail Road Office.
☞ *Fall and Winter Styles of Cloths, Cassimeres and Vestings made to order.*
Carlisle, May 2, 1860.

H. NEWSHAM,
ATTORNEY AT LAW.
Office with Wm. H. Miller, Esq., South Hanover Street, opposite the Volunteer Office.
Carlisle, Sep. 8, 1859.

COAL! COAL!! COAL!!!
TO FARMERS AND LIMEBURNERS AND OTHERS.
The undersigned have been appointed sole agents for the sale of the celebrated Trevorton Coal. This Coal is recommended by Mr. Landis and others who have tried it, to be equally as strong, and burn as much lime per ton as Lykens Valley or any other coal in use.
Persons in want of Lime Coal will find it to their interest to buy this Coal as it costs from twenty to twenty five cents per ton less than Lykens Valley. We have the prepared Trevorton Coal for family use always on hand. Also a large stock of coal of all kinds.
Our stock of LUMBER is large and complete and will be sold at the lowest prices.
Thankful for past favors we respectfully ask a continuance of the same.
ARMSTRONG & HOFFER.
July 13, 1860

NO MISTAKE.—All persons in want of a bottle of Fine Old Imported and Pure Brandy, or Old Rye Whiskey, or Gin, Wines, &c., can get the pure article at the Grocery of the subscriber.
WM. BENTZ.
Carlisle, Jan. 18, 1860.

PRIME CRANBERRIES.—A superior article of Cranberries just received and for sale by J. W. EBY.
Oct. 26, '60.

GRAIN BAGS.—Just received and for sale very cheap for Cash
CHAS OGILBY, Trustee
Nov. 2, 1859.

FURNISHING GOODS.—The largest and best variety of Gent's Furnish ing Goods, and at the lowest prices can be found at
LIVINGSTON'S,
North Hanover Street.

FRESH MACKEREL.—A lot of Mackerel—new catch—in assorted packages of Halves, Quarter, and Eighth Barrels. Also,
SALMON,
for sale at the Store of the subscriber.
Oct. 26, '60. J. W.

TERMS OF PUBLICATION.

The CARLISLE HERALD is published weekly on a large sheet containing twenty eight columns, and furnished to subscribers at $1.50 if paid strictly in advance; $1.75 if paid within the year; or $2 in all cases when payment is delayed until after the expiration of the year. No subscriptions received for a less period than six months, and none discontinued until all arrearages are paid, unless at the option of the publisher. Papers sent to subscribers living out of Cumberland county must be paid for in advance, or the payment assumed by some responsible person living in Cumberland county. These terms will be rigidly adhered to in all cases.

ADVERTISEMENTS,

Advertisements will be charged $1.00 per square of twelve lines for three insertions, and 25 cents for each subsequent insertion. All advertisements of less than twelve lines considered as a square.
Advertisements inserted before Marriages and deaths 5 cents per line for first insertion, and 4 cents per line for subsequent insertions. Communications on subjects of limited or individual interest will be charged 5 cents per line. The Proprietor will not be responsible in damages for errors in advertisements. Obituary notices or Marriages not exceeding five lines, will be inserted without charge.

JOB PRINTING.

The Carlisle Herald JOB PRINTING OFFICE is the largest and most complete establishment in the county. Four good Presses, and a general variety of material suited for plain and Fancy work of every kind, enables us to do Job Printing at the shortest notice and on the most reasonable terms. Persons in want of Bills, Blanks or anything in the Jobbing line, will find it to their interest to give us a call.

CORRESPONDENCE
BETWEEN THE
PRESIDENT OF THE U. S.
AND THE
Commissioners of South Carolina.

The following correspondence was read in secret session, and from which the injunction of secrecy was removed.

WASHINGTON, December, 28, 1860.

Sir—We have the honor to transmit to you a copy of the full powers from the Convention of the people from 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, within the limits of South Carolina, and also for an apportionment of the public debt, and for a division of all the property held by the Government of the United States, as agent for 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 were ready to negotiate with you upon all such questions as are necessarily raised by the adoption of this Ordinance, and that we were 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 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 an officer of the United States acting, as we are assured, not only without, but against your orders, has dismantled one fort and occupied 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.

WASHINGTON CITY, Dec. 30th, 1860.

Gentlemen—I have had the honor to receive your communication of 28th instant, together with a copy of "your full powers of 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 inst. 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 practical, the Executive has no power 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 only meet you therefore 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 upon 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 possesses 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 renders negotiation impossible, and as our recent experience show, 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 in 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 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 on 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 inst. three of them presented me a paper, signed by all the Representatives from South Carolina with a single exception, of which the following is a copy:

"*To His Excellency James Buchanan, President 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 United States 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 MCQUEEN,
M. L. BONHAM,
W. W. BOYCE,
LAURENCE M. KEITT.

"Washington, 9th December, 1860."

And here I must, in justice to myself, remark that, at the time the paper was presented to me, 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 further from their intention—they did not so understand it, and I should not so consider it. It is evident that they could enter into no reciprocal agreement with me on the subject. They did not profess to have authority to do this, and were acting in their individual character. I considered it as nothing more in effect than the promise of highly honorable gentlemen to exert their influence for the purpose expressed.

The event has proven that they have faithfully kept their 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 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 be preserved, and that time might thus be 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 inst., to Major Anderson, but not brought to my notice until the 21st inst. It is as follows:

"*Memorandum of Verbal Instructions to Major Anderson 1st Artillery, Commanding Fort Moultrie, South 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 those expectations of the Government, he deemed 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 produce 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. F. BUTLER,
"Assistant Adjutant General.

"FORT MOULTRIE, South Carolina, Dec. 11, 1860."

This is in conformity with 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 Sumter, 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 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 Maj. Anderson had left Fort Moultrie and proceeded to Fort Sumter, my first promptings were to command him to return to his former position, and there to await the contingencies presented in his instructions. This would only have been done, with any degree of safety to the command, by the concurrence of the South Carolina authorities.—But before any steps could possibly have been taken in this direction, we received information that the "Palmetto flag floated out to the breeze at Castle Pinkney, 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 inst., that possession of these two forts was 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 all 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 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 Sumter, as a portion of the public property of the United States, against hostile attacks, from whatever quarter they may come, by such means as I may possess for this purpose, I do not perceive how such a defence can be construed into a menace against the city of Charleston.

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

To Honorable Robert W. Barnwell, James H. Adams, James L. Orr.

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 1, 1861.

Sir—We have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 30th 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 clearly defined in the Message to Congress on the 3d instant;" that you possess "no power to change the relations heretofore existing" between South Carolina and the States, "much less to acknowledge the independence of that State," and that consequently you could meet us only as private gentlemen of the highest character, with an entire willingness to communicate to Congress any proposition we might have to make," we deem it only necessary to say that the State of South Carolina having, in the exercise of that great right of self-government which underlies all our political organizations, declared herself sovereign and independent, we, as her representatives, felt no special solicitude as to the character in which you might recognize us.

Satisfied that the State had simply exercised 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 should be made of the whole subject by Congress, who alone possess 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 any explanation, and, doubtless believing, as you have expressed it, that the officer 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 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 members of your Cabinet, rather than allow the garrison to be strengthened. You compelled an officer stationed at Fort Sumter 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 a 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 Maj. 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 at War had resigned his seat in the Cabinet, upon the publicly avowed ground that the action of Maj. Anderson had violated the pledged faith of the Government, and that unless the pledge was instantly redeemed he was dishonored, denial was impossible.

You do not deny it now, but you seek to escape from its obligations on the grounds: 1st. That we terminated all negotiation by demanding, as a preliminary, the withdrawal of the United States troops from the harbor of Charleston; and 2d. 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 inform 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 desire to settle all 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 us, we could not proceed, and then, having 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 Sumter and the dismantling of Fort Moultrie by Major Anderson, in the face of your pledges, and without explanation of 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 are 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 this 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 public reputation and the most unsullied integrity—men whose names 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 acknowledgement that induced us to urge upon you a policy which had, to recommend it, its own wisdom and the weight 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, first, that even if this were so, it does not avail you for defence, for the opportunity for discussion 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, at once.

They told you that every hour complicated your position. They only asked you to give the assurance that 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 advisor 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 these, too, 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 restrained from securing without blood, the possession of this important fortress.—After many and reiterated assurances given on your behalf, which we cannot believe unauthorized, they determined to forbear, and in good faith sent on their Commissioners to negotiate with you. They meant you no harm; wished you no ill. They thought of you kindly; believed you true; and were willing, as far as was consistant with duty, to spare you unnecessary and hostile collision. Scarcely had their Commissioners left than Major Anderson waged war. No other words will describe his action.

It was not a peaceful change from one fort to another; it was a hostile act in the highest sense, and only justified in the presence of a superior enemy and in imminent peril. He abandoned his position, spiked the guns, burned the gun-carriages, made preparations for the destruction of his post, and withdrew under cover of the night to a safer position.—This was war. No man could have believed (without your assurance) that any officer could have taken such a step, "not only without orders, but against orders." What the State did was in simple self defence; for this act, with all its attending circumstances, was as much war as firing a volley; and, war being thus began, until those commencing it explained their action and disavowed their intention, there was no room for delay, and even at this moment, while we are writing, it is more than probable from the tenor of your letter, that reinforcements are hurrying into the conflict, so that when the first gun shall be fired, there will have been on your part one continuous consistent series of actions commencing in a demonstration essentially warlike, supported by regular reinforcements, and terminating in defeat or victory. And all this without the slightest provocation; for, among the many things which you have said, there is one thing you cannot say—you have waited anxiously for news from the seat of war, in hopes that delay would furnish some excuse for this precipitation.

But this "tangible evidence of a design to proceed to a hostile act on the part of the authorities of South Carolina," which is the only justification of Major Anderson, you are forced to admit "has not *yet* been alleged."—But you have decided. You have resolved to hold by force what you have obtained through our misplaced confidence, and, by refusing to disavow the action of Major Anderson, have converted his whole violation of orders into a legitimate act of your Executive authority.

Be the issue what it may, of this we are assured, that if Fort Moultrie has been recorded in history as a memorial of Carolina gallantry, Fort Sumpter will live upon the succeeding page as an imperishable testimony of Carolina faith.

By your course you have probably rendered civil war inevitable. Be it so. If you choose to force this issue upon us, the State of South Carolina will accept it, and relying on Him who is the God of Justice as well as the God of Hosts, will endeavor to perform the great duty which lies before her, hopefully, bravely and thoroughly.

Our mission being one for negotiation and peace, and your note leaving us without hope of a withdrawal of the troops from Fort Sumter, or of the restoration of the *status quo* existing at the time of our arrival, and intimating, as we thing, your determination to reinforce the garrison in the harbor of Charleston, we respectfully inform you that we propose returning to Charleston to-morrow afternoon.

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

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

To his Excellency, the President of the United States.

The following was the endorsement on the paper:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, 3 o'clock.

This paper just presented to the President, is of such a character that he declines to receive it.

How Some of the Southern States are Injured by the Union.

It has been shown that the deficiency every year in the Cotton States, in the matter of Post Office revenues, amounts to over a million of dollars.

Here is another item. By acts of Congress passed in the years 1856 and 1857, grants of land were made to the following States to aid in the construction of railroads, viz.

Alabama,	1,868,775	acres,
Florida,	1,759,160	"
Louisiana,	995,845	"
Mississippi,	171,550	"

Every one of these States owes its whole existence to the great confederacy which each is now seeking to destroy. They were formed of Territroy belonging to the Union, protected by its army and navy, nurtured by its revenues, furnished with postal, light-house and other facilities which they could not otherwise have enjoyed, and fed with population by emigrants from the rest of the Union. For one of these States, Florada, we have the following little account:

The United States paid to Spain for the territory of Florida, (one-third of which had been previously granted to individuals by the Spanish government,)	$5,000,000
The cost of the Florida war, and the final removal of the Seminoles exceed	35,000,000
	$40,000,000

The number of commissioned officers of the regular army killed after the commencement of hostilities,	22	
Officers who died in Florida and elsewhere, of diseases contracted in the Seminole campaigns,	40	
And there were wounded,	19	
Making an aggregate of	81	officers.
The number of men killed in battle from U. S. Army, Navy and Marine Corps,	220	
And the number wounded by the Indians,	830	
The mortality among our regular troops from exposure and diseases of the climate cannot be exactly stated, but it is believed the number that has fallen exceeds	1200	

"In the foregoing, it will be perceived that the militia and volunteers are not taken into the account, of whom, however, upwards of 25,000 were engaged in that war. This class of troops, from various causes, suffer greater mortality than the United States' army. An accurate list of their dead would add hundreds, if not thousands, to those already named."

Florida now proposes to go out of the Union without paying a dollar of this debt, or assuming a cent of the national debt. We have no doubt that it would be economical for us to let her go even on such terms; but the State belongs to the Union, and not to the few planters and squatters occupying it. For good or for evil its lot is in the confederacy, and there it must remain. Now, as regards the wrongs of Texas, a correspondent of the New Orleans Picayune sets them forth so concisely that we avail ourselves of his work:

"In 1845, when Texas was annexed to the Union, she owed a debt of $11,050,201. Subsequently the United States paid her $10,000 000 for her Santa Fe territory, besides assuming her public debt. Of the sum paid her, $2,000,000 were set apart as a school fund, which is now loaned to her railroads at the rate of $6000 per mile, an operation that has been of immense advantage to her industry and population. The government has a line of military posts all along the frontier of the State, and buys a million dollars' worth annually of the produce of the citizens, besides paying $50,000 for collecting its revenues. In 1857-8 it paid for mail services more than it received, $518,914, and in 1859-60 $620,000 more.—Besides all this, it engaged in a dishonorable war to protect her against Mexico, which cost the lives of 25,000 brave men, and $100,000,000. Since 1847 her population has increased from 143,320 to 482,076. These are the wrongs Texas has received from the Union, and for which she has resolved to destroy it!"

Having bought Texas by gold and blood so dearly, we must, of course, allow her present sparse population, which is less than that of Philadelphia alone, to march out of the Union with our gold in her treasury and our sons buried in her soil.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

The Speaker laid before the House a message from the President of the United States. He says:

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

At the opening of your present session I called your attention to the dangers which threatened the existance of the Union. I expressed my opinion freely concerning the original causes of those dangers, and recommended such measures as I believe would have the effect of tranquilizing the country, and saving it from the peril in which it had been needlessly and most unfortunately involved.

These opinions and recommendations I do not now propose to repeat. My own convictions upon the whole subject remain unchanged. The fact that a great calamity was impending over the nation was even at that time acknowledged by every intelligent citizen. It had already made itself felt throughout the length and breath of the land. The necessary consequence of the alarm thus produced were most deplorable—imports fell off with a rapidity never known before, except in time of war, in the history of our foreign commerce; the treasury was unexpectedly left without means which it had reasonably counted upon to meet the public engagements; trade was paralyzed; manufactures were stopped; the best public securities suddenly sunk in the market; every specie of property depreciated more or less, and thousands of poor men, who depended upon their daily labor for their daily bread, were turned out of employment.

I deeply regret that I am not able to give you any information upon the State of the Union which is more satisfactory than what I was then obliged to communicate. On the contrary, matters are still worse at present than they then were. When Congress met, strong hopes pervaded the whole public mind that some amicable adjustment of the subject would speedily be made by the representatives of the States and of the people which might restore peace between conflicting sections of the country. That hope has been diminished by every hour of delay, and as the prospect of a bloodless settlement fades away, public distress becomes more and more aggravated.

As an evidence of this, it is only necessary to say that the Treasury notes authorized by the act of the 17th of December last were advertised according to law, and that no responsible bidder offered to take any considerable sum at par at a lower rate of interest than 12 per cent. From these facts it appears that in a Government organized like ours, domestic strife, or even a well grounded fear of civil hostilities, is more destructive to our public and private interests than a most formidable civil war.

In my Annual Message I expressed the conviction, which I have long deliberately held, and which recent reflection has only tended to deepen and confirm, that no State has a right by its own act to seceed from the Union or to throw off its Federal obligations at pleasure. I also declare my opinion to be that even if that right existed, and should be exercised by any State of the Confederacy, the Executive department of this government had no authority under the Constitution to recognize its validity, by acknowledging the independence of such State.

This left me no other alternative, as chief Executive officer under the Constitution, but to collect the public revenues and to protect the public property, so far as this might be practicable under existing laws. This is still my purpose. My province is to execute