evertisement.

If Marriages and Deaths will be inserted at the same essert the

Books, Stationery, &c.

assorting in part the follow Market Square, Harrisburg, comprising in part the follow

ng—READERS.—McGuffey's, Parker's, Cobb's, Angell's READERS.—McGuffey's, Cobb's, Webster's, Town's, Byerly's. Combry's.—Bullion's, Smith's, Wood bridge's, Monteith.s, Tuthill's, Hart's, Wells'.—HISTORIES.—Grimshaw's, Davenport's, Frost's, Wilson's, Willard's, Goodrich's, Pinnock's, Goldsmith's and

Olark's. ARITHMETIO'S.—Greenleaf's, Stoddard's, Emerson's, ARITHMETIO'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. — Walker's Schoel, Cobb's, Walker, DICTIONARYS. — Walker's Schoel, Cobb's, Walker, Worcester's Comprehensive, Worcester's Primary, Webster's High School, Webster's Quarte, ster's Primary, Webster's High School, Webster's Quarte, natural Philosophirs.—Comstock's, Parker's, NATURAL PHILOSOPHIRS.—Comstock's, Parker's, Bwift's. The above with a great variety of others can at any time be found at my stare. Also, a complete assortment of School Stationery, embracing in the while a complete outfit for school purposes. Any book not in the store. procured at one days notice.

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ALMANACS.—John Baer and Son's Almanac for sale at M. POLLOCK & SON'S BOOK STORE, Harrisburg.

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UST RECEIVED

SCHEFFER'S BOOKSTORE, ADAMANTINE SLATES

AT

OF VARIOUS SIZES AND PRICES,

Which, for beauty and use, cannot be excelled,

REMEMBER THE PLACE,

SCHEFFER'S BOOKSTORE, NO. 18 MARKET STREET.

EW 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,

No. 18 Marke st. UST 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,
It [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 aquarter (\$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.

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

LAW BOOKS! LAW BOOKS!!-A Reports and Standard Elementary Works, with many of the old English Reports, scarce and rave, together with a large assortment of second-hand Law Books, at very low prices, at the name wice Rockstone of low prices, at the one price Bookstore of
E. M. POLLOCK & SON,
mvs Market Square, Harrisburg.

Miscellaneous.

AN ARRIVAL OF NEW GOODS APPROPRIATE TO THE SEASON! SILK LINEN PAPER FANS! FANS!! FANS!!!

ANOTHER AND SPLENDID LOT OF SPLICED FISHING RODS! Trout Plies, 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 Loaded Sword Hickory Fancy Canes! Canes! Canes! Canes! KELLER'S DRUG AND FANCY STORE, NO. 91 MARKET STREET,

South side, one door east of Fourth street je9. J. HARRIS,

WORKER IN TIN, SHEET IRON, AND METALLIC ROOFING,

Second Street, below Chestnut, HARRISBURG, PA. HARRISBURG, PA.

1s 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, Tiu and Sheet-Iron Ware, Sponting, &c.

He hopes, by strict attention to the wants of his customers, to merit and receive a generous share of public pat-

ronage.

II Ivery premise strictly fulfilled.

B. J. HARRIS,
jan7-dly] Second Street, below Chestmat.

DISH!! 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—DIEECT FROM THE FISHERIES, and will sell them at the lowest market rates.

Sep14 WM. DOCK, Jr., & CO.

CHAMPAGNE WINESI DUC DE MONTEBELLO, HEIDSTECK & CO., CHARLES HEIDSTECK,

Jarles Heidsleor,
Giesler & Co.,
Anchor—Sillery Mousseux,
Sparkling Muscatel,
Mumm & Co.'s,
Verzenay,
Cabinet.

In store and for sale by

JOHN H. ZIEGLER,

73 Market street.

HICKORY WOOD!!—A SUPERIOR LOT just received, and for sale in quantities to sait purchasers, by JAMES M. WHEELER. Also, OAK AND PINE constantly on hand at the lowest prices. FAMILY BIBLES, from 18 to \$10,

strong and handsomely bound, printed on good paper, with elegant clear new type, sold at mch31 SOHEFFER'S Cheap Bookstore. ORANBERRIES!!!—A SPLENDID LOT

Ujust received by WM. DOCK, Ja., & 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 mob31 SCHEFFER'S Bookstore.

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

PERM CANDLES.—A large supply just received by wm. DOOK, Jr., & CO.

KELLER'S DRUG STORE is the place to fail the best City. Groceries, we respectfully and cordially invite the public to examine our to fail the best assortment of Porte Monaies.

HAVING JUST BRYDERE FOR IN The National Complete assortment of superior GOODS, which embrace everything kept in the best City. Groceries, we respectfully and cordially invite the public to examine our stock and hear our prices.

[6b16] A to find the best assertment of Porte Monnaies.

Datriot

Lines of Travel.

WINTER TIME TABLE

FIVE TRAINS DAILY TO & FROM PHILADELPHIA

ON AND AFTER

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 26TH, 1860,

The Passenger Trains of the Pennsylvania Railroad Com

Philadelphia as follows:

with the New York Lines.

Philadelphia at 12.30 v. m.

pany will depart from and arrive at Harrisburg ard

EASTWARD.

THROUGH EXPRESS TRAIN leaves Harrisburg a

.40 a. m., and arrives at West Philadelphia at 6.50 a. m

FAST LINE leaves Harrisburg at 12.55 p. m., and

These Trains make close connection at Philadelphia

ACCOMMODATION TRAIN, No. 1, leaves Harrisburg

t 7.30 a. m., runs via Mount Joy, and arrives at West

HARRISBURG ACCOMMODATION leaves Harris

burg at 1.15 p. m., and arrives at West Philadelphia at

ACCOMMODATION TRAIN, No. 2, leaves Harrisburg

at 5.25 p. m., runs via Mount Joy, connecting at Diller.

WESTWARD.

THROUGH EXPRESS TRAIN leaves Philadelphia

MAIL TRAIN leaves Philadelphia at 8.00 a. m., an

LOCAL MAIL TRAIN leaves Harrisburg for Pittsbur

FAST LINE leaves Philadelphia at 12.00 noon, and ar

HARRISBURG ACCOMMODATION TRAIN leaves

Philadelphia at 2.00 p. m., and arrives at Harrisburg at

ACCOMMODATION TRAIN leaves Philadelphia

Attention is called to the fact, that passengers leaving

Philadelphia at 4 p. m. connect at Lancaster with

SAMUEL D. YOUNG.

Supt. East: Div. Penn'a Railroad.

MOUNT JOY ACCOMMODATION TRAIN, and arrive

NEW AIR LINE ROUTE

NEW YORK.

Shortest in Distance and Quickest in Time

BETWEEN THE TWO CITIES OF

NEW YORK AND HARRISBURG,

READING, ALLENTOWN AND EASTON

MORNING EXPRESS, West, leaves New York at 8

. m., arriving at Harrisburg at 1 p. m., only 6% hours

MAIL LINE leaves New York at 12.00 noon, and ar

MORNING MAIL LINE, East, leaves Harrisburg

AFTERNOON EXPRESS LINE, East, leaves Harris-

Connections are made at Harrisburg at 1.00 p. m. with

he Passenger Trains in each direction on the Pannsylva

nia, Cumberland Valley and Northern Central Railroads

All Trains connect at Reading with Trains for Potts-

No change of Passenger Cars or Baggage between New

York and Harrisburg, by the 6.00 a. m. Line from New

For beauty of scenery and speed, comfort and accom

modation, this Route presents superior inducements to

Fare between New York and Harrisburg, FIVE DOLLARS

READING RAILROAD

WINTER ARRANGEMENT

ON AND AFTER DEC. 12, 1860,

TWO PASSENGER TRAINS LEAVE HARRISBURG

DAILY, (Sundays excepted,) at 8.00 A. M., and 1.15 P.

M., for Philadelphia, arriving there at 1.25 P.M., and 8.15

RETURNING, LEAVE PHILADELPHIA at 8.00 A.M.

and 8.30 P. M., arriving at Harrisburg at 1 P. M. and 8.15

FARES:—To Philadelphia, No. 1 Cars, \$3.25; No. 2

At Reading, connect with trains for Pottsville, Miners-

FOUR TRAINS LEAVE READING FOR PHILADEL-

PHIA DAILY, at 6 A. M., 10.45 A. M., 12.80 noon and

LEAVE PHILADELPHIA FOR READING at 8 A

PARES:—Reading to Philadelphia, \$1.75 and \$1.45.

THE MORNING TRAIN FROM HARRISBURG CON-

NECTS AT READING with up train for Wilkesbarre

J. J. CLYDE, General Agent.

For through tickets and other information apply to

NORTHERN CENTRAL RAILWAY.

NOTICE.

CHANGE OF SCHEDULE.

WINTER ARRANGEMENT

ON AND AFTER WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 30rm, 1861 the Passenger Trains of the Northern Central Railway will leave Harrisburg as follows:

GOING SOUTH.

ACCOMMODATION TRAIN will leave at. 3.00 s. m. MAIL TRAIN will leave at. 1.00 p.m.

GOING NORTH

The only Train leaving Harrisburg on Sunday will be the ACCOMMODATION TRAIN South, at 3.00 a.m. For further information apply at the office, in Penn sylvania Railroad Depot, JOHN W. HALL, Agent. Harrisburg, January 30, 1861.—jan31.

READING RAILROAD.

REDUCTION OF PASSENGER FARES,

TIRST CLASS GROCERIES!!!

LARGE ARRIVAL!!

HAVING JUST BETURNED from the Eastern cities, where

MAIL TRAIN will leave at.....

D H I L Y D E L L H I Y

J. J. CLYDE, General Agent, Harrisburg.

For Tickets and other information apply to

York or the 1.15 p. m. from Harrisburg.

DHILADELPHIA

FARES: -To Reading \$1.60 and \$1.80.

M., 1.00 P. M., 3.30 P. M., and 5.00 P. N.

le and Philadelphia, and at Allentewn for Mauch

burg at 1.15 p. m., arriving at New York at 9.45 p. m.

.00 a. m., arriving at New York at 5.20 p. m.

1.00 p. m., and arrives at Harrisburg at 9.45 p. m.

10.50 p. m., and arrives at Harrisburg at 3.10 a. m.

ville with MAIL TRAIN East for Philadelphia.

arrives at Harrisburg at 1.20 p. m.

rives at Harrisburg at 4.10 p. m.

Harrisburg at 9.45 p. m.

etween the two cities.

Chunk, Easton, &c.

the traveling public.

(in same train) \$2.75.

Pittston and Scranton

3.43 P. M.

ville, Tamaqua, Catawissa, &c.

ves at Harrisburg at 8.15 p. m.

at 7.00 a. m.

arrives at West Philadelphia at 5.00 p. m.

ives at West Philadelphia at 10.20 p. m.

MAIL TRAIN leaves Harrisburg at 5.15 p.

DENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD.



11nion.

HARRISBURG, PA., WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1861. VOL. 3.

The Patriot & Union.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, FEB. 27, 1861.

SPEECH OF REV. JOHN W. NEVIN,

OF LANCASTER, Delivered in the Democratic State Conventin, held

at Harrisburg Feb. 21 and 22, 1861. Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:

It is hardly necessary for me to say that I am no party man; no politician, in the ordinary sense of the term. I have never before addressed a meeting like the present; and it is, I assure you, with no small amount of diffidence and self-distrust that I venture, in obedience to your call, to come before you now in this pubhie way. In ordinary times, I should not have considered myself at liberty, indeed, to take part in the proceedings of any such political body. But, Mr. President, these are not ordinary times. We are in the midst of a crisis which goes beyond all ordinary party questions and issues—a crisis which is radical and revolutionary in its nature -- a crisis which reaches to the very foundations of our political existence, and which, in this view, challenges the concern and invokes the active interest of every man in the country, in his personal character of citizen and patriot. The time has come when all who have any interest at stake on the safety of the country are bound to apply both mind and heart to the perilous condition of the country, and to join hand, also, so far as God may have given them any sort of power for the purpose, to the solemn, all-necessary task of saving it, if it still be possible, from hopeless

confusion and ruin.

One of the most discouraging things, in fact, connected with our national troubles is just the fact that it has been found so difficult, I might say impracticable, thus far, to establish, in this way, any direct communication between these troubles and the general mind of the people. Men chosen on old party issues to represent the people, and bound themselves by party platforms made to suit the purposes of other times altogether, and having no fitness whatever for the revolutionary crisis which is upon us now, have insisted on considering themselves the only true representatives of the people still, in these changed circumstances—and to make the matter worse, have insisted also on making their old platforms the necessary rule and measure of this representation. Could we well conceive of any greater absurdity? The very idea of pretending to deal with the life and death question through which the nation is now passing, by the mechanical formulas and sterectyped shibboleths of a platform which was got up for political purposes in a time of comparative quietness and peace, deserve to be set down as the most arrant political quackery. As little as one might hope to stay the course of a deadly fever by administering pills pre-pared for an ordinary fit of indigestion, so little may it be imagined that the life of the nation is to be saved now by any similar doses of past party doctrine and rule. For my own part, I can have no patience with any platform of the past year applied to our present circumstances in any such mechanical way. Away with all such Procrustes' beds, employed to tyrannize in such a time as this over the iree free men. No true public man, I am bold to say, no politician worthy of the name, no statesman of broad and comprehensive views, can be willing at the present time to stand party-bound, the slave of dead formulas and abstractions.-What the country now needs is, above all things, to be delivered from all patent nostrums of this sort. A living revolution, to be guided aright, calls for the free, living activity of living men. It is a great misfortune then, I repeat, that the representatives of the people chosen before these troubles, and governing themselves, as it would seem, for the most part, by party views and principles belonging to a different state of things altogether, should claim, nevertheless, to be the only true exponents now of the popular mind and will through all these convulsions and dangers, and so refuse, week after week, and month after month, to make room for the

people to utter their feelings in regard to them, in their own name, and with their own proper voice. Never was there a time in the history of the country when it was more important that the people, in their original private capacity and character, should have an opportunity, not only of thinking for themselves on the affairs of the nation, but of expressing also their collective thoughts and wishes in a perfectly free manner, untrammeled by all party technicalities and watchwords. The national trouble now upon us is organic, constitutional, having to do with the very life of the body politic.-It requires for its help, therefore, an organic movement on the part of the nation itself. The people must put themselves in motion. They cannot be saved by their rulers-least of all, by professional politicians. If saved at all, they must, under God's blessing, save themselves. In these circumstances, sir, there has been in the hearts of many, for some time past, a growing desire, an inward cry I may say, for some fit occasion and opportunity through which to have the sense—the present sense of of the people taken on the subject of our national difficulties as they now stand. With this feeling I have all along sympathized from the bottom of my heart. Especially has it appeared to me desirable and important that the mind of Pennsylvania should be known in this way; not by consulting her Representatives either

at Washington or Harrisburg, and not by appealing to her last State vote given when no one dreamed of what has since come to pass; but by securing for the people at large the opportunity of speaking directly for themselves, in full view of our public affairs as they show themselves at the present time. I have waited anxiously for some movement looking to this end, which might be without regard to party altogether, having for its object simply an unbiassed expression of the mind of the people, so far as they should see fit to give utterance to it in such free way. In this hope and wish, however, I have found myself, along with thousands and ten thousands of others, wofully REDUCTION OF PASSENGER FARES,
ON AND AFTER MONDAY, APRIL 2, 1866
COMMUTATION TICKETS,
With 26 Coupons, will be issued between any points desired, good for the holder and any member of his family, in any Passenger train, and at any time—at 26 per cent. below the regular fares.

Parties having occasion to use the Roadfrequently on business or pleasure, will find the above arrangement convenient and esmannical; as Four Passenger trains run daily each way between Reading and Philadelphia, and Two Train Cs. To between Reading, Pottsville and Harrisburg. Or Susdays, only one morning train Down, and one afterreer train Up, runs between Pottsville and Philadelphis and no Passenger train on the Lebanes Valley Branch Railroad.

For the above Tickets, or any information relating therets apply to S. Bradford, Esq., Treasurer, Philadelphia, ethe respective Ticket Agents on the line, or to G.A. NICOLLS, General Sup't.

March 27, 1860.—mar28-dtf disappointed. It has required in the end, as we all know, a mevement of the Democratic party, in its established party organization, to meet in any way what we have seen to be the part of the North? crying necessity of our great and mighty State at this time—an opportunity for hearing and knowing directly from the people themselves their mind and feeling with regard to the present crisis. In this view, I could not but hail with satisfaction the calling of this National Convention; and, when my fellow-citizens saw proper to send me here as one of their delegates, knowing as I did the special object of the occasion, and having full sympathy with it in my heart, I felt it to be for me in the present juneture a duty, not only of patriotism, but of religion also, not to refuse the appointment.— Such is the spirit in which I now find myself a member of your large and respectable body. For me this is no simply Democratic Convention. I am willing to allow it, indeed, all due honor and respect, under this time-venerable

form absolutely in which the people of this | vail, and it would be enough of itself to provoke State have had it in their power to speak for themselves on the state of the Nation, since the beginning of our present troubles. In this respect it may be said to carry with it now more weight than the existing Legislature of the State, or its representation in the National Congress. For these at best show only what the will of a bare majority of the people was in former and altogether different times; whereas this body springs directly and immediately from the present will of the people. It is born, we may say, out of the burdened heart of the country, as it now stands. It comes fresh from the people, and is animated with the existing soul and breath of the people more than any organization besides. There can be no question, moreover, but that it represents in reality now by far the largest portion of the population of the State. For very many thousands, forgetting all party names and distinctions, it is as I have just declared it to be for myself, no Democratic Convention at all, strictly, but a Convention representing the whole conserva-tism of Pennsylvania, in which all other questions are for the time sunk in the one great purpose of securing the preservation and peace of the country. Looking at it in such light. they are ready to rally around it with their hearts, and to bid it God speed in its mission

of patriotism and love. In view of all circumstances, then, the present Convention well deserves to be considered of much more than ordinary significance and moment. Let it only be true and faithful to itself; let it be but united and harmonious in its action; let it show itself wise, judicious, calm, earnest, and firm in its declarations, holding itself strictly to the one great object of its coming together; and, beyond all question or doubt, its voice will be heard and felt as a voice of authority and power—healing and refreshing power—throughout the length and breadth of the land. It will be met with a cordial, grateful response from all the mountain tops, and valleys, and plains of this broad Commonwealth. It will be recognized throughout the Nation, as the true and genuine voice of glorious old Pennsylvania, the Keystone State.

Two grand questions—the second turning on wrong answer given practically to the firstloudly bespeak now our solemn attention. The alternatives set before us in the first are, compromise or separation. In case of separation, the alternatives in the next place are, peaceful division, or coercion and civil war. These questions we are bound to look steadily in the face, and to meet with some explicit answer in our own minds. With the progress of events they are rushing every day, of themselves, to a practical solution. We owe it to ourselves to consider how the solution in either case ought to come, and by some rational determination of this beforehand, to see that, so far at least as may depend on ourselves, the conclusion shall not overtake us blindly and with helpless sur-

The first alternative, as just said, is compromise with the Southern States, or separation. In this simple form precisely the issue is now before the country. It is perfectly idle to resist the idea of compromise, and yet dream of an ultimate continuation of our national existence, in some form that shall be found to tion be peaceful, with mutual consent and involve in the end the submission of the South to the wrong which it now supposes itself to through violence and blood, in the way of atbe suffering at the hands of the North. Those who allow themselves to believe that the South In the name of all that is sacred in humanity may be either cheated or forced into any such submission, betray a wonderful want of acquaintance with the actual sense and meaning of the difficulty which now needs to be composed and settled between the Northern and Southern sections of the country. And it is hardly necessary to say, that the question here regards not simply the States which have already gone into secession, but the slave-holding States in general. The Border States South, it is true, have made thus far a noble stand against the spirit of disunion; but we have no right in the world to presume on this as any assurance that they will remain in the Union under all circumstances, and without regard further to the Southern idea of Southern rights. The very object of their patience and forbearance has been to allow time and opportunity for the amicable adjustment of their rights in the bosom of the Union itself. Let the North refuse to meet them in any such spirit of honorable compromise, and it is perfectly certain that they will also in a short time withdraw, and join themselves to the new Confederacy of the South. To separation in this wholesale form it must assuredly come, if there is to be no compromise. This is the terrible alternative—this, and nothing less than this—to which in fact all seek to drive the nation who set themselves to oppose the policy of making what are called concessions to the dissatisfied spirit of the South. Let the terms of the dilemma be well considered and well understood. The watchword, no compromise, means simply in other words, neither more nor less, Disuniontwo confederacies instead of one.

Those who oppose compromise speak of it often as though it were intended to mean mere concession, the giving up of an acknowledged right on the one side to humor some perversity or weakness on the other side. This, however, is itself a wrong done to the South in this case before us, which must be felt to be wrong, and so given up, before any real progress whatever can be made in the work of solid and lasting reconciliation. Compromise here means no more favorable terms of Union than those which have existed before between the Northern and Southern portions of the country; it is merely the re-adjustment of the old terms, so explained and guarded as to secure their proper construction and right observance in all following time. The South claims to be in this difficulty the injured party, and charges the North with having virtually disowned the original spirit of the Constitution. Either the charge is right, or it is wrong. If it is wrong, there can be no room, properly speaking, for any compromise, and any negotiatien for the purpose, if it seem at all successful, must end in hypocrisy only, and falsehood. But if the charge be right, it must, first of all, be felt and owned to be right. In that case, compromise becomes a settlement and correction of wrong, alike honorable to both sides. This, then, is the very first thing about which we need to have our minds fully made up, in this business of reconciliation. Has the South been wronged in its constitutional rights on the

Those who deny this make a special merit commonly of standing by the Constitution as it is, and charge the friends of compromise with a design to tamper in some way with its sacred principles. But when you come to examine the matter, it is found that what they mean by the Constitution is simply a certain construction of this organic law established for the time by the authority of a reigning party. Their doctrine is, that what the will of a majority of the nation may determine at any time to be the sense of the Constitution, that must be taken and held for the true sense of it, until it may For me it is the organ of the universal consertation of the Constitution. Let this view pre
Union, in its present circumstances, is simply terminated.

secession, not only here, on the part of the South, but on the part of Pennsylvania also, and every other State possessed of a particle of proper regard for its own rights; for in that case the Constitution would be not a bond of freedom at all, but a mere organ of tyranny and oppression, at the service of any fanaticism that night be able to lay hold of it for this end.

NO. 151.

What we need to consider here is not any such party construction of the Constitution, nor even the mere letter itself of the written instrument, but the spirit, the genius, the original soul and life of the Constitution. That this has been violated in a way injurious and insulting to the Southern States, is too plain, it seems to me, to admit of any serious question. If anything in the world is certain historically, it is that the Constitution was intended to be a bond of political union between the Northern and Southern States, under which they should be allowed to maintain their separate institutions respectively, without let or hindrance, as also without any sort of mutual responsibility. On no other terms was it possible to unite these several independent Commonwealths in a common Confederacy. It lay in the very nature of the case, that the Constitution in these circumstances should know no North and no South, no slaveholding and no non-slaveholding States—that it should be perfectly neutral and indifferent to these distinctions, extending over them simply the shield of its common protec-But the complaint of the South now is, that the original spirit of the Constitution in this view is no longer practically regarded on the part of the North, but that on the contrary a system of thinking has organized itself here, and gradually gained the ascendancy, which holds slavery to be simply tolerated by the Constitution, while it pretends to make it at the same time a party against the fair political equality of the Southern States, and an organ for undermining secretly the very pillars of their peculiar social system. Such is their complaint; and we must shut our eyes to the truth not to see that the complaint is only too well supported by facts.

In these circumstances, who will say that we ought not to own the reasonableness and propriety of the call which is made upon us to settle the difficulties which now beset us in the way of coercion and compromise; or that we should hesitate for a moment to do this on the basis which is proffered to us for this purpose, by Virginia and her associate Border States? It should be no objection to such an arrange ment, that it calls for some new adjustment of the Constitution. That does not imply any change in the spirit of the Constitution; it is merely the way in which suitable form and expression is to be given to this spirit, in order to insure its preservation more truly than be-

This, it seems to me, is the only course of wisdom in the case of those first alternatives, compromise or division. Let it be by all means compromise, sincere, full, and fairly satisfactory to the States which still adhere to the Union in the South. But suppose this refused, and the nation unhappily driven to the extremity of division, we are then at once confronted with another issue: Shall the separacommon settlement of terms, or shall it proceed tempted coercion and consequent civil war? and religion, let us not hesitate about the an swer with which this most solemn question is to be met. If we will not consent to respect the constitutional rights and reasonable demands of our brethren in the South-if we shut them up to the necessity of a general separa-tion from us as the penalty and price of refusing to surrender basely what they conceive to be their proper, civil and political rights-let us not then be so insane as to think of compelling them to remain with us still, in spite of their own purpose and wish. On this subject it is of the utmost importance

that the mind of the people generally, and above all now that the mind of the people of Pennsylvania, should be distinctly determined, and proclaimed abroad as it were on the four winds of heaven, before the time shall have come for theory to pass into actual work and deed. We hear it said at times, that we must maintain the attitude of unbending authority and power, in order to open the way for peace ful negotiation, that absolute submission to the existing government must be insisted upon as a sine qua non of all settlement of our present difficulties, and that to give up openly before hand the idea of enforcing such submission, if need be, in the way of outward power, is in fact but to encourage the spirit of secession and treason. All this might sound well enough for ordinary circumstances and times. But when will men learn to make full earnest with the fact, that we are in altogether extraordinary times, in the throes, in truth, of a great political revolution, which must end in the dissolution or in the separation and new birth of our national existence itself, and it can be no better, therefore, than political pedantry to think of going through with it by ordinary maxims and rules. Let us, in the name of common sense, be done with speculations and abstractions here, and set ourselves to deal with facts in their own character of facis. Let us not be children in this tremendous drama of real life, but let us act as reasonable and full grown men. Does any man in his senses believe, that a resort to force, under any circumstances, in this controversy with the South, can ever bring back any part of it to its true place again in the Union; or that the talk of coercion can ever carry with it the least weight there in favor of reconciliation and peace? And in the event especially of a general secession embracing all the slaveholding States, the event of which as an imminent possibility I am now speaking, must not every imagination of this sort become still more, I might almost say, infinitely insane? Can any threat of coercion operate with the weight of a feather, to prevent such States as Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri and Tennessee from throwing themselves into the arms of the new Confederacy, if such a course seem necessary to maintain their rights? Nay, it is this very threat, or rather the backwardness which is shown to disown it, the studied reserve with which it seems to be held as a sort of rod behind the back, to be used hereafter as occasion may require, instead of being flung away at once as it should be-this it is, I say, as much almost as anything else just now, which goes to irritate and inflame the mind of these States, and to make it difficult to bring our negotiations with them to an amicable and peaceful result. "The Constitution," says Andrew Jackson,

cannot be maintained, nor the Union preserved, in opposition to the public feeling, by the mere exertion of the coercive powers confided to the General Government. The foundations must be laid in the affections of the people; in the security it gives to life, liberty, character, property in every quarter of the country; and in the fraternal attachment which the citizens of the several States bear to or some new majority, agreeing to think in a different way. So, for the present, the sense of the Constitution is made to be the Chicago platform, as sanctioned and endorged in a sense of the them he described the constitution is made to be the Chicago platform, as sanctioned and endorged in a sense of the constitution is made to be the Chicago platform, as sanctioned and endorged in a sense of the constitution is made to be the Chicago platform, as sanctioned and endorged in a sense of the constitution is made to be the chicago platform, as sanctioned and endorged in the constitution is made to be the chicago platform, as sanctioned and endorged in the constitution is made to be the chicago platform. PUBLISHED EVERY MORNING, SUNDAYS EXCEPTED,

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preposterous. No victory in such a war could deserve to be considered a triumph. No rational object could be gained by it in the end. It could be no better at best than national suicide in the most wholesale form. The very thought of it is something from which the soul turns away with unutterable horror and dis-

But what is needed now is not simply an abhorrence of all such war but an open, loud declaration on the part of the people that no war of the sort, with their consent, shall ever be allowed to take place. In other words, the time is already upon us, when to save ourselves from the vortex of misery into which we are in danger of being madly dragged in such form, the voice of the nation—the overwhelming conservative majority in particular of this State -should be heard proclaiming in trumpet tones -No coercion! Let it be fairly known and understood, that Pennsylvania has no mind in this case to be ruled by the dictation of New England and the Northwestern States—that she is not willing to be made use of as their battle field in any war offensive or defensive against States so intimately related to her as those which border on the Potomac—that her adhesion to the Chicago platform itself, so far as it went, was in no such sense as to involve any issue so madly desperate as this; let it be fairly understood, I say, that she is ready to protest against all force other than that of love and persuasion for the settlement of our existing difficulties, and the fact will be felt itself at once as a message of peace and a rainbow of promise throughout the length and breadth of the land.

Looking upon this Convention as an organ, created by the special providence of God for giving such voice to the true heart of the State as is needed at the present time, I trust that it may be enabled wisely and faithfully to discharge this high function and most deeply important office. I consider it a privilege, as I have felt it my duty also, to be here, and to make myself heard in your councils, both as an American citizen and as a minister of religion. May your work be so done, that it shall commend itself to the judgment and conscience of all good men, and, what is of still greater consequence, be crowned with the approbation and blessing of the great God in Heaven.

IMPORTANT FROM JAPAN-Trouble with Foreigners.—Advices from Japan to the last of December, report serious troubles between the natives and the foreign residents. A letter in the New York Herald, dated Yokahama, December 29, says:

Matters here are in a very bad state, I can assure you—a war or a fight being certain between the English, French, and in fact all the European residents on the one side, and the Japanese on the other. The cutting down of the French Consul General's butler by the Japanese, in the manner they did, has excited the most deadly hatred—they are sworn to have revenge. The French Consul has re-moved from Jeddo down to Kanagawa, being afraid to reside there any longer. Every one here carries his sword and revolver whenever he goes out after dark. There is no doubt the French and English are going to compel Japan to give Prussia a treaty, which certainly would not be granted without compulsion. But what is still worse is the quarrel going on between the English residents and Mr. Alcock, the British Minister, and Captain Vyse, the Con-Neither of these the street alone after dark, although they both carry pistols. They appear to be universally disliked, although both are of high standing at home.

At Kanagawa, an Englishman named Moss was arrested for mortally wounding a Japanese police officer. The act is believed to have been done accidentially and not by Moss .-Upon hearing of his arrest, the British Minister and Consul expressed great indignation, and demanded his immediate surrender. coupled with a threat to blow up the Governor's Palace in the event of non-compliance. There being at the time no English vessel-of-war in port, the Minister enlisted the aid of the Prussian commodore, who placed men, howitzers and boats at his disposal; but these were fortunately not called into requisition. After twenty-four hours' imprisonment Moss was delivered up, and subsequently tried before the Consular Court, and sentenced to three months' imprisonment, and to pay a fine of one thousand dollars and suffer deportation from Japan. The affair created much ill-feeling between the foreign residents and natives.

The Prince of Bungo, third ambassador to

the United States, or, as he was generally called, "Censor or Adviser," has been recently appointed one of the Governors for Foreign Affairs. All three of the ambassadors are now in the office of the Minister of State, at Jeddo. The next point of interest in the news is the proposed embassy to England next summer.--The Japanese have applied to Mr. Townsend Harris to know if American officers could be procured to navigate a steamer there and back.

SUMMARY JUSTICE IN ABKANSAS-A Burglar Hanged to a Tree under Mysterious Circumstances. We learn that about a week since, a suspicious looking customer, representing himself as a brother of Dr. Cornelius Watkins, of Little Rock, made his appearance at Cummins' Place landing, thirty miles above Pine Bluff, Ark .-His movements were of a character which awakened suspicion in the minds of the citizens, and a watch was kept upon his movements. He continued prowling about the neighborhood, and particularly in the vicinity of the residence of a Mr. Kimbro, and one night was discovered under the house with his hands filled with burglars' tools. Mr. Kimbro summoned a number of his neighbors, and Watkins was ordered to leave the neighborhood. He left, but vowed vengeance on the party.-Two days after these threats he was discovered hanging dead to the limb of a tree in the neighboorhood, but at whose hands he met his death is unknown.—Memphis Argus, Feb. 19.

NATURALIZATION LAW OF THE NEW CONFEDE RACY .- A correspondent writing from Montgomery on the 15th inst. announces that the Congress had under consideration a bill concerning citizenship and naturalization. The provisions are of course unknown as yet, but it is expected that it will consist of a declaration constituting all free white persons residing in any of the Confederated States at the time of the organization of the present Government, or such as may become citizens by birth, naturalization, and the establishment of a permanent residence, or also those who are employed in active military or naval service for a limited period, citizens of the Confederate States of America. The general impression is that the probation period of residence prior to taking the oath of citizenship will be extended so as to make the laws of naturalization more stringent in this respect than it is at present.

The balance of Mr. Chenery's cattle herd, at Belmont, Mass., consisting of twenty-two head, were killed Tuesday, under the direction of the Commissioners and the Medical Board, Several of these were young animals lately added to the stock, but of the original herd. half were found diseased, some of them badly.