

The New-York Times.

VOL. X.....NO. 2982.

NEW-YORK, FRIDAY, APRIL 12, 1861.

PRICE TWO CENTS.

THE WAR IMMINENT.

Formal Demand for the Surrender of Fort Sumpter.

THE REFUSAL OF MAJ. ANDERSON.

The Bombardment Probably to Commence Immediately.

THE WAR FLEET OFF THE HARBOR.

The Entire Government Forces Destined for Charleston.

WARLIKE PREPARATIONS AT SAVANNAH.

Departure of the Southern Commissioners from Washington.

OUR CHARLESTON DISPATCHES.

CHARLESTON, Wednesday, April 10.

The Floating Battery is now in position, commanding the barbettes guns of Fort Sumpter. It carries two thirty-four-pounders, two forty-two-pounders, and sixty-four men.

The Federal steamers are expected to-night. The city is filled with troops.

CHARLESTON, Thursday, April 11. An officer has just arrived from Sullivan's Island, and informs me that three steamers were seen hovering off the coast yesterday for a considerable time.

Major ANDERSON fired a signal gun at 10 o'clock A. M.

An opening on Fort Sumpter by the batteries is expected every moment.

The Battery is crowded with people who wait in anxious expectancy.

The troops continue to pour into the city, and all business is suspended.

CHARLESTON, Thursday, April 11. The Citadel Cadets are guarding the Battery with heavy cannon, and thousands are waiting there to see the attack commence.

One thousand mounted men and two thousand patrols, heavily armed, are guarding the city.

Absolute secrecy is still observed as to all future movements.

CHARLESTON, Thursday, April 11. I am enabled to send you important information exclusively.

Ex-Senator CHESNUT, the Special Aid of the Governor, sent with Col. CHISHOLM and one of Gen. BEAUREGARD'S Staff, has just returned from Fort Sumpter with Major ANDERSON'S reply to the demand for an unconditional surrender.

The answer returned is at present denied to me at headquarters, but there is no doubt that it is a flat refusal.

Every man capable of bearing arms is called out.

CHARLESTON, Thursday, April 11. JASPER.

WAR!

DISPATCH TO THE ASSOCIATED PRESS.

CHARLESTON, Thursday, April 11. The excitement in the city has been intense, in consequence of rumors that a demand had been made for Fort Sumpter, and if refused, that an engagement would take place this evening at 8 o'clock.

The demand for the evacuation of Fort Sumpter was made at 2 o'clock this afternoon, and Messrs. CHESNUT, CHISHOLM and LEE were deputed to carry the message from Gen. BEAUREGARD.

Thousands of people assembled on the Battery this evening, in anticipation of the commencement of the fight at 8 o'clock.

Two hundred mounted guards patrol the city. No fight, however, has occurred yet.

The Harriet Lane is reported to be off the bar, and signals are displayed by the guard-boats and answered by the batteries.

Immense crowds are now at the different newspaper offices, eagerly watching for news.

ROGER A. PRYOR, of Virginia, has received an appointment in Gen. BEAUREGARD'S Staff.

At this time the excitement has mostly subsided, and no conflict is looked for to-night.

One more regiment went down to Morris Island to-day.

CHARLESTON, Thursday, April 11—Midnight. Gen. BEAUREGARD, at 2 o'clock this afternoon, demanded the surrender of Fort Sumpter, which Major ANDERSON declined to accede to, probably with a reservation.

A large portion of our people are collected on the wharves, and Battery, and every accessible point facing the harbor, anxiously awaiting the result.

The military in the city are under arms, but all is quiet.

Another regiment will arrive here to-morrow.

It is estimated that between 6,000 and 7,000 men are stationed on Morris and Sullivan's Islands, and points along the coast.

Gen. BEAUREGARD will leave at midnight for Morris Island.

It is reported that the Harriet Lane was seen off the bar this evening.

LATER.—It is currently reported that negotiations will be opened to-morrow between Gen. BEAUREGARD and Major ANDERSON about the surrender of Fort Sumpter.

Officers commanding different posts in the harbor and coast are on the alert, expecting an attempt will be made early in the morning to provision and reinforce Fort Sumpter.

OUR WASHINGTON DISPATCHES.

DESTINATION OF THE NAVAL FLEET—PROGRAMME AND PURPOSES OF THE GOVERNMENT.

WASHINGTON, Thursday, April 11.

The Administration is as yet without advice of the fleet of war-steamers, and steam transports, which sailed from your port. The telegraph south of this city is entirely in the hands of the

seceding leaders, and they will let no information come over the wires that may be sure, in any way, to inform the Government, or gratify the curiosity of the people. You may depend that the port of Charleston is the destination of all the vessels, men, and munitions of war that have left Northern ports. The first call will be there, and the first service will be there required. If the objects of the Government are there attained, the surplus may then be forwarded to Pickens, and thence to Texas.

You will ask, "What are the objects of the Government?" Simply to assert its supremacy over the Government property. To do this, it has become necessary to feed its troops in the harbor of Charleston. This it will do. I think the Government expects to do it without the expenditure of blood. It will be disappointed, if the men and material now off the harbor are found necessary to accomplish its purpose; but if they are necessary, they will be unhesitatingly used. To the purpose of affording succor to the famishing men of Sumpter, the Government will unflinchingly devote all the resources of the country, believing the country will cheerfully respond to any demand which the Government may make.

SOUTHERN SUPPORT OF THE GOVERNMENT. Mr. LINCOLN, and the great majority of the Cabinet who entertain the policy inaugurated, are receiving hourly assurances of the favor with which that policy is received. The North seems a unit, but it is not the North alone that sends the most hearty commendations. Strange as it may seem, the Border States are quite as earnest as the North. They seem to hail the positive position of the Administration as a prospective bulwark, protecting them from the desolation, anarchy, and taxation of secession. I shall be much mistaken, if the results do not prove that a firm maintenance of the rights of the General Government is the sole preventive of Border State secession.

Notwithstanding the denials of the Herald, I renew my assertion, given a week ago, that the great Powers cordially respond to the efforts making by Mr. LINCOLN to maintain the integrity of the Union. The assurances of sympathy and concurrence have been more positive and clear than the usual language of diplomacy. Though unofficially given, they are none the less reliable and satisfactory.

POWER OF GOVERNMENT TO CALL FOR AID.

The idea prevalent that the Government has no power to accept volunteers, or to call for aid from the States, or that it lacks authority to use all the reserved forces of the country, is an entire mistake. The Government has no doubt of its legal right to enforce the laws, and to collect revenue, in such manner as the exigencies of the case may demand—by blockade or otherwise. No Cabinet that has existed for years embraces more legal talent than that of Mr. LINCOLN, and on that point it is a unit.

GOVERNMENT DISAPPOINTED.

The Southern Commissioners left this morning for the South, having been disappointed in receiving anticipated advices from JEFF. DAVIS, directing their proceedings.

THE VIRGINIA COMMISSIONERS.

The Virginia Commissioners have not yet made their appearance. Their answer awaits them. It will be prompt and explicit. The Government has done treating secession with respect and consideration.

THE SOUTHERN LOAN A-BEGGING.

It is positively ascertained by the Government that the fifteen million loan, authorized by the Confederate States, cannot be taken. The offers are less than two millions, including the amount offered by the enthusiasts who happened to have a few dollars wherewith to gratify their passion for secession.

MEASURES FOR PROTECTING THE CAPITAL.

The militia of the District was mustered into service to-day. All the public buildings are guarded to-night, pickets being placed in such numbers as to prevent the possibility of surprise. Mastering the strength of the secession feeling in this city. Strange as it may appear, the mass of those who refused to swear to support the Stars and Stripes are persons employed by the Government. Of the members of the National Rifles, the majority are clerks in the Departments, and of this corps I believe thirty-two declined the oath. Of another corps, sixteen refused to swear allegiance, and of this number twelve were employed in the Navy-yard, and one in the General Post-office. The duty of the heads of Departments would seem to be clear, at least so far as those gentlemen are concerned.

"I do not discover that any fears are entertained of a sudden descent upon the Capital. The streets are hourly paraded by the military, but without interrupting the regular order of business.

BEN McCULLOUGH AND HIS ENTERTAINERS.

I learn that during BEN McCULLOUGH'S recent visit to this neighborhood, he was in the habit of stopping nights at the house of a prominent banker of this city, retiring to Virginia early in the morning; also that, while here, he was in consultation with the Commissioners, and with leading Secessionists of the District, and of Virginia and Maryland. The authorities have their eye on the man, who, by sheltering this traitor and his co-conspirators, has implicated him in their treason; and his money will not save him if he is not careful.

THE TRAITORS AT THE CAPITAL TO BE WATCHED.

The lines are being closely drawn in Washington. Under the direction of CAMERON and Gen. SCOTT, well-known sympathizers and suspected men connected with the secession movement will now be closely watched. It is claimed that the calling out of the District Militia was not at all influenced by the reports of McCULLOUGH'S movements. There are more dangerous and desperate men than he already detected in plots against the peace of the city. He is appreciated by the Government as a very clever and noisy humbug, and, thus far, his movements in Virginia have amounted to nothing, and probably will not. Many regard this call upon volunteers in this vicinity as an experiment to ascertain the state of public feeling here. The Government is gratified to find so healthy a tone here. Many of those who declined service have to-day gone back to their allegiance, prompted to do so by the general scorn and opprobrium which greeted them on all sides; but, aside from a desire to test the fidelity of the District Militia, there are strong

reasons for vigorous preparations for the defence of the City. A decided Union Democrat, who has been spending some time at Richmond, says that the agents of secession openly advocate an attack upon Washington, and attempt to enlist and organize forces for that purpose. Mr. LINCOLN is in constant receipt of letters, some anonymous and some otherwise, warning him of personal danger.

The inspection of the District Militia was completed to-day, and not a single additional man refused the oath. Yesterday, over a hundred of the National Rifles refused the oath, leaving only about twenty of them sound. This is the company which has been notoriously suspicious all Winter. Being weeded of the traitors, over forty Union recruits joined it to-day.

It is designed to bring additional regular troops here within a few days.

FINANCIAL CONDITION AND PROSPECTS OF THE GOVERNMENT.

The bid for Treasury notes, opened to-day, thoroughly vindicates the wisdom of Secretary CHASE'S refusal to accept bids for the recent loan below ninety-four. Four millions more than the Department offered were bid for, and the awards were made at rates varying from par to twenty-seven one-hundredths premium. This, especially in view of the extraordinary efforts made to bear the market, and in view of the pending war panic, must be regarded as a brilliant success, and as a most satisfactory indication of the renewed confidence of capital in the Administration of the Treasury. Mr. CHASE'S operations in these last two weeks have saved the Government about \$350,000 cash, to say nothing of the moral effect of this marked success of a man hitherto untried in financial affairs. There are about nine millions in the Treasury at present, and no unassigned warrants on hand. This is a far more favorable condition than the Treasury has enjoyed before for a long time.

Father WHITELAWSY resumes the First Comptrolership, on the 1st of May, which will further tend to restore public confidence.

MILITARY SPECULATIONS.

Among the speculations in military circles relative to the destination of the military forces and stores which recently left New-York, is one to the effect that the Government has determined to concentrate troops, &c., at Key West and the Tortugas, as convenient points from which to strike a blow when required, either for Fort Pickens or Texas. This policy would make Pickens the Sebastopol, and Key West the Constantinople of the campaign.

A SOUTHERN CONTRIBUTION.

The President received a letter to-day from St. Louis directed to "Old Abe or any other man." On one side was the Confederacy flag, on the other the seal and flag of the United States, with the words "played out." Inside was a five-dollar note on the Union Bank of South Carolina, "to help pay the expenses of reinforcing Fort Sumpter." This letter created much merriment at the White House.

LIEUT. HAMILTON AND THE NAVY.

I quote from a letter written by one of the officers of the United States sloop Naragansett, dated Gallo, March 14, 1861:

"Lieut. HAMILTON, who resigned from the Wyoming at this station, has lost all his friends by his traitorous appeal to Southern officers to steal the ships they are attached to, if possible, and transfer them to the South. Some allowance should be made for him, as his father was one of the prime movers of nullification in 1832, and was snubbed by Gen. JACKSON. All the officers feel it very mortifying to converse with foreigners concerning the present difficulties in our country, but I must do the French and English the justice to say that they are very sorry that anything has occurred to interrupt our progress and prosperity as a nation. They have no sympathy for the South and its traitors. Peru, Ecuador and the other inter-tropical countries on the western slope of the Andes, with sufficient population, will, in five or ten years, outstrip the Cotton States in the production of cotton. The population is ready to be imported from the opposite coast of China, which you know is overflowing, and can easily be transplanted and adapted to this country. There are four kinds of cotton indigenous to the soil growing in Peru, all of which are superior to the American cotton, except the 'Sea Island.' Here there is no expense for re-planting, it being of the aboriginal kind, and its trees lasting from thirty to forty years. It is now chiefly exported to France, where it brings the best price, from the sickness of its fibres. An American firm at Lima has introduced the American 'gin,' and shipped several lots for speculation, one cargo of which was sent to New-England."

THE NEW-YORK APPOINTMENTS.

The New-York appointments that were to have been made to-day, now go over to Monday. The coming crisis affords a plausible pretext for the delay. There is no perceptible difference in the status of the candidates, except that SEYMOUR seems to be coming somewhat the bows of Capt. SCHULTZ, and threatens to "cut him out" of the Marshalship, into which he was going "head on" last week, with a full crowd of sail and steam.

The "hope deferred" has driven most of the applicants for office "back again." The New-Yorkers have thinned out until hardly a corporal's guard mustered at Willard's this morning. What were on hand, however, were veterans. Mr. BARREY came here this morning, probably to have some removals and appointments confirmed by the Secretary of the Treasury, who must visit all such documents. Postmaster TAYLOR is also here.

THE NEW-YORK POST-OFFICE SITE.

There is another hitch in the New-York Post-office site—this time in the Treasury Department. It is to be hoped that Secretary CHASE will think twice before he commences the expenditure of a half-million of dollars on a job that may be deferred. The Government has a four-years' lease of the present premises, and therefore has no call to purchase.

THE BOSTON APPOINTMENTS.

The Boston Delegation had an interview with the President to-day, relative to appointments there, but effected no result, as they were not harmonious themselves.

EZRA LINCOLN has, to-day, been appointed Sub-Treasurer of Boston.

Wm. STOW, present Clerk of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, is reported appointed Postmaster at Springfield.

MINISTER TO GUATEMALA.

Mr. CROSBY, the new Minister to Guatemala, has left the city, on his way to his new post. I understand that he contemplates the introduction of the American cotton gin into Central America, with a view to stimulating the production of cotton, which grows there wild, and of excellent quality. Those who know Mr. CROSBY well cannot doubt that he will exert himself to the utmost to advance

the commercial interests of the United States in Central America, and that in so doing he will encourage the development of the internal resources of the country to which he is accredited.

RECRUITING FOR THE C. S. A.

It is ascertained that there are recruiting officers in this city and in the surrounding Border States, attempting to gather recruits for the Southern Confederacy military service. Two were discovered in this city, to-day, and suddenly took themselves off.

Please correct to day's statement about Capt. SCHULTZ. The resolution against him in the Republican Committee was tabled and not adopted.

DISPATCH TO THE ASSOCIATED PRESS.

The general excitement occasioned, yesterday, by the calling out of the Volunteer Militia to be mustered into the Federal service has abated, and to-day four or five companies marched to the War Department and took the army oath, namely, "to bear true allegiance to the United States, and serve them honestly and faithfully against all their enemies and opposers whomsoever, and observe and obey the orders of the President of the United States, and the orders of the officers appointed over them, according to the rules of articles for the government of the armies of the United States."

Previous to taking the oath, the volunteers were informed that the obligation was for three months, unless they were sooner discharged; and an opportunity was given to such might wish to retire. But as the men came there purposely to be mustered in, they assume the obligation accordingly. They now understand that they cannot be ordered beyond the limits of the District of Columbia, and will not be continuously on duty as guards to the armories, public buildings, &c. Not quite two hundred were accepted yesterday, but five hundred altogether will doubtless be mustered in during the day.

Army overcoats have been plentifully distributed among them.

When Col. ELISWORTH, of Zouave fame, recently came to Washington, a company of Zouaves was organized, and this gentleman has been tendered the command. He has not, however, accepted it, but has been giving them the benefit of his proficiency in the drill.

The balance in the Treasury, last Monday, was \$5,651,000. The receipts from Customs for the two weeks, ending April 9, 1861, were \$1,471,231, and for the corresponding weeks, this year, were \$1,500,667; increase, \$29,436.

Owing to other engagements, the Secretary of the Treasury was unable to open the bids until after 7 o'clock, this evening. These exceeded the amount of the Treasury Notes offered, viz: \$4,901,000, about 400,000 at rates ranging from par to 27-100 premium. The Treasury is now in good condition. No part of the proceeds of last week's loan has yet been used, nor will it be needed for some time. The receipts from Customs, for two or three weeks past, have nearly equaled all the demands upon the Treasury.

The following are the bids:

Name.	Amount.	Per Cent.
C. H. Baker Philadelphia.....	\$13,000	.20 prem.
Sam'l G. White, Philadelphia.....	2,000	par.
J. Cook & Co., Philadelphia.....	200,000	.16 prem.
Sumner R. Stone, New-York.....	3,000	par.
Jno P. Elton, New-York.....	15,000	.63 prem.
Geo. P. Elton, New-York.....	10,000	.01 prem.
Bridgeport Savings Bk., Conn.....	10,000	par.
Bank of New-York.....	100,000	par.
Henry W. Z. Bickel.....	10,000	.01 prem.
H. Stowbridge & Sons, N. Hav.....	5,000	.16 prem.
H. Stowbridge & Sons, N. Hav.....	5,000	.14 prem.
C. Grieve & Co., New-York.....	2,000	.02 prem.
W. H. Marston, New-York.....	10,000	.05 prem.
Colgate & Hoffman, New-York.....	150,000	.05 prem.
James G. King, New-York.....	100,000	par.
R. L. & A. Stewart New-York.....	100,000	par.
H. Howard (Sec'y) Buffalo.....	100,000	par.
Hay, Mass.....	25,000	par.
Bank of Commerce.....	250,000	par.
B. Hooper, for self and others.....	1,100,000	par.
Boston.....	350,000	par.
P. P. Richley, by Assistant Sec'y of Treasury, for benefit of Choctaw Indians.....	250,000	par.

The Secretary of the Treasury has prepared a circular of instructions to Collectors of Customs, by which, among other things, it appears that in all cases of the withdrawal and exportation of repaired or reconstructed railroad iron, in order that it be reported for such purposes may be exempt from duty, must be made at the same port where it was originally imported, and within six months from date of importation. The circular concludes as follows:

"The control of the warehouses of the Government in the several States, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Florida and Texas, having been usurped under the alleged authority of those States, the Collectors of Customs are directed by the authority of the United States having been forcibly excluded from their functions in the custody of merchandise, and the supervision of the entries for warehousing and the withdrawal. It has become impracticable to continue the privilege of bonding for transportation of these goods, and Collectors of Customs are accordingly hereby instructed that no entries for transportation in bond to the several States, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Florida and Texas, will be caused by the Collectors of Customs at the Collector's office at the port from which the goods were shipped, on the Collector being satisfied, by the affidavit of the party, to be filled with the bond that the merchandise arrived at the port of destination after the United States offices at such port had ceased to issue the receipts therefor."

It was heretofore stated that Secretary SEWARD, in reply to a note of the Confederate State Commissioners, refused to receive them in their diplomatic character. They responded, and were again answered on the part of the Government. Yesterday, the Commissioners sent to him their final communication. It is said to be written with ability, and reflects severely on the Administration, taking the ground that they have exhausted every resource for a peaceful solution of the existing difficulties, and that if civil war result, on the part of the Federal Government, will rest the responsibility. They charge the Administration with gross perjury, insisting that under the shelter of the pretext and assertion that Fort Sumpter was to be evacuated, an immense armada has been dispatched to previous and remote points, and that they had almost daily indirect assurances from the Administration that Fort Sumpter was positively to be abandoned, and that all the Government's efforts were to be directed towards peace. The Commissioners allege that the Government at Montgomery was earnestly desirous of peace, and that in accordance with its instructions, as well as their own feelings, they left no means untried to secure that much desired end; but all their efforts having failed, they were now forced to return to an outraged people with the object of their mission unaccomplished; and they express the firm conviction that war is inevitable. The Commissioners left Washington, to-day, for Montgomery.

EZRA LINCOLN, of Massachusetts, has been appointed Assistant United States Treasurer at Boston. Wm. STOW has been appointed Postmaster at Springfield, Mass.

Col. LAMON, recently appointed Marshal for the District of Columbia, continues GEORGE W. PHILLIPS, who served under his two predecessors, as his deputy. There is no truth in the rumors about Cabinet changes.

The New-York appointments have been postponed till Monday, and the Philadelphia till Tuesday.

D. C. JACKSON, of Madison, has been appointed Marshal, and J. B. COGSWELL, of Milwaukee, District-Attorney of Wisconsin.

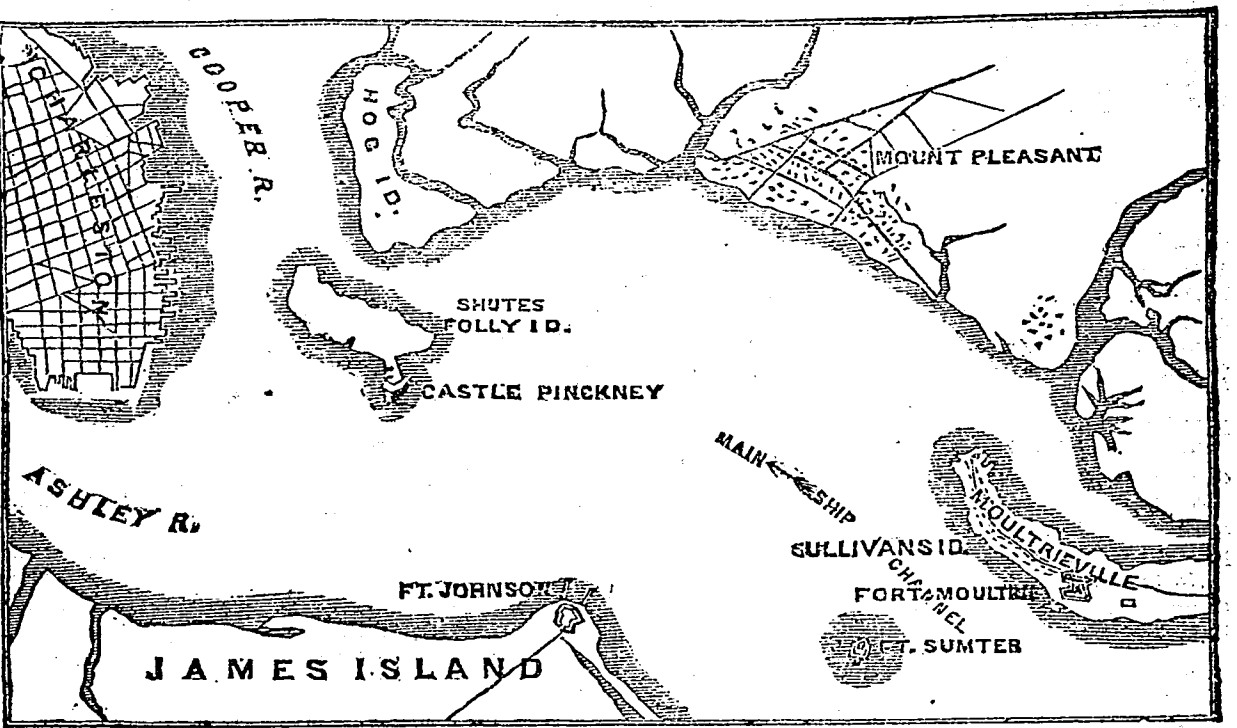
Hon. Mr. PORTER, of Wisconsin, has been forced by sickness to leave here for the sea shore. The President has recognized FREDERICK ROBERT KEMMERT as Consul of Hamburg; KARL AUGUST STONEKORF Consul of Lubeck, and GUILLERMO FLORA DE DUCHI DI LIGNANO, Consul-General of Sardinia, all at New-York.

OUR WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENCE.

THE POSITION AND POLICY OF THE ADMINISTRATION.—THE TREASON OF THE BUCHANAN CABINET.—EFFECT OF THE SHORT CROP OF COTTON.

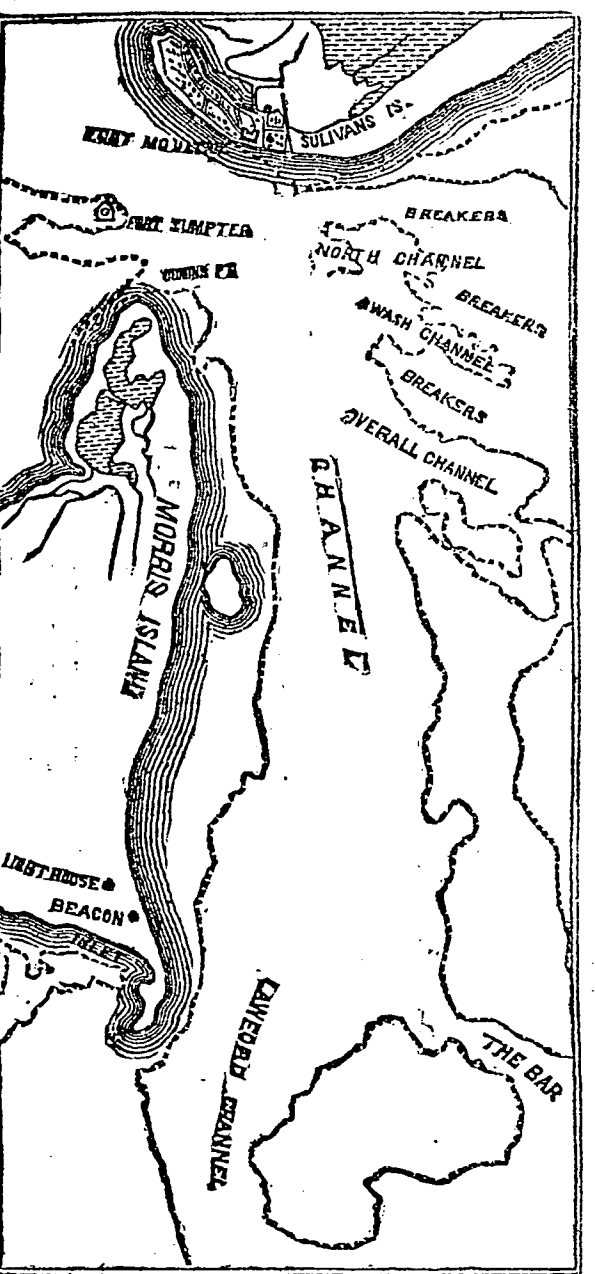
WASHINGTON, Wednesday, April 10, 1861.

There can be no question that the policy of the Administration relative to the Seceded States



THE FORTS IN CHARLESTON HARBOR.

The above map represents the relative positions of the several forts in Charleston harbor. The one which we give below represents the means of approach to the harbor, and indicates the points from which the most formidable resistance may be expected:



The main ship channel is the only one by which ships of heavy draft can approach the harbor—and in doing so they must pass all the batteries that have been built all along the whole length of Morris Island. This was the channel by which the Star of the West attempted to enter—though no serious impediment was offered to her progress until she was off Cummings' Point, as the batteries on Morris Island were not then completed.

But small boats, tugs, and steamers of light draft can enter the harbor through North Channel, South Channel, or Overall Channel, and thus escape the batteries on Morris Island altogether. The only fire they will encounter will be from the land batteries on Cummings' Point, and from Fort Moultrie.

There can now be no doubt that if the destination of the powerful fleet which has left this port within the last few days, is Charleston, a portion of it, at least, will be near Sumpter at the com-

mencement of any attack that may be made upon it. This nearness of aid entirely alters the chances of a reinforcement, as the relieving party will be supported by the force of the powerful battery of the Fort, and the attack upon it will be directed by the necessity of guarding and defending a shore line of at least ten miles, with the numerous creeks and inlets, all of which are gateways to the harbor. Sumpter on the one side and the fleet off the North Channel on the other, will effectually cover any relieving expedition, whether of open boats, tugs, or small vessels, from any maritime attack, and confine all resisting operations to the land batteries. Experience has shown—as in the case of Gen. WILKINSON'S passage down the St. Lawrence during the last war, with five hundred boats, suffering but a trifling loss, in the face of strong shore batteries—that batteries cannot effectually prevent the mere passage of an armament. Still less can this be done when the batteries themselves will be exposed to such a terrific fire as Major ANDERSON can for some hours at least, pour with his whole force upon Moultrie and the battery near Cummings' Point, the only two places from which boats or light draft vessels can be fired upon to any purpose.

But ANDERSON'S fire will not be the only one to which Moultrie may be exposed, as the smaller vessels can take with impunity positions from which shell may be thrown with great effect. No matter how brave or skillful the Southern troops may be, they will be under a fire which will render the entire stoppage of relief to Fort Sumpter nearly impossible.

Two hundred fresh men once in Sumpter would render its provisioning a matter only of time, unless there are means of resistance of which at present we are ignorant.

It is almost impossible to form even a guess as to what may be the ulterior plan for the general and thorough relief of the Fort, as we are in complete ignorance of all the particulars upon which those plans must be based. The sword of the skillful General seeks the crevice of his antagonist's armor, and the distant spectator can rarely perceive it. So in this case we may be certain that the thrust will be made in the right place, and that we cannot now know where that place may be.

Why the Southern Commander, be he JEFFERSON DAVIS or Gen. BEAUREGARD, has delayed pouring on Sumpter his full force, and crushing it beneath an iron hail, if he could, why he has waited until, instead of concentrating his fire in security on some point, he now has to defend a long, straggling line, from a powerful fleet, it is impossible to tell. The reason may have been political; it may have been that there was not the wanted readiness; it may have been incompetency; and it is not impossible that when the yawning abyss opened before them with all its horrors, they may have lacked the insane courage required for the final leap.

But be the motive what it may, there is little doubt that they have lost the golden opportunity, and that the Stars and Stripes will continue to wave over the old fort, unless puerile negotiations should again allow the Confederate force to prepare themselves for the new forces arrayed against them.

should be either very vigorous or very lenient.

The late Administration, by cowardice in its head, and treachery in its members, encouraged and emboldened the Secession traitors to push matters to the extreme of openly resisting, defying, and insulting the Federal authorities. If the Southern forts and arsenals had been strongly reinforced in the Autumn, immediately before or after the Presidential election, the Secession movement would never have assumed the formidable proportions to which it has attained; but now the question arises, shall it be put down?

The natural and usual resort would be to armed intervention for the enforcement of the laws, to the extent, at least, of reinforcing the forts and collecting the revenue, or blockading the ports. A vigorous execution of this line of policy would destroy the great pecuniary resource of the rebels, which is the customs duties on imported goods,—and in this way the leaders of the movement would be compelled to resort to direct taxes as a means of carrying on their machinery of Government. This resort could not fail to be extremely odious, and its effect would be to awaken the deluded people to a consciousness of their folly, and strengthen the hands of those who never heartily entered into the movement, and who stand ready to re-unite themselves with the American Union.

But there is no disguising the fact that this vigorous policy would strengthen the disunion sentiment in the Border Slave States, and probably cause them to join the Confederates. Here lies the danger, and it should be looked in the face. It is possible that a resolute effort to maintain the laws may awaken the respect and confidence of the friends of Union in these States, and cause them to rally around the national standard; but it is to be feared that the hue and cry which will be raised by the secession demagogues will frighten the Unionists into acquiescence in their revolutionary schemes. A powerful exhibition of Federal force would prevent this result; but a merely passive policy, without additional military force, will be the signal for a general revolt of the Southern States, and a war of the sections.

The Administration must do one of two things in the present advanced stage of the rebellion: it must either appeal to the Southern friends of the Union and Constitution to stand firm, while giving them the assurance of unlimited support, or it must abandon the field and rely entirely upon the returning good sense of the people. In a word, they must act upon one of two theories, viz: that this is a Government, in the proper sense of the term, which can sustain itself by physical force, if necessary; or that it is, as some Utopians regard it, merely a Government of public opinion. The treachery and poltroonery of the Buchanan Cabinet have placed us in a position which renders it doubtful which of these two theories it is best to act upon.

Our Republican form of Government, in the hands of the late Administration, has exhibited to the world a new phase of crime—a new form of

political depravity—which I will venture to say could not occur under any other system. I allude to the deliberate attempt to overthrow the Government under its charge, and the open sympathy which it manifested with the rebels against its authority. Dynasties have been overthrown through the agency of ministers employed by the sovereign; but in no instance, ancient or modern, until that furnished by FLOYD, COBB and THOMSON, seconded by the cowardice, the political animosity and