

had only seen actual service, what pains should he not take to see, in moderation and compromise, the means of avoiding the effusion of so much blood. A reflection which we commend with all our hearts to those ministers of our Government in Washington who are now called to decide that momentous question. Said Sir Harry Smith, one of the heroes of India, in reply to a toast given by his fellow-officers in honor of his victories: "Gentlemen, ours is a damnable profession." Even the great Napoleon exclaimed: "War is the trade of bar-barians."

# The Patriot & Union.

FRIDAY MORNING, APRIL 5, 1861.

O. BARRETT & THOMAS C. MADGWELL, Publishers and Proprietors.

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Rhode Island and Connecticut. Rhode Island has pronounced against the Republicans. The Union candidate for Governor is elected by a large majority, and the Republican candidates are defeated in both Congressional Districts.

The Republicans have elected their State ticket in Connecticut by some 1,500 majority and carried both branches of the Legislature, but they have lost two members of Congress.

The Democrats have gained two of the four Congressmen, defeating two very Black Republicans, Ferry and John Woodruff.

Every member of Congress from New England in the last Congress was a Republican. The elections in Connecticut and Rhode Island have displaced four of them, and substituted Democrats and Union men in their stead.

Even the political supporters of the Administration no longer take pains to conceal their disgust at its decision. The Tribune records the existence of dissatisfaction with the present Administration, and says: "I consider when they should already have decided, and pause when they ought to act."

That paper calls upon the powers at Washington to "proclaim its policy so plainly that it cannot be mistaken." The Times is more direct and out-spoken. It admonishes the President that the responsibility of his office is not met by supervising the distribution of office. "Mr. Lincoln should reserve his thoughts and his strength for nobler duties than pre-siding over the wranglings of hungry and selfish hunters for patronage and place."

Very good advice; but what is the use of pouring good counsel into the ears of a deaf man?

While Mr. Lincoln and his Cabinet are detouring all their energies to the distribution of offices among the crowd of greedy expectants who besiege Washington, secession is making fearful progress in Virginia. Nothing is done to strengthen the hands of the Union men in that and other Border States, while the indifference of the Administration affords constant encouragement to the precipitators of secession.

Every day of hesitation increases the danger. If the Administration means peace, some decided proceeding giving assurance of the fact would tend to dispirit the secessionists. But hesitation is interpreted to mean hostility, and suspense encourages resistance.

Virginia is drifting further and further away, and no measures are adopted to retard her movement. One of the worst signs is the announcement that the proprietors of the Richmond Whig, heretofore an able advocate of the Union, have determined to change its policy and advocate secession. Another ominous sign is the election of a secessionist Mayor of Richmond by one thousand majority. Yet while these momentous events, indicative of the disruption of an empire, are transpiring, Mr. Lincoln is exhibiting his Jacksonian resolution by quelling turbulent office-hunters, or exhausting his energies in apportioning the spoils among the rapacious crew of political wreckers who surround him.

The Government Loan. Some of the Republican papers are particularly happy because thirty-three millions of dollars were bid for the new Government loan, and a portion of it was allotted at 94 cents on the dollar. Considering that these bids ranged from six to fifteen per cent. below par; that a few years ago capitalists were eager to lend money to the Government at a premium, and that at this time there are hundreds of millions of dollars in the country lying idle for want of safe investments, the bids for the new loan afford lamentable evidence of the lack of confidence on the part of capitalists in the stability of the Government. Whether this is attributable to the proverbial timidity of capital or the distrust inspired by the vacillation of the Lincoln Administration may admit of some doubt; but it is certainly a very remarkable commentary upon the highly flourishing and prosperous times we were promised as the result of a Republican Administration that the Government is compelled to endure a shave in order to obtain money for necessary purposes.

The bids for this loan present a beautiful prospect to the Government if it should determine upon war. Eight millions would not furnish enough to begin with; and once begun the Government would be compelled to call for hundreds of millions. When these bids were

made at a discount, there was every prospect of peace. Should another loan be demanded to defray the expenses of a war, who can estimate how much more the credit of the Government might decline?

The Issue—Compromise or Disunion. The question of compromise as the means of retaining the Border States within the Union, though temporarily obscured by the more pressing anxiety to determine the policy which the Lincoln Administration intends to pursue towards the seceded States, will, in case war is averted, return with redoubled force upon the Northern people, and peremptorily demand a solution at their hands. If the Administration means war—if force is to be used against the seceded States—if Forts Sumpter and Pickens are to be held as the basis of aggressive operations, and if there is to be a trial of strength between the Government and those States that no longer acknowledge its supremacy, the breach will be widened beyond repair. Instead of seven inferior States to deal with, the Government would be compelled to confront fifteen.

The Border States would regard war as the death of compromise, and the influence of the noble band of Union men who now prevent those States from joining the Southern Confederacy hopelessly destroyed. If it requires unceasing activity to prevent the secession of the Administration towards the seceded States are yet undeveloped, it is easy to see that the moment war is decided upon, that moment will the restraining power of conservatism cease, and the borders of the Southern Confederacy be extended northward as far as the southern line of Pennsylvania. In this event, which is more immediate than speculative in case the Administration determines to employ force against the seceded States, compromise will be out of the question, at least for many years, perhaps generations, to come. The separation will have been finally accomplished. The dream of Abolitionism will have been realized. The "irrepressible conflict" will have produced its bitter fruits in the first year of the Administration of the party that proclaimed it.

But in case the vacillating and irresolute councils at Washington conclude to avoid the evils of war, and to confine secession, for the present, to the States composing the Southern Confederacy, by severely letting them alone, then the great, the absorbing issue, must be met at the North, whether the progress of disintegration shall be stayed by agreeing to a compromise satisfactory to the Border States, or whether they shall be driven into the embrace of the Southern Confederacy by the continued, obstinate and persevering hostility of the North. This issue is rapidly being made up. It must be met; there is no way of avoiding it; for we regard it as a fixed fact that the Border States will consent to remain in the Union upon no other condition than that their rights shall be recognized in such manner as to guarantee their future safety and the security of their property. Hence the issue will be one of Union or disunion—one between saving the Border States; or cutting them adrift—one between a separate Northern Confederacy, comanaged by Abolitionists, or a continued Union, in the spirit of that framed by the Fathers. Those who resist concessions for the sake of Union must adopt the opposite, of separation rather than compromise. The "no concession" policy is the badge of disunion; it cannot be permitted to escape the consequences of their obstinacy; for the alternative will be presented to their free choice—and in choosing against compromise they will choose against the Union.

We already see irresistible evidences that the Border States will present this issue to the North. Virginia has a strong attachment for the Union, but her Convention is about to agree upon an ultimatum which is similar in its provisions to the resolutions adopted by the Peace Conference, and the compromise proposed by Mr. Crittenden—the main feature being an offer to divide the Territory by the line of 36° 30', and thus settle forever the status of present and future territories, until they acquire sufficient population to be admitted into the Union as States. Another part of her plan is to summon a Convention of all the border States—and this term includes all slave States not connected with the Southern Confederacy—to unite upon a plan of compromise and present it for the determination of the North.—This action is regarded by the secessionists in Virginia, who from all accounts are growing in numbers and influence, as an odiously conservative and indicative of unpardonable timidity. If they had their way, the State would be rushed out of the Union without a moment's delay. We see no good reason to doubt that Virginia speaks for the majority of the Border States, and that North Carolina and Maryland, and even Kentucky and Missouri, will be constrained to follow her lead in case she determines to secede. Instead of a reaction in favor of the Union, the secession feeling has grown, and is growing. Apprehension of this Administration has been displaced by contempt for its timidity and vacillation, and the hereditary affection for the Union in a measure destroyed by the determined obstinacy of the Republican party, which, in the eager hunt for the spoils of office, refuses to do anything to rescue the country from impending destruction.

OUR RELATIONS WITH SPAIN.—Action of the United States Government.—Within a day or two several United States vessels have been ordered to prepare for sea immediately, and the rumor is that our Government is about to take decisive action concerning the designs of Spain against St. Domingo. A Washington dispatch in Wednesday's New York Herald says:

The army and navy are suddenly being put upon a war footing, and the knowing ones state that it looks towards Spain, growing out of her designs upon St. Domingo. Such activity in both these arms of the service has not been visible for a long time. The Government is fully apprised of the intentions of Spain towards that island, and will not permit her to take possession of it. Undoubtedly the Government feel that a collision in that direction would

divert the attention of the country from our internal quarrels, and lead to a favorable termination of our own troubles.

It is known here that an understanding has existed for some time between the English, French and American Governments not to allow Spain or any other Government to obtain a foothold upon that island. In relation to this matter their policy is not only important to us in support of the Monroe doctrine, but is peculiarly so to us at the present time, in view of our domestic troubles. It is feared that the Administration has not the nerve to step boldly forward in the matter.

An officer of the navy stated this morning he had reason to believe that a rupture would occur with Spain within twenty days. It is known that orders have just gone out to several vessels to hold themselves in readiness for immediate service. The Powhatan, now at New York, whose crew was discharged the day before yesterday, is ordered to at once receive back her crew, and prepare for sea.

LETTER FROM THE HON. JOHN J. CRITTENDEN, EXPLAINING THE "CRITTENDEN COMPROMISE."

FRANKFORT, Friday, March 29.—I observe that one of your respectable newspapers in Cincinnati has misstated my motives and my course in relation to the resolutions which I submitted on the 18th of December last to the Senate of the United States, and as having been "disgusted" with them, after, by an amendment, they had been made to embrace all territory hereafter acquired by the United States, as well as that which they now possessed. A simple statement will correct these errors.

These resolutions were proposed in the pure spirit of compromise, and with the hope of preserving or restoring to the country peace and union. They were the result of the joint labors of, and consultations with, friends having the same object in view, and I believe if those measures thus offered had been, at a suitable time, promptly adopted by the Congress of the United States, it would have checked the progress of the rebellion and revolution and saved the Union.

For myself, I had no objection to including in their scope all after acquired territory, because that made a final settlement of the distracting question of slavery in all time to come, and because I hoped that such a provision, by prohibiting slavery in all after acquired territory north of the line of 36° 30' of north latitude, and allowing it in all south of that line, would have the effect of preventing any further acquisition of territory, as the Northern States would be unwilling to make any Southern acquisitions, in which slavery was to be allowed, and the Southern States would not be inclined to increase the preponderance of the North by Northern acquisitions. And thus I hoped that the provision respecting future territory would prevent any further acquisitions of it. Our troubles had arisen from acquisitions of territory, and I did not desire that any more should be made.

These were my reasons for submitting the proposition in relation to future acquired territory. But my great object was compromise—compromise on terms satisfactory, as far as possible, to all parties and all sections; and when I found that this provision in my resolutions was much and particularly objected to, and might prove an obstacle to their adoption, I determined, in my anxiety for a compromise, that I would not insist upon, but would consent to have it stricken out.

To accomplish the great object I had in view, I wished to see reconciliation and union established in the mind of the country. I would, rather than have witnessed their total failure, have yielded to any modifications of my resolutions that would not, in my judgment, have destroyed their essential character and their pacifying effect. Indeed, I intended, if the opportunity had been afforded me, of making several amendments in the phraseology of those resolutions, in order to render their language as little offensive as possible.

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It was in that spirit that when the Peace Conference or Convention, that met at Washington upon the invitation of the State of Virginia, made a report to Congress of the resolutions or measures recommended by them for the restoration of peace and union, I at once determined to support their measures, rather than those I had before proposed. I did this, not only because their propositions contained, as I thought, the substance of my own, but because they came with the high sanction of a Convention of twenty-one States, and would, therefore, be more likely to be acceptable to Congress and the country. Besides that, I felt myself somewhat bound to act with this deference to a Convention so distinguished. I had ascertained to my satisfaction that the resolutions I had offered would not be adopted in the Senate.

From this hastily written statement you will discover the motives of my conduct in all the above recited transactions, and that I did this, not so act, either because I was "disgusted" with or had over "repudiated" the resolutions which I submitted to the Senate.

I am, very respectfully, yours, &c., J. J. CRITTENDEN.

IMPORTANT TREASURY CIRCULAR.—No Transportation in Bond to Southern Ports.—Collector Schell, of New York, has received the following circular from the Treasury Department, March 30, 1861.

"Sir: The control of the warehouses of the Government in the several ports in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Florida, and Texas having been usurped under the alleged authority of those States, and the officers of the customs acting under the authority of the United States having been forcibly excluded from their proper functions in the custody of merchandise and superintendence of the entries for warehousing and removal, it has become impracticable to continue the privilege of bonding for transportation to those ports.

"Collectors of the customs are accordingly hereby instructed that no entries for transportation in bond to those ports can be permitted until otherwise directed by this department.

"Very respectfully, your ob't serv't," S. P. CHASE, "Secretary of the Treasury."

The Yelverton trial has attracted attention in Great Britain to the Scotch and Irish marriage law. A writer in the Manchester Guardian writes as follows:—"In Scotland, at present, the payment by a gentleman of an account addressed to the lady as his wife has, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, been allowed to prove a marriage. This state of law is worthy of the Cannibal Islands, rather than of the land of Knox and of Mansfield. I knew, lately, of three considerable estates lying contiguous, in one of the best cultivated parts of Scotland, for which no man could tell who was or might be heir. Each laird had children living who might be legitimate; or, being bastards, might yet be made legitimate, or, by their father's death, might be left to contend for their positions as they might. The uncertainties were determined by a gentleman of an account addressed to the lady as his wife has, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, been allowed to prove a marriage. 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