

AMERICAN VOLUNTEER.

"OUR COUNTRY—MAY IT ALWAYS BE RIGHT—BUT, RIGHT OR WRONG, OUR COUNTRY."

VOL. 47.

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AMERICAN VOLUNTEER.

PUBLISHED EVERY THURSDAY MORNING BY JOHN B. BRATTON.

TERMS.

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Job Printing—Such as Hand-bills, Posting-bills, Pamphlets, Blankets, Labels, &c., &c., executed with accuracy and at the shortest notice.

Poetical.

OUR WEBB WHITE ROSE.

BY GERALD MASSBY.

All in our marriage garden
Grew, smiling up to God,
A bonnier flower than ever
Sucked the green warmth of the soil;
O! beautiful, white, gently,
In the light unfurled;
And crown of all things was our web
White Rose of all the world.

From out a halcyon bosom
Our bud of beauty grew;
If fed on smiles from sunny
Our tests for daintier dew;
Aye nestled warm and tenderly,
Our leaves of love were curled;
So close and close about our web
White Rose of all the world.

With mystic, faint fragrances,
Our hours of life she filled,
Revealed each heart some fairy tower,
Where winged hopes might light;
We saw—though none like us might see
Such precious promise gleamed
Upon the petals of our web
White Rose of all the world.

Our life was but in blossom
Our Rose was in its spring;
When, down the solemn midnight,
We heard the angel's sing:
"Another bud of infancy
With holy dews impaled!"
And in their hands they bore our web
White Rose of all the world.

You scarce could think so small a thing
Could leave a less joy to God,
Her little light so shadowing
From down to sunset's fringe.
In other springs, our life may be
So honored and so true;
But never, never match our web
White Rose of all the world.

Miscellaneous.

A Shabby Young Man.

Brookland, which now forms an elegant and retired suburb of New York, about the end of the last century consisting of a few country houses, scattered like a sort of hamlet along the banks of the Hudson, and built by those wealthy citizens whose fortune enabled and taste prompted to retire from the crowd and bustle of the town. The families resident there were all of the same grade in society; their habits and pursuits were similar. The greater part were more or less connected; and, as short distances produced greater separation in those days than long ones do in ours, the little community stood in great isolation from the neighboring city; maintained colonial etiquette as established in the time of Governor Keith, and believed itself of great consideration in the world. Among the old gentlemen who looked after their gardens and green houses, and spent their leisure in discussing the war of independence, (then but a few years over) there was none who stood higher, in his own esteem, than John Small, Esq.

times, but got through them with little risk or loss. He was not a man to permit much for the public weal. Whatever was uppermost in his mind for the time, although he never went further on any side than a prudent necessity. When the patriot Sandy Hook was thrown into the river, he thought it a dangerous proceeding.

When Small's Association declared for independence, and General Lee with his Congress fled to the North, Mr. Small considered the Union was decidedly right. When the British troops took possession, and the Americans were defeated at Long Island, it was his opinion that rebellion never prospered. But when the Congress fled to Lancaster, and the patriot soldiers were returning to their homes and farms, and Washington was taking leave of his officers in front of Francis' Hotel, Mr. Small occupied a very respectable place in the crowd of spectators, and said it was the proudest moment of his life.

With this quiet imitation of the Vicar of Bray, Sedley Small, Esq., had come to repose, not under his laurels, for he was never the man to rest on his laurels, but in the quietude of his study, with everything that dollars could purchase about him, and in a highly satisfactory state of mind regarding himself, his doings, and his consequence. In common with most men who have never tried the strife, Mr. Small's friends were accurate. With him it was the proof of talent and the evidence of desert. Men who had achieved power, place or popularity, were the scribes of his calendar, and at the head of them stood Benjamin Franklin, neither because of his printing business, which he had abandoned, nor because of his political career, which he had followed in his unknown days, was in some degree related to the bookkeeping, that the lightning conductor, which kept his house safe in thunder storms, had made Mr. Small sensible of the service done to the world by the Philadelphia philosopher, certain it was that next to himself, Franklin occupied the highest place in Mr. Small's esteem. He quoted his maxims on every possible occasion; his sound, worldly wisdom and his practical business, which he had learned from the bookkeeper, he kept his complete works bound in morocco with gilt edges, in his best book-case, and showed with special pride a copy of his first publication, the essay on "Liberty and Necessity," printed in London, 1755, by Mr. Small's printer, which he had bought with the curious chance by which the now highly prized pamphlet had come into his hands. He was in the habit of rehearsing it regularly to every visitor at his house, and also the fact that the essay had remained on the shelves of his lumber room for twenty years before he knew it was Franklin's. That was the first edition ever printed. There was not a copy so early to be found in all the Union.

Together with all the treasures of the house, it was prepared for the beginning of 1789, when an unusually keen frost had made the Hudson fit for sledge travelling, and down that crystal highway the whole north and west were pouring into New York, and the first American Congress, and General Washington sworn into the office of President. Among the gathering members, Franklin was expected, and he had elected to attend, though full of years, as well as honors, the man of so much work and fame had begun to feel his energies flag, under the burden of age, and talked of retiring from public life. It was known Franklin was to come direct from Albany, where he had been visiting an old friend. The sledges were to stop at Brookland for the accommodation of passengers. There was yet a day to spare before the meeting of Congress, and Mr. Small was not yet most forward in the crowd which assembled to meet the philosopher, but by dint of influential introduction and hospitable importunity, contrived to make him accept an invitation to spend that evening at his house, and proceed to New York early on the following day.

The entire elite of Mr. Small's circle were gathered to dinner in the evening. The master of the mansion sat in triumph resembling that of the Roman conqueror, with spoils and captives following his chariot. The quiet, sensible old gentleman who had signed the Peace of Paris, and won him a name throughout the world, was at times half amused and half provoked at the boundless fuss made about him; but Benjamin Franklin was accustomed to such doing; he let things take their course, and the dinner in Bartholomew's was the most agreeable he had ever had, and he retired from business, and but few collections in the United States could equal his at the time. Franklin admired the books and their bindings, applauded Mr. Small's taste in his books, and he had been probably heightened, brought down from his high place in his book-case the long treasured pamphlet, named in the fashion of its publishing time: "A Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain," and introduced it to the doctor, and a considerable flourish, about the more than a half century it had been in his possession, and how much he prized it above his entire library.

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"It was never sold, doctor," said Mr. Small, catching at the glorious opportunity to tell his story, for which he put himself in the accustomed attitude, by thrusting his hands deep into the pockets of his buckskins, and sitting exceedingly upright. "It is almost sixty years since that it came into my possession, I may say, of my family. You lived in the Old Slip, then—it was reckoned a highly respectable place of business. I was very young, but had learned to assist my father in the store; he was a prudent man, dourly equal to his expectations; understood all manner of colonial house-keeping, from the making of buckwheat cakes to the scouring of old silk gowns, which, however incredible to the ladies of modern Brookland, was then, then made on the banks of the Hudson. Mr. Small had brought up sons and daughters with as little trouble as any family man could expect. He had partitioned and settled them all—some in the city, some in the neighboring townships—and gave them a good education. Thanksgiving week, the anniversary of American Independence, his own birthday, and Mr. Small had seasons of high celebration. Mr. Small had lived in troubled and changeable

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Odds and Ends.

Minding the matter—making mince-pies.

Decidedly interesting—some late occurrences in our borough.

Ended—Leap Year, and the season for shooting deer.

Those who shun society are neither very strong nor very weak.

The New York Legislature has voted a sword to Major Anderson.

Shoemakers are hard to deal with as they always want something to boot.

Rarely advertised a vicious horse to experiment on, and offers \$100 for the worst.

Four children (colored) were burned to death in a house in Marietta, Lancaster co., a few days since.

Saints and sinners stood on slippery places last week, and hard was the fall of many thereof.

An editor of a paper in Indiana wants to know if Western whisky was ever seen "comin' thro' the rye."

Beef is selling in Charleston, S. C., at thirty-five cents a pound, and other provisions are proportionally high.

That mad wag Prentice says tall gentlemen are always successful, because the ladies are all in favor of hymen.

Why is a dog with a broken leg like a boy at arithmetic? Answer—Because he puts down three and carries.

A negro, on being examined, was asked if his master was a Christian. "No, sir, he is a member of Congress," was the reply.

The Light Artillery has been recalled from Kansas to prepare for any emergency that may occur at the seat of government.

"There, John, that's twice you've come home and forgotten that bird." "La, mother, it was so greasy that it slipped my mind."

What are the years but perishable leaves, blown, one by one, from the evergreen rose of time, by the same breath that created them?

When a man is dead, he is no longer one to cheer at, or condemn. His soul is God's, his poor, frail body a handful of dust in the great palm of Death.

Wendell Phillips keeps a body guard armed with revolvers, to prevent him being mobbed while making his diabolical Abolition speeches in Boston.

A SLIPPERY GONORATOR.—In the House of Representatives at Harrisburg last week, a bill was presented for the amendment of the act relating to the election of a Speaker of the House.

President Buchanan, recently declared that he would ride to the inauguration in a carriage with Old Abe in March next, if he should risk assassination thereby.

Childhood's dreams are like white clouds that float through a summer sky. Bathed in the glory of Heaven they drift away, leaving no trace of sadness behind.

On Saturday evening last John B. Gough, the great temperance lecturer, delivered a lecture at St. Louis, in which he expressed his opinion on Union sentiments which were loudly applauded.

On Wednesday last, two policemen named Clarborne Long and Daniel Hallman, were stabbed in a house of ill-fame in Cincinnati. The former died; the latter is in a critical condition.

Loger B. Tancy, Chief Justice of the United States, declared that he will, if living, administer the oath of office to Mr. Lincoln on the 4th of March next, if he has to go to Springfield to do it.

On Thursday evening last, the wife of Henry Heiser, residing near Orwigburg, Schuylkill county, committed suicide by hanging herself. Cause unknown. She was about 60 years of age.

It is ascertained that all the seceding States have the same sort of arms for sale in advance. The order from South Carolina was filled only a few days before the passage of the ordinance of secession.

Common lamp oil, rubbed over the hands every morning, is said to be sure cure for chapped hands. The best remedy for chapped lips, that we know, is to get married, and even that does not always cure them!

There are but seven States in the Union in which the doctor is not a member of the profession. They are Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Connecticut, New York, Delaware and Pennsylvania.

A lusty young fellow in a tattered garb, and a long beard that bespoke the extreme of distress, solicited an elderly gentleman for alms, in a piteous tone of voice; the benevolent gentleman gave him a shilling.

"What is that?" said the man, "I have not a penny to spare, but I will give you a shilling if you will let me know what I can do for you." "What was that?" said the gentleman impatiently. "To work," said the impostor.

That fair expression of their views of the true policy of the government can always be had, give to all well considered measures of legislation the solemn sanction of the highest power of the State, and it should not be arbitrarily interfered with. While I shall shrink from no duty involved by the sacred trust reposed in me by the people of the Commonwealth, I would have all other departments of the government appreciate the full measure of responsibility that devolves upon them.

The position of mutual estrangement in which the different sections of our country have been placed by the precipitate action and violent denunciation of heated partisans, the apprehension of still more serious complications of our political affairs, and the fearful uncertainty of the future, have had the effect of weakening commercial credit and partially interrupting trade; and, as a natural consequence, the progress of our industry has been retarded. Yet the elements of general prosperity are everywhere diffused amongst us, and nothing is wanting but a return of confidence, to enable us to reap the rich rewards of our diversified industry and enterprise. Should the restoration of confidence in business and commercial circles be long delayed, the Legislature, in its wisdom, will, I doubt not, meet the necessities of the crisis in a generous and patriotic spirit.

The late system of Government has fully answered the expectations of its founders, and has demonstrated the capacity of the people for self-government. The country has advanced in wealth, knowledge and power, and secured to all classes of its citizens the blessings of peace, prosperity and happiness. The workings of our simple and natural political organizations have given direction and energy to individual and associated enterprise, maintained public order, and promoted the welfare of our people. No one who knows the history of Pennsylvania and understands the opinions and feelings of her people, can justly quarrel with our system of Government. We regard them as our friends and fellow-citizens, and we are proud to be numbered in their ranks. We recognize, in their broadest extent all our constitutional obligations to them. These we are ready and willing to observe generously and fraternally in their letter and spirit, with unswerving fidelity.

The election of a President of the United States, according to the forms of the Constitution, has recently been made a pretext for disturbing the peace of the country by a desperate attempt to wrest from the Federal Government the powers which the people conferred on it when they adopted the Constitution. By this movement the question whether the government of the United States embodies the prerogatives, rights and powers of sovereignty, or is merely a creature of the people, a multitude of independent communities, confederated in a league which any one of them may dissolve at will, is now placed directly before the American people. Unhappily this question is presented in the simple form of political discussion, but complicated with the passions and jealousies of impending or actual conflict.

There is nothing in the life of Mr. Lincoln nor in any of his acts or declarations before or since his election, to warrant the apprehension that his Administration will be unfriendly to the local institutions of any of the States. No sentiments but those of kindness and cordiality have been expressed by him in regard to the constitutional majority which elected him; and nothing has occurred to justify the excitement which seems to have blinded the judgment of a part of the people, and is precipitating them upon the precipice of civil war.

The support of the National Government has been so fully admitted and so long cherished by the people of Pennsylvania, and so completely has the conviction of its nationality and sovereignty been fixed in their minds, that they are surprised at the pertinacity with which a portion of the people elsewhere maintain the opposite view. The traditions of the past, the recorded teachings of the Fathers of the Republic, the security of their freedom and property, and the peace and prosperity which have been enjoyed by them, are all in harmony with an unflinching allegiance to the National Union, the maintenance of the Constitution and the enforcement of the laws. They have faithfully adhered to the compromises of our great national compact, and will not be seduced by the artifices and suggestions of other States. Every true Pennsylvanian admits that his first civil and political duty is to the general government, and he frankly acknowledges his obligation to protect the constitutional rights of all who live under its authority and enjoy its blessings.

I have already taken occasion to say publicly, and I now repeat, that if we have any laws upon our statute books which infringe upon the rights of the people of any of the States, or contravene any law of the Federal Government, or obstruct its execution, they ought to be repealed. We ought not to hesitate to exhibit to other States that may have enacted laws interfering with the rights or obstructing the execution of any law of the Federal Government, and which belong constitutionally to all American citizens, an example of magnanimity and of implicit obedience to the paramount law, and by a prompt repeal of every statute that may even, by implication, be liable to reasonable objection, do away with the cause of dissatisfaction with our legislation.

Pennsylvania has never flattered in her recognition of all the duties imposed upon her by the national compact, and she will, by every act consistent with her devotion to the interests of her own people, promote fraternity and peace, and a liberal comity between the States. Her convictions on the vital questions which have agitated the public mind are well understood at home, and should not be misunderstood abroad. Her verdicts have been uniform as they have been decisive, in favor of the dignity, the prosperity and the progress of her free industry, and support of the principles of liberty on which the government is founded, and menace or rebellion cannot be tolerated. Her judgment of her people, expressed in a peaceful, fraternal and constitutional manner; and when they shall have been administered in the government, as soon as they will subside, as their patriotic, faithful and national aims bring ample protection and peaceful progress to all sections of the Republic.

In the grave questions which now agitate the country, no State has more to be concerned than Pennsylvania. Occupying a geographical position between the North and the South, the East and West, with the great avenues of travel and trade passing through her borders, carrying an extensive commerce with her neighbors, in the vast and varied productions of her soil, her mines and her manufacturing industry and bound to them by the ties of kindred and social intercourse, the question of disunion involves momentous consequences to her people. The security of the thirty-three States in population, and first in material resources, it is due both to ourselves and to the other States, that the position and sentiments of Pennsylvania on the question should be distinctly understood.

All the elements of wealth and greatness have been spread over the State by a kind Providence with profuse liberality. Our temperate climate, productive soil, and inexhaustible mineral wealth, have stimulated the industry of our people and improved the skill of our mechanics. To develop, enlarge and protect the interests which grow out of our natural advantages, have become cardinal principles of political economy in Pennsylvania, and the opinion everywhere prevails among our people that development, progress and wealth depend on educated and required labor; and that labor, and the interests sustained by it, should be adequately protected against foreign competition. The people of Pennsylvania have always favored that policy, which aims to elevate and foster the industry of the country in the collection of revenue for the support of the General Government; and whenever they have had the opportunity, in a fair election, they have indicated that policy at the ballot-box. When their trade was protected and their industry paralyzed by the legislation of the General Government, which favored adverse interests, they waited patiently for the return of another opportunity to declare the will of the people in a constitutional manner. In the late election of President Lincoln, the United States, the principle of protection was one of the prominent issues. With the proceedings of Congress at its last session fresh in their memories, a large majority of the people of Pennsylvania enrolled themselves in an organization, which, in its declaration of principles, promised, if successful, to be faithful to their suffering interests and languishing industry. Protection to labor was one of the greatest principles of its platform; it was inscribed on its banners; it was the theme of its public journals; and throughout the canvass it was a leading text of the orators of the successful party.

This is a propitious moment to declare that while the people of Pennsylvania were not different to other vital issues of the canvass, they were demanding justice for themselves in the recent election, and had no design to interfere with or abridge the rights of the people of other States. The groves of the past had been retarded by the revocation of the principle of protection from the revenue laws of the national government; bankruptcy had crushed the energies of many of our most enterprising citizens; but no voice of disloyalty or treason was heard, nor was there any offer of violence to the sacred fabric of our national Union. Conscious of their rights and their power, our people looked to the ballot-box alone as the legal remedy for existing evils.

In the present unhappy condition of the country, it will be our duty to unite with the people of the States which remain loyal to the Union, in any just and honorable measures of conciliation and fraternal kindness. Let us invite them to join with us in the discharge of our obligations under the Federal Constitution and laws. Then we can cordially unite with them in claiming like obedience from those States which have renounced their allegiance. If the higher States will not do this, without any sacrifice of right or self-respect, the threatened danger may be averted.

Ours is a National Government. It lies within the sphere of its action all the attributes of sovereignty, and among these are the right to regulate the commerce of the States, based upon a compact to which all the people of the United States are parties. It is the result of mutual concessions, which were made for the purpose of securing reciprocal benefits. It acts directly on the public mind, and we owe it a personal allegiance. No part of the people, no State nor combination of States, can voluntarily secede from the Union, nor absolve themselves from their obligations to it. To permit a State to withdraw its allegiance from the Union, without the consent of the rest, is to confess that our government is a failure,—Pennsylvania can never acquiesce in such a conspiracy, nor assent to a doctrine which involves the destruction of the Union. If the Government is to exist, all the requirements of the Constitution must be obeyed; and it must have power adequate to the enforcement of the supreme law of the land in every State. It is the first duty of the National authorities to stay the progress of anarchy, and enforce the laws, and Pennsylvania with a united people, will give them an honest, faithful and active support. The people mean to preserve the integrity of the National Union at every hazard.

The Constitution which was originally framed to promote the welfare of thirteen States and four millions of people, in less than three quarters of a century has embraced thirty-three States and thirty millions of inhabitants. Our territory has been extended over new climates, including people with new interests and wants, and the Government has protected them all. Every thing requisite to the perpetuity of the Union and its expanding power, would seem to have been foreseen, and provided for by the wisdom and sagacity of the framers of the Constitution.

It is all we desire or hope for, and all that our fellow-countrymen who complain, can reasonably demand. It provides that amendments may be proposed by Congress; and whenever the necessity to amend shall occur, the people of Pennsylvania will give to the amendments which Congress may propose, the careful and deliberate consideration which their importance may demand. We are anxious to see the progress of our country, and to see the people of Pennsylvania, and a people who have lived so long, and enjoyed so much prosperity, who have as many sacred memories of the past, and such rich legacies to transmit to the future, should deliberate long and seriously, before they attempt to alter any of the fundamental principles of the great charter of our liberties.

I assume the duties of this high office at the most trying period in our national history. The public mind is agitated by fears, suspicions, and jealousies. Serious apprehensions of the future pervade the people. A preconcerted and organized effort has been made to disturb the stability of Government, and dissolve the Union of the States, and mar the symmetry and order of the noblest political structure ever devised and constructed by human wisdom. It shall be my earnest endeavor to justify the confidence which you have reposed in me, and to deserve your approbation. With consciousness of the rectitude of my intentions, with no resentments to cherish, no omittions to avow, and with a profound sense of the solemnity of my position, I humbly invoke the assistance of our Heavenly Father, in whom alone is my dependence, that His strength may sustain and His wisdom guide me. With His divine aid I shall apply myself faithfully and fearlessly to my responsible duties, and abide the judgment of a generous people.

Invoking the blessing of God our Father, upon our State and nation, it shall be the highest object of my ambition to contribute to the glory of the Commonwealth, maintain the civil and religious privileges of the people, and promote their union, prosperity, and happiness of the country.

When a man is dead, he is no longer one to cheer at, or condemn. His soul is God's, his poor, frail body a handful of dust in the great palm of Death.

Wendell Phillips keeps a body guard armed with revolvers, to prevent him being mobbed while making his diabolical Abolition speeches in Boston.

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Common lamp oil, rubbed over the hands every morning, is said to be sure cure for chapped hands. The best remedy for chapped lips, that we know, is to get married, and even that does not always cure them!

There are but seven States in the Union in which the doctor is not a member of the profession. They are Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Connecticut, New York, Delaware and Pennsylvania.

A lusty young fellow in a tattered garb, and a long beard that bespoke the extreme of distress, solicited an elderly gentleman for alms, in a piteous tone of voice; the benevolent gentleman gave him a shilling.

"What is that?" said the man, "I have not a penny to spare, but I will give you a shilling if you will let me know what I can do for you." "What was that?" said the gentleman impatiently. "To work," said the impostor.

That fair expression of their views of the true policy of the government can always be had, give to all well considered measures of legislation the solemn sanction of the highest power of the State, and it should not be arbitrarily interfered with. While I shall shrink from no duty involved by the sacred trust reposed in me by the people of the Commonwealth, I would have all other departments of the government appreciate the full measure of responsibility that devolves upon them.

The position of mutual estrangement in which the different sections of our country have been placed by the precipitate action and violent denunciation of heated partisans, the apprehension of still more serious complications of our political affairs, and the fearful uncertainty of the future, have had the effect of weakening commercial credit and partially interrupting trade; and, as a natural consequence, the progress of our industry has been retarded. Yet the elements of general prosperity are everywhere diffused amongst us, and nothing is wanting but a return of confidence, to enable us to reap the rich rewards of our diversified industry and enterprise. Should the restoration of confidence in business and commercial circles be long delayed, the Legislature, in its wisdom, will, I doubt not, meet the necessities of the crisis in a generous and patriotic spirit.

The late system of Government has fully answered the expectations of its founders, and has demonstrated the capacity of the people for self-government. The country has advanced in wealth, knowledge and power, and secured to all classes of its citizens the blessings of peace, prosperity and happiness. The workings of our simple and natural political organizations have given direction and energy to individual and associated enterprise, maintained public order, and promoted the welfare of our people. No one who knows the history of Pennsylvania and understands the opinions and feelings of her people, can justly quarrel with our system of Government. We regard them as our friends and fellow-citizens, and we are proud to be numbered in their ranks. We recognize, in their broadest extent all our constitutional obligations to them. These we are ready and willing to observe generously and fraternally in their letter and spirit, with unswerving fidelity.

The election of a President of the United States, according to the forms of the Constitution, has recently been made a pretext for disturbing the peace of the country by a desperate attempt to wrest from the Federal Government the powers which the people conferred on it when they adopted the Constitution. By this movement the question whether the government of the United States embodies the prerogatives, rights and powers of sovereignty, or is merely a creature of the people, a multitude of independent communities, confederated in a league which any one of them may dissolve at will, is now placed directly before the American people. Unhappily this question is presented in the simple form of political discussion, but complicated with the passions and jealousies of impending or actual conflict.

There is nothing in the life of Mr. Lincoln nor in any of his acts or declarations before or since his election, to warrant the apprehension that his Administration will be unfriendly to the local institutions of any of the States. No sentiments but those of kindness and cordiality have been expressed by him in regard to the constitutional majority which elected him; and nothing has occurred to justify the excitement which seems to have blinded the judgment of a part of the people, and is precipitating them upon the precipice of civil war.

The support of the National Government has been so fully admitted and so long cherished by the people of Pennsylvania, and so completely has the conviction of its nationality and sovereignty been fixed in their minds, that they are surprised at the pertinacity with which a portion of the people elsewhere maintain the opposite view. The traditions of the past, the recorded teachings of the Fathers of the Republic, the security of their freedom and property, and the peace and prosperity which have been enjoyed by them, are all in harmony with an unflinching allegiance to the National Union, the maintenance of the Constitution and the enforcement of the laws. They have faithfully adhered to the compromises of our great national compact, and will not be seduced by the artifices and suggestions of other States. Every true Pennsylvanian admits that his first civil and political duty is to the general government, and he frankly acknowledges his obligation to protect the constitutional rights of all who live under its authority and enjoy its blessings.

I have already taken occasion to say publicly, and I now repeat, that if we have any laws upon our statute books which infringe upon the rights of the people of any of the States, or contravene any law of the Federal Government, or obstruct its execution, they ought to be repealed. We ought not to hesitate to exhibit to other States that may have enacted laws interfering with the rights or obstructing the execution of any law of the Federal Government, and which belong constitutionally to all American citizens, an example of magnanimity and of implicit obedience to the paramount law, and by a prompt repeal of every statute that may even, by implication, be liable to reasonable objection, do away with the cause of dissatisfaction with our legislation.

Pennsylvania has never flattered in her recognition of all the duties imposed upon her by the national compact, and she will, by every act consistent with her devotion to the interests of her own people, promote fraternity and peace, and a liberal comity between the States. Her convictions on the vital questions which have agitated the public mind are well understood at home, and should not be misunderstood abroad. Her verdicts have been uniform as they have been decisive, in favor of the dignity, the prosperity and the progress of her free industry, and support of the principles of liberty on which the government is founded, and menace or rebellion cannot be tolerated. Her judgment of her people, expressed in a peaceful, fraternal and constitutional manner; and when they shall have been administered in the government, as soon as they will subside, as their patriotic, faithful and national aims bring ample protection and peaceful progress to all sections of the Republic.

In the grave questions which now agitate the country, no State has more to be concerned than Pennsylvania. Occupying a geographical position between the North and the South, the East and West, with the great avenues of travel and trade passing through her borders, carrying an extensive commerce with her neighbors, in the vast and varied productions of her soil, her mines and her manufacturing industry and bound to them by the ties of kindred and social intercourse, the question of disunion involves momentous consequences to her people. The security of the thirty-three States in population, and first in material resources, it is due both to ourselves and to the other States, that the position and sentiments of Pennsylvania on the question should be distinctly understood.

All the elements of wealth and greatness have been spread over the State by a kind Providence with profuse liberality. Our temperate climate, productive soil, and inexhaustible mineral wealth, have stimulated the industry of our people and improved the skill of our mechanics. To develop, enlarge and protect the interests which grow out of our natural advantages, have become cardinal principles of political economy in Pennsylvania, and the opinion everywhere prevails among our people that development, progress and wealth depend on educated and required labor; and that labor, and the interests sustained by it, should be adequately protected against foreign competition. The people of Pennsylvania have always favored that policy, which aims to elevate and foster the industry of the country in the collection of revenue for the support of the General Government; and whenever they have had the opportunity, in a fair election, they have indicated that policy at the ballot-box. When their trade was protected and their industry paralyzed by the legislation of the General Government, which favored adverse interests, they waited patiently for the return of another opportunity to declare the will of the people in a constitutional manner. In the late election of President Lincoln, the United States, the principle of protection was one of the prominent issues. With the proceedings of Congress at its last session fresh in their memories, a large majority of the people of Pennsylvania enrolled themselves in an organization, which, in its declaration of principles, promised, if successful, to be faithful to their suffering interests and languishing industry. Protection to labor was one of the greatest principles of its platform; it was inscribed on its banners; it was the theme of its public journals; and throughout the canvass it was a leading text of the orators of the successful party.

This is a propitious moment to declare that while the people of Pennsylvania were not different to other vital issues of the canvass, they were demanding justice for themselves in the recent election, and had no design to interfere with or abridge the rights of the people of other States. The groves of the past had been retarded by the revocation of the principle of protection from the revenue laws of the national government; bankruptcy had crushed the energies of many of our most enterprising citizens; but no voice of disloyalty or treason was heard, nor was there any offer of violence to the sacred fabric of our national Union. Conscious of their rights and their power, our people looked to the ballot-box alone as the legal remedy for existing evils.

In the present unhappy condition of the country, it will be our duty to unite with the people of the States which remain loyal to the Union, in any just and honorable measures of conciliation and fraternal kindness. Let us invite them to join with us in the discharge of our obligations under the Federal Constitution and laws. Then we can cordially unite with them in claiming like obedience from those States which have renounced their allegiance. If the higher States will not do this, without any sacrifice of right or self-respect, the threatened danger may be averted.

Ours is a National Government. It lies within the sphere of its action all the attributes of sovereignty, and among these are the right to regulate the commerce of the States, based upon a compact to which all the people of the United States are parties. It is the result of mutual concessions, which were made for the purpose of securing reciprocal benefits. It acts directly on the public mind, and we owe it a personal allegiance. No part of the people, no State nor combination of States, can voluntarily secede from the Union, nor absolve themselves from their obligations to it. To permit a State to withdraw its allegiance from the Union, without the consent of the rest, is to confess that our government is a failure,—Pennsylvania can never acquiesce in such a conspiracy, nor assent to a doctrine which involves the destruction of the Union. If the Government is to exist, all the requirements of the Constitution must be obeyed; and it must have power adequate to the enforcement of the supreme law of the land in every State. It is the first duty of the National authorities to stay the progress of anarchy, and enforce the laws, and Pennsylvania with a united people, will give them an honest, faithful and active support. The people mean to preserve the integrity of the National Union at every hazard.

The Constitution which was originally framed to promote the welfare of thirteen States and four millions of people, in less than three quarters of a century has embraced thirty-three States and thirty millions of inhabitants. Our territory has been extended over new climates, including people with new interests and wants, and the Government has protected them all. Every thing requisite to the perpetuity of the Union and its expanding power, would seem to have been foreseen, and provided for by the wisdom and sagacity of the framers of the Constitution.

It is all we desire or hope for, and all that our fellow-countrymen who complain, can reasonably demand. It provides that amendments may be proposed by Congress; and whenever the necessity to amend shall occur, the people of Pennsylvania will give to the amendments which Congress may propose, the careful and deliberate consideration which their importance may demand. We are anxious to see the progress of our country, and to see the people of Pennsylvania, and a people who have lived so long, and enjoyed so much prosperity, who have as many sacred memories of the past, and such rich legacies to transmit to the future, should deliberate long and seriously, before they attempt to alter any of the fundamental principles of the great charter of our liberties.

I assume the duties of this high office at the most trying period in our national history. The public mind is agitated by fears, suspicions, and jealousies. Serious apprehensions of the future pervade the people. A preconcerted and organized effort has been made to disturb the stability of Government, and dissolve the Union of the States, and mar the symmetry and order of the noblest political structure ever devised and constructed by human wisdom. It shall be my earnest endeavor to justify the confidence which you have reposed in me, and to deserve your approbation. With consciousness of the rectitude of my intentions, with no resentments to cherish, no omittions to avow, and with a profound sense of the solemnity of my position, I humbly invoke the assistance of our Heavenly Father, in whom alone is my dependence, that His strength may sustain and His wisdom guide me. With His divine aid I shall apply myself faithfully and fearlessly to my responsible duties, and abide the judgment of a generous people.

Invoking the blessing of God our Father, upon our State and nation, it shall be the highest object of my ambition to contribute to the glory of the Commonwealth, maintain the civil and religious privileges of the people, and promote their union, prosperity, and happiness of the country.

When a man is dead, he is no longer one to cheer at, or condemn. His soul is God's, his poor, frail body a handful of dust in the great palm of Death.

Wendell Phillips keeps a body guard armed with revolvers, to prevent him being mobbed