Patriot Union.

VOL. 3. HARRISBURG, PA., WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 23, 1861. NO. 121.

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

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

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

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

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Half sq., one day	$0.25	One sq., one day	$0.50
" one week	1.00	" one week	1.25
" one month	2.00	" one month	3.00
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☞ The number of insertions must be designated on the advertisement.

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

Books, Stationery, &c.

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

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

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

JUST RECEIVED

AT

SCHEFFER'S BOOKSTORE,

ADAMANTINE SLATES

OF VARIOUS SIZES AND PRICES,

Which, for beauty and use, cannot be excelled.

REMEMBER THE PLACE,

SCHEFFER'S BOOKSTORE,

NO. 18 MARKET STREET. mar2

NEW BOOKS!

JUST RECEIVED

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

JUST RECEIVED,

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

WALL PAPER! WALL PAPER!!

Just received, our Spring Stock of WALL PAPER, BORDERS, FIRE SCREENS, &c., &c. It is the largest and best selected assortment in the city, ranging in price from six (6) cents up to one dollar and a quarter ($1.25.)

As we purchase very low for cash, we are prepared to sell at as low rates, if not lower, than can be had elsewhere. If purchasers will call and examine, we feel confident that we can please them in respect to price and quality. E. M POLLOCK & SON,
ap3 Below Jones' House, Market Square.

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

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

Miscellaneous.

AN ARRIVAL OF

NEW GOODS

APPROPRIATE TO THE SEASON!

SILK FANS! LINEN FANS!! PAPER FANS!!!

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

B. J. HARRIS,
WORKER IN TIN,
SHEET IRON, AND
METALLIC ROOFING,
Second Street, below Chestnut,
HARRISBURG, PA.
Is prepared to fill orders for any article in his branch of business; and if not on hand, he will make to order on short notice.
METALLIC ROOFING, of Tin or Galvanized Iron, constantly on hand.
Also, Tin and Sheet-Iron Ware, Spouting, &c.
He hopes, by strict attention to the wants of his customers, to merit and receive a generous share of public patronage.
☞ Every promise strictly fulfilled.
B. J. HARRIS,
jan7-d1y] Second Street, below Chestnut.

FISH!! FISH!!!

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

CHAMPAGNE WINES!

DUC DE MONTEBELLO,
HEIDSIECK & CO.,
CHARLES HEIDSIECK,
GIESLER & CO.,
ANCHOR—SILLERY MOUSSEUX,
SPARKLING MUSCATEL,
MUMM & CO.'S,
VERZENAY,
CABINET.
In store and for sale by
JOHN H. ZIEGLER,
de20 72 Market street.

HICKORY WOOD!!—A SUPERIOR LOT just received, and for sale in quantities to suit purchasers, by JAMES M. WHEELER.
Also, OAK AND PINE constantly on hand at the lowest prices. dec6

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

CRANBERRIES!!!—A SPLENDID LOT just received by
oct10 WM. DOCK, JR., & CO.

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

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

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

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

Coal.

TO THE PUBLIC!

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

COAL! COAL!!

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

UP TOWN!

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

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

Medical.

HELMBOLD'S HELMBOLD'S
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FOR SECRET AND DELICATE DISORDERS.
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FOR SECRET AND DELICATE DISORDERS.

A Positive and Specific Remedy.
A Positive and Specific Remedy.
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A Positive and Specific Remedy.
A Positive and Specific Remedy.
A Positive and Specific Remedy.
A Positive and Specific Remedy.

FOR DISEASES OF THE

BLADDER, GRAVEL, KIDNEYS, DROPSY,
BLADDER, GRAVEL, KIDNEYS, DROPSY,
BLADDER, GRAVEL, KIDNEYS, DROPSY,
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ORGANIC WEAKNESS,
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And all Diseases of Sexual Organs,
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And all Diseases of Sexual Organs,
And all Diseases of Sexual Organs,
And all Diseases of Sexual Organs,
And all Diseases of Sexual Organs,

ARISING FROM

Excesses, Exposures, and Imprudencies in Life.
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Excesses, Exposures, and Imprudencies in Life.
Excesses, Exposures, and Imprudencies in Life.
From whatever cause originating, and whether existing in
MALE OR FEMALE.

Females, take no more Pills! They are of no avail for Complaints incident to the sex. Use
EXTRACT BUCHU.
Helmbold's Extract Buchu is a Medicine which is perfectly pleasant in its
TASTE AND ODOR,
But immediate in its action, giving Health and Vigor to the Frame, Bloom to the Pallid Cheek, and restoring the patient to a perfect state of
HEALTH AND PURITY.
Helmbold's Extract Buchu is prepared according to Pharmacy and Chemistry, and is prescribed and used by
THE MOST EMINENT PHYSICIANS.
Delay no longer. Procure the remedy at once.
Price $1 per bottle, or six for $5.
Depot 104 South Tenth street, Philadelphia.

BEWARE OF UNPRINCIPLED DEALERS
Trying to palm off their own or other articles of BUCHU on the reputation attained by
HELMBOLD'S EXTRACT BUCHU,
The Original and only Genuine.
We desire to run on the
MERIT OF OUR ARTICLE!
Their's is worthless—is sold at much less rates and commissions, consequently paying a much better profit.
WE DEFY COMPETITION!
Ask for
HELMBOLD'S EXTRACT BUCHU.
Take no other.
Sold by JOHN WYETH, Druggist, corner of Market and Second streets, Harrisburg,
AND ALL DRUGGISTS EVERYWHERE.
no14 d&w3m.

EXTRACTS! EXTRACTS!!

WOODSWORTH & BUNNEL'S
SUPERIOR FLAVORING EXTRACTS
OF
BITTER ALMOND,
NECTARINE,
PINE APPLE,
STRAWBERRY,
ROSE,
LEMON AND
VANILLA,
Just received and for sale by
je20 WM. DOCK, JR., & CO.

The Patriot & Union.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, JAN. 23, 1861.

THE NATIONAL CRISIS.

We present below two Democratic speeches on the Senate resolutions, relative to the perpetuity of the Union. They were delivered in the House of Representatives by Messrs. Hill, of Montgomery, and Bryne, of Luzerne. Mr. Hill said:

Mr. Speaker. When these resolutions were first placed upon our file it was my purpose simply to record my vote, without speech or comment. They have given rise to a general debate, and the whole political field has been traversed. Whilst I deplore the tone of partizanship which gentlemen have indulged in, I do not regret that there has been opportunity offered for free and full expression of opinion. These expressions, more than anything embraced in the resolutions themselves, constrain me to ask the indulgence of the House while I make a few remarks. I will confine myself to those of a general character. I will, as far as the case will admit, refrain from any expression of mere partizan influence. I consider the time for that has gone by, and I am impelled to say that he, of the dominant party, now in existence, who indulges in political harangues against the Democratic party, mistakes his position, and, in my judgment, does not fully comprehend the serious questions which now agitate the people, and threaten to destroy the noblest fabric in the world.

The American people, of all others, should feel a deep, abiding interest in all that pertains to the welfare of the nation. On the face of God's green earth there is not a land where all the elements so combine to add to our comfort, our wealth and prosperity.

The traveler may wend his way around the habitable globe, and he will not find a single nation whose government can compare with ours in all that exalts man, and bestows privileges and renders him secure in all that he esteems and holds dear.

Never since our country was established as a nation has there been a period when there has been such great anxiety, such painful forebodings, as at present.

Dark, portentous clouds hang over us, threatening to pour down a deluge to sweep away all that we have been taught to prize. When deep muttering peals of thunder roll along the arch of Heaven, and the swift-winged lightnings flash across our pathway, we are warned that the storm approaches, and the prudent man seeks shelter from its violence and fury. No man who reads and listens can fail to be impressed with the startling fact that at this time over our land hangs the dark pall of death.—And however painful it may be to contemplate the deplorable condition to which we are reduced, we should, nevertheless, by no means shut our eyes to the fact, and listen to some syren voice until we are transformed into beasts. Let us rather look the danger full in the face, and by wise counsels do whatever, and all that may be in our power, to avert the direful calamity.

I propose, Mr. Speaker, briefly, in considering the proposition which the resolutions embrace and make reference to, to consider the wants and our course of conduct in the past, present and future. These are three great divisions of time, and eternity can be no greater.

The past is gone, and is irrevocable—all the words and deeds of men are entered on the record—and whether they be wise or foolish, whether for weal or woe, they cannot be recalled, or by any human ingenuity erased—they will go down to succeeding ages, and will be taken cognizance of according to their deserts. Yet notwithstanding they are so irrevocable and unchangable, it may be made a profitable employment to take the retrospective glance, and meditate on the influences which time has matured and circumstances developed, and to draw our inferences, and learn the great lessons of life, and to shape and conduct our course according to the judgments we may form. There is no way of judging of the future as well as from the lessons of the past. The present is like the fleeting shadow of a cloud. It hurries by into the ocean Past before one can fully comprehend its presence. Like the swift-winged lightning flash, it appears and disappears, ere we can pronounce the words—*it lightens.*

The future, Mr. Speaker, is ours, and if we are wise, may be improved. To this end let us apply ourselves. With a deep sense of our obligations and the sacredness of our trust; let us do nothing that will endanger our Union, let us do everything honorable to restore it to peace and safety. It is but a little over three score and ten years since by solemn compact we became a united nation. We had just emerged from a long and trying war; and at its close our fathers found themselves in a strange and anomalous condition. Their independence, for which they had united and struggled, was acknowledged by the mother country, and yet there was nothing to unite them or make them one people; they were still thirteen separate and distinct sovereign States. In order to meet the emergency, a convention was called, for the purpose of forming a "more perfect union, to establish justice, to ensure domestic tranquility, to provide for the common defence, to promote the general welfare, and secure to them and their posterity the blessings of liberty."

There was then, as now, diversity of opinion and conflicting interests. In that Convention were wise and good men—our Washington, Franklin and Madison. They had much to encounter. Their difficulties at one time appeared to be almost insurmountable—they invoked the throne of Heaven—they made concession—they practiced conciliation, and as the first of their labors they formed an instrument, which, for wisdom and admirable construction of checks and balances, stands unrivalled by anything that has emanated from man. The people endorsed and ratified their action, and we had for our bond of union the Constitution of the United States of America.

Under that Constitution we have prospered beyond any nation on the globe. It has been, and still is, the great bulwark of our past greatness—the palladium of our future hopes. Our territory has spread from the Bay of Fundy on the North, to the Gulf of Mexico on the South, and across the entire continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. From three millions we have become thirty millions. From thirteen States we now number thirty-three.—Our public debt, which at the close of the war, amounted to seventy-five millions of dollars, was on the 1st day of January, 1835, entirely paid off, and we presented the imposing spectacle of a great and powerful nation free from debt.

In viewing the greatness and unexampled prosperity of this nation, under all the circumstances, our hearts are filled with gratitude to that Omnipotent Power who controls the universe.

But man, in his prosperity, becomes forgetful of his blessings, and in a spirit of defiance or arrogance will oft times destroy that which he should be most careful to preserve. We have heard from a gentleman who stands very high in the country that "there is a higher law than the Constitution."

We have heard from another, who stands also high in the estimation of a large party, "that the times demand, and we must have, an anti-slavery Constitution."

We have also heard from impious and profane lips that our Constitution was a covenant with Death and an agreement with Hell. And if the toad-spotted traitor who made the utterance had been banished from the land, he would have had his just deserts.

These doctrines I conceive to be very dangerous, and lead, and have led, to that deplorable condition in our national affairs which have prompted the introduction of the resolutions now before us.

No man will deny that the feeling which has given rise to these expressions, is a feeling of hostility against one of the institutions of the Southern States. That sentiment has been gradually growing, until it now pervades the majority in all the Northern States. It has manifested its hatred in various ways, and that unceasingly. It has established what is termed the underground railroad, for the purpose of robbing our brethren of the South of their property.

It has sown broad-cast Abolition incendiary documents for the purpose of inciting the slaves to insurrection and murder. It has produced mad fanaticism, and caused raids upon other States, armed with the weapons of death and destruction.

It has placed on our statute books unfriendly, if not unconstitutional laws, the obvious intention and effect of which are to nullify the Constitution of the United States, and the laws made in pursuance thereof, which are the supreme law of the land, and which legislators take a solemn oath, before Almighty God, that they will support.

It has appealed to the passions and prejudices of man from the press, the stump and the sacred pulpit, until the heart of the North is entirely alienated from their brethren of the South.

It has been indefatigable in scattering fire brands, arrows and death, till they have so far been successful, as to array the eighteen Northern States, with their one hundred and eighty votes in the electoral college, against the fifteen Southern States, with their one hundred and twenty-three votes.

It has built up a great political party that is in its character sectional or geographical, which Washington, in his last affectionate farewell address, cautioned us so much against, and advised "a frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest." It was to this party that the great and illustrious Henry Clay appealed, when he exclaimed in the United States Senate in 1839—"I beseech you solemnly to pause in your mad and fatal course, and select some object of humanity more harmless, that does not threaten to deluge our country in blood, and which must inevitably lead to the most calamitous consequences." Is this prophecy about to be fulfilled? Has the crisis arrived?

Aristotle, the great master of political science, has told us in one of his aphorisms, that revolutions do not take place for small causes, but *from* small causes. It was not merely the *small tax* on tea that caused our fathers to take up arms against the mother country. There had been a continued series of grievances, in which there was a principle involved, and when the blast of war was once sounded, it was folly to cry, Peace, Peace, no matter how unprepared or unexpected it might be. On the 21st day of February, 1848, Paris was as calm as an unclouded sky—there was no sign of approaching storm. French stocks were at par, the theatres were open, and the people were engaged, as usual, in their avocations. On the 24th, three days after, Louis Phillippe was fleeing in disguise; the Tuileries were sacked, and the oldest monarcy of Europe ceased to exist.

So was it in ancient Rome. In her palmiest day, when she had conquered the fairest portion of the earth and she was justly styled the mistress of the world, lawless ambition plotted destruction and at the foot of Pompey's statue, (which the Poet writes, all the while ran blood,) great Cæsar fell, and in the ears of astonished men the cry was "Havoc, and let slip the dogs of war." Her streets were deluged with the blood of her citizens. Brother fought with brother; and she fell from her high estate, and now her name stands on the page of history as a bye-word and a reproach!

It was so in St. Domingo in 1791. No one anticipated an outbreak. It came like a thief in the night, and the most murderous and atrocious deeds were committed. The abominations inflicted by the blacks were too horrible for christian lips to speak or christian ears to listen to.

To save my country from the calamity of civil war with all its terrible consequences, I advise, with all earnestness, at this present time, that we pass no resolutions but such as shall breathe a spirit of peace and conciliation. Let us entirely exhaust all honorable means; let us exercise forbearance; let us counsel together; let us make all honorable sacrifices—and when all shall fail, if fail they must, then, and not till then, will we be justified in proposing the means of war. The people are anxious, and looking to us, their servants, to repeal certain acts relative to the rendition of fugitive slaves, considered unfriendly and unnecessary. Let us make manifest that the people of Pennsylvania are willing and ready, not only to support the Constitution of the United States according to its letter, but in its very spirit. I repeat, Mr. SPEAKER, its very spirit. For the protection of the Union, and the prompt execution of the laws, I yield the palm to no man. I am as ready to enter the field and jeopard my life, my all, as he who cries the loudest; but the time is, in my opinion, not yet at hand. Our endeavor should be to avert the calamity—to still the storm—to restore quietude. The gentleman from Allegheny advises extirpation; the use of fire and the sword; the implements of death. His counsel I do not approve of. I will not consent to it. I will not follow. I will not share the awful resposibility. I will use all my best efforts against it. I will vote against every resolution that *looks* toward such a purpose; and in doing so I will feel my conscience clear. I will feel that I am supported by the whole Democratic party of the noble Keystone State. I will feel that my course will be approved of by a very large majority of the conservatives—the good men of all parties; and if war, with all its horrors, shall be prevented, and the Union saved, and the stars and stripes still float to the gentle breeze of Heaven, I will rejoice with a heart full of gratitute and praise to him, who is Lord over all and holds in His hand the destiny of the Nation.

SPEECH OF MR. BYRNE.

Mr. BYRNE. Mr. SPEAKAR, we have arrived at strange times. A part of our Union is now in open rebellion. Another part, our sister States of the border, yet remain friendly. It will be recollected that sometime ago there was amongst us in the North a party whose spirit was eternal hostility to the South. That party seems to have been swallowed up; but there is before this House this evening conclusive evidence that the sentiments of that abolition party yet survive. Is this now a time to cast firebrands around us—to tell the South that they are asking of us to bow in submission to them, and to eat dirt at their bidding? Is that the language which should be held at this time? My opinion is that a different position is much the wiser and better.

I propose to say a few words in regard to those portions of that act of 1860 which it is proposed to repeal. My friends from Jefferson (Mr. Gordon) and Philadelphia (Mr. Abbott) contend that there is nothing in any of those sections conflicting with the Constitution. I take an entirely different view. I consider parts of those sections to be unconstitutional. I think they should be blotted out, and I will give my reasons.

We have presented to us petitions from thousands of citizens asking for their abrogation; but we have not a single petition asking that they shall still be retained upon our statute book. The gentleman from Jefferson has declared that in his portion of the country the people are of opinion that the ninety-fifth and ninety-sixth sections should remain. In regard to my county, I may say that, if I am rightly informed, there are fifteen thousand voters there who wish that portion of those sections should be blotted from our statute book. I have not spoken to a Republican or Democrat in Luzerne county who does not wish for their repeal.

Mr. FRAZIER. I would like to ask the gentleman a question.

Mr. BYRNE. I will answer a short one.

Mr. FRAZIER. I would like to ask whether the gentleman did not vote for this same Penal Cobe last year.

Mr. BYRNE. I think not. I cannot say whether I did or not; I suppose not.

But it is argued that these portions of our law should not be repealed. What reasons are given? It is said that because commissioners were appointed fully conversant with the laws and who reported these sections, and because our Democratic Governor signed the bill, these enactments should be retained. If this argument proves anything, it proves too much.—This Penal Code was submitted to the Senate and the House; and in both branches of the Legislature many parts of this excellent compendium were changed, some struck out and others inserted. If this Penal Code fell from the hands of the commissioners pure as the dew of Heaven falling on the rose, why did members of the Legislature presume to change portions of this already perfect work. As to the statement that this code received the sanction of the Governor, let me remark that we do not always conform to the opinions of the Governor. Numerous bills, as we all know, have received the disapproval of the Governor; yet this House, not accepting his opinion, has, in its wisdom, presumed to disregard his recommendations. Hence, I say, that these arguments prove too much.

At any rate, is it to be maintained that, because certain portions of our laws have, at some time received the approval of certain authorities, they shall never be modified or repealed, as subsequent circumstances may require? Have not the people spoken? Have not they called on us to repeal these sections? If I understand the Inaugural of our present Governor, he calls for the repeal. The late Governor has called for it. Here then are strong and powerful reasons; but there is yet another; the repeal would be a peace offering—such a peace offering as we should make to our sister States of the South. What is there in these enactments which imperatively demands that we shall retain them on our statute books? Who ever heard of a case in which a slave-owner attempted to arrest his fugitive in a riotous and tumultuous manner? The person who attempts to arrest a fugitive slave comes armed with the warrant of the law, and is it to be presumed that he will exercise his authority in a riotous manner?

Suppose the gentleman from Jefferson (Mr. GORDON) had stolen from him his watch or his horse, or anything else of value, would he hesitate a moment in retaking his stolen property? But he is more imperatively called upon to assist, when necessary, in re-capturing a fugitive slave.

I think, sir, that the Constitution demands of us a repeal of those portions of our statutes which plainly interfere with the successful assertion of a Constitutional claim.

Are we to throw a barrier in the way of the execution of that law? I take it that we are not to do so. The very act restricting the power of our State magistrates is contrary to the law of 1793, which was recommended by George Washington, and the constitutionality of which has been fully sustained.

We have already had, in the course of this debate, much citation of legal authority. Some lawyers, let me say, can make their law-books serve like musical instruments; they can make them perform various tunes at various times. I shall, therefore, take the liberty of reading an extract from the case already so much referred to—that of Prigg *vs.* the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. I read from the decision of Chief Justice Story, at page 622:

"As to the authority so conferred upon State magistrates, while a difference of opinion has existed, and may still exist on the point, in the different States, whether State magistrates are bound to act under it, none is entertained by this court, that State magistrates may, if they choose, exercise that authority unless prohibited by State legislation."

In the very face of this decision, we have enacted a law prohibiting our magistrates from taking jurisdiction of the case of a fugitive slave. Is this carrying out our constitutional obligations? Our constitutional duty has been declared by the highest authority. If this House should pass an enactment declaring a law constitutional or unconstitutional, that would not decide the point. But is not the meaning of the Constitution plain on its face? The Constitution says that fugitive slaves "shall be delivered up." Does not that give the owner the right to re capture his slave? Is language to have any meaning? But the law of Pennsylvania says the State Judge shall not act; the State officers shall not act; they shall not deliver up to the master a runaway slave. Here is our enactment in direct contradiction of the words of the Constitution. Under the laws of Pennsylvania the master cannot exercise his constitutional right; he dare not do it.

On the law question before us, we have had offered to us some English authorities. I do not care much about them—very little indeed. Such authorities are sometimes like spent thunderbolts—things that may be laughed at. In other cases such authorities may be very good law.

When the repeal of these sections has been recommended by our late Governor—when it has been recommended in the Inaugural of our present Governor—when we have had hundreds of petitions demanding this repeal—when we have, too, not a single petition presented demanding that these enactments shall remain—why should we hesitate as to the propriety of removing from our statute books these objectionable provisions? What can prompt their retention but a spirit of hostility to the South?

The gentleman from Schuylkill (Mr. Bartholomew,) has declared that pennsylvania is not in favor of recapturing slaves. I cannot agree with that gentleman. Is it to be said that Pennsylvania is not in favor of fulfilling her sworn obligations to the Constitution?—Pennsylvania not in favor of discharging her duty! I cannot agree with the gentleman; such an idea is a total misconception.

I regret that the gentleman hurls the whole blame of our present difficulties upon us few unfortunate Democrats. I cannot agree with the gentleman. Does he not remember to have heard through the newspapers of the day—newspapers of his own county—does he not remember to have heard before the election that "slavery and polygamy are twin-relics of barbarism?" Where did that sentiment emanate? Did not the Chicago Convention nominate the very man who had declared that this Union, as it has existed from the time of our fathers, cannot stand—that it must be all free States or all slave States? Who was it that made a motion that the word "National," should be stricken from your platform? Does not the gentleman remember that incident of the Chicago convention.

Mr, PATTERSON. Will the gentleman from Luzerne allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. BYRNE. Yes, sir.

Mr. PATTERSON. I should like to ask the gentleman whether Mr. Lincoln did say that this Union cannot be maintained?

Mr. BYRNE. Yes, sir; he said so in Illinois in 1858.

Mr. PATTERSON. Can the gentleman produce the authority?

Mr. BYRNE. I think I can; I have not it here at present; but I think I can. I presume the fact is patent to every gentleman who has read the newspapers, and I am astonished that my friend should ask me such a question. I did not suppose there was a politician in the land who was not familiar with that declaration of Mr. Lincoln's.

Why was it that the representatives of the slave States were hissed when the names of their States were called in the Chicago convention? Who was it that made a motion in that convention that no delegate from a slave State should be received there?

Gentlemen, I do not mention these things in any harsh spirit; but accusations have been hurled upon me and my party, and I hurl them back.

Sir, I have never believed that by virtue of the Constitution slavery exists in the Territories. I have never believed that Stephen A. Douglas was in favor of squatter sovereignty. I have believed him to be in favor of popular sovereignty; and those gentlemen who will take the trouble to read his speeches will see clearly pointed out the distinction between squatter and popular sovereignty.

Mr. ABBOTT. I ask the gentleman's pardon.

Mr. BYRNE. It is granted before you ask.

Mr. ABBOTT. I ask the gentleman's pardon and that of the adherents of Mr. Douglas, if I used the word "squatter." I intended to say popular sovereignty. I admit my mistake, and I desire to correct it.

Mr. BYRNE. All right, sir. Popular Sovereignty is the sovereignty of the people; and who is against that? Does the gentleman from Philadelphia (Mr. ABBOTT) oppose that? Does he pretend that the people should not govern in all places? Certainly he cannot be against that doctrine. The position of Stephen A. Douglas is, that when a portion of our territory has been organized as a territory by act of Congress, then the power to exclude or to allow slavery vests in the people. I have heard nothing to contradict that doctrine. I have heard no argument that can make a province of a territory. I have heard no argument that can take away from the people their rights in a territory. If a citizen of Pennsylvania goes to a territory, does he leave behind him all his political power? The affirmative of this will hardly be maintained.

As I have said, I would, at a time like this, hold out the olive-branch to our sister States. I care nothing for South Carolina. Against such a cause as her hostility to the Union I would place myself in the foremost rank of an army, such as that of M'Donald at the battle of Wagram, where, out of fifteen thousand men, fifteen hundred overthrew the Austrians, and gained the victory. I care nothing for South Carolina—rebels ought to be treated as they deserve. But those who love this glorious Union should stand up and maintain it whole and undivided forever.

MR. DOUGLAS' SUBSTITUTE PROPOSED TO BE OFFERED SHOULD MR. CRITTENDEN'S RESOLUTIONS FAIL TO PASS.

Amendments Proposed to the Constitution of the United States.

ARTICLE THIRTEEN.—Sec. 1. Congress shall make no laws in respect to domestic servitude in any Territory of the United States; and all Territorial governments shall be formed on the model and in the terms of the organic acts approved September nine, eighteen hundred and fifty, called "*The Compromise Measures*;" and the validity of all Territorial enactments shall be finally determined by the Supreme Court of the United States, on appeal, or writ of error from the Territorial courts; but no new Territory shall be organized until it shall contain twenty thousand white inhabitants; nor shall any new State be admitted into the Union until it shall contain the requisite population for a representative in Congress, according to the then federal ratio of representation.

Sec. 2. Congress shall have no power to abolish or interfere with the relation of persons held to service or labor in any State, under the laws thereof; nor in any place under the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress, and situate within the limits of any State or Territory under whose laws persons are held to service or labor; nor shall Congress have power to abolish or impair the relation of persons held to service or labor in the District of Columbia, under the laws in force therein, without the consent of Maryland and Virginia, so long as such relation shall exist in either of those States under the laws thereof; nor shall Congress have power to interfere with or prevent the removal of persons held to service or labor from one State or Territory to another.

Sec. 3. The African slave trade shall be forever suppressed; and it shall be the duty of Congress to make such laws as will effectually prevent the immigration or importation into the United States of persons held to service or labor for life or for a period years, or of any person intended to be so held in any State or place within the United States, under any pretence whatever.

Sec. 4. The second clause of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution shall be construed to include all crimes committed within and against the State or place from which the fugitive fled, whether the acts charged were criminal or not in the place where the fugitive was found.

Sec. 5. The elective franchise and the right to hold office, whether federal, State, territorial or municipal, shall not be exercised by persons of the African race, in whole or in part.

Sec. 6. The United States shall have power to acquire districts of country in Africa or South America, for the colonization, at the expense of the federal treasury, of such free negroes and mulattoes as the several States may desire to have removed from within their limits, and from the District of Columbia, and such other places as may be under the jurisdiction of Congress.

Sec. 7. Whenever any person held to service or labor, as provided in the third clause of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution, shall escape, and the marshal or