

# Buffalo

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## THE WAY OF THE WORLD.

"The Robin lost his bridled cow."  
"He mourn'd, he wept, he could not buy another;  
His wife soon follows." Eager now [er-  
his friends advise that he his grief should smother.  
"Here's my daughter, young and true,  
A worthy wife she'll be to you."  
Then Robin mused, and scratch'd his head,  
And in reflective accents said,  
"I see it clearly  
In this strange village where I live,  
I lose my wife—my friends another give;  
But no one offers me another cow!"

## THE FIVE-DOLLAR NOTE.

"What is the price of this dressing gown, sir?" asked a sweet-faced young girl entering the elegant store of Huntley & Warner, in a city and the street of a city which shall be nameless. It was a cloudy day. The clerks lounged over the counters, read papers and yawned. The man to whom Alice Locke addressed herself, was jaunty and middle-aged. He was head clerk of the extensive establishment of Huntley & Warner, and extremely consequential in his manner.

"That dressing gown—we value it at six dollars—you shall have it for five, as trading is dull to-day."

"Five dollars? Alice looked at the dressing gown longingly, and the clerk looked at her. He saw that her clothes, though made and worn genteely, were common enough in texture, and that her face was very much of the common line. How it changed! now shaded, now lightened by the varied play of her emotions. The clerk could almost have sworn that she had no more than that very sum, five dollars, in her purse or pocket.

"The gown was a very good one for the price. It was of common shade, a tolerable merino, and lined with the same material."

"I think"—she hesitated a moment—"I think I'll take it," she said; then seeing in the face before her an expression which she did not like, she blushed as she handed out the bill the clerk had made up his mind to take.

"Jenny," cried Torrent, the head clerk, in a quick, pompous tone, "pass up the detector."

"Up ran a tow-headed boy with the detector, and up and down the clerk's eyes from column to column. Then he looked over with a sharp glance and exclaimed—

"That's a counterfeit bill, Miss."

"Oh, how pale the sweet face grew!  
"Counterfeit! Oh, no—it cannot be!—  
The man who sent it could not have been so careless; you must be mistaken, sir."

"I'm not mistaken; I'm never mistaken, Miss. The bill is a counterfeit. I must presume, of course that you did not know it, although so much had money been offered us of late that we intend to secure such persons as pass it. Who did you say sent it?"

"Mr. C—, sir, of New York. He could not send me that money," said the trembling, frightened girl.

"Humph, humph!" said the clerk. "Well there's no doubt about this; you can look for yourself. Now don't let me see you here again until you can bring good money, for we always suspect such persons as you, that come on dark days with a well made story."

"But sir—"

"You need make no explanations, Miss," said the man, insolently. "Take your bill and the next time you want to buy a dressing gown, don't try to pass counterfeit money," and, as he handed it, the bill fell from his hands.

Alice caught it from the floor and hurried into the street.

Such a shock the girl had never received in all her life before. It was the first insult she had ever known, and it burned her cheek and stung her heart.

Straightway, indignant and grieving, she hurried to a banking establishment, found her way in, and presented the note to a noble looking man with gray hair, tattering out, "Is this bill a bad one, sir?"

"The cashier and his son happened to be the only persons present. Both noticed her extreme youth, beauty and agitation. The cashier looked at it closely and handed it back, as with a polite bow and somewhat prolonged look he said—

"It's a good bill, young lady."

"I knew it was," cried Alice with a quivering lip—"and he dared—"

"She could go no further, but entirely overcome, she bent her head, and the hot tears had their way."

"I beg pardon, have you had trouble with it?" asked the cashier.

"Oh, sir, you will please excuse me for giving way to my feelings—but you spoke so kindly, and I felt so sure it was good! And I think, sir, such men as one of those clerks in Huntley & Warner's should be removed. He told me it was counterfeit, and added some thing that I am glad my father did not hear. I knew the publisher would not send me bad money."

"Who is your father, young lady?" asked the cashier, becoming much interested.

"Mr. Benjamin—Locke."

"Benjamin—Locke—was he ever a clerk in the Navy Department at Washington?"

"Yes, sir; we removed from there," replied Alice. "Since then—she hesitated—"he has not been well—and we are somewhat reduced. Oh, why do I tell you these things, sir?"

"Ben Locke—reduced!" murmured the cashier; "the man who was the making of me! I live me his number and street, my child. Your father was once the best, perhaps the only friend I had. I have not forgotten him. Liberty street. I will call this evening. Meantime let me have the bill—let me see—"

"I give you another. Come to look, I haven't a ten—here's a ten; we'll make it all right."

The evening the inmates of a shabby, genteel house received the cashier of the M—Bank. Mr. Locke, a man of gray hair, though numbering but fifty years, rose from his arm chair, and much affected, greeted the familiar face. The son of the cashier accompanied him, and while the elders talked together, Alice and the young man grew quite chatty.

"Yes, sir, I have been unfortunate," said Mr. Locke, in a low tone. "I have but just recovered as you see, from a rheumatic fever, caused by undue exertion—and had I not been for that sweet girl of mine, I know not what I should have done. She, by giving lessons in music and French, and by writing for periodicals, has kept me, so far, above want."

"You shall no longer know want, my old friend," said the cashier. "It was a kind Providence that sent your daughter to me. There's a place in the bank just made vacant

by the death of a valuable clerk, and it is at your disposal. It is in my gift, and valued at twelve hundred dollars a year."

"Pen cannot describe the joy with which this kind offer was accepted. The day of deliverance had come.

On the following morning the cashier entered the handsome store of Huntley and Warner, and asked for the Lead clerk. He came obsequiously.

"Sir," said the cashier sternly, "is that a bad note?"

"I—I think not, sir," replied the clerk. The cashier went to the door. From his handsome carriage stepped a young girl in company with his daughter.

"Did you not tell this young lady, my ward, that this note was counterfeit? And furthermore, did you not so far forget self-respect, and the interest of your employers, as to offer her an insult?"

The man stood confounded—he dared not deny it—he would say nothing for himself.

"If your employers are so stupid, they will no longer have my custom," said the cashier, sternly. "You deserve to be horse-whipped."

The firm parted with their unworthy clerk that very day, and he left the store disgraced, but rightly punished.

Alice Locke became the daughter-in-law of the good cashier. All of which grew out of calling a genuine bill counterfeit.

## PERSONAL SLAVERY BILLS.

It is sixteen years since the Hon. Samuel Hoar, one of the most respectable, and also one of the most conservative citizens of Massachusetts, was expelled from South Carolina when sent there on a diplomatic agency as the representative of his own State. The circumstances of that case are probably not known to one in a thousand of the young men of the country under thirty years of age, and imperfectly remembered by many who are older.

In March, 1844, the Legislature of Massachusetts passed a resolution authorizing the Governor to appoint an agent to proceed to South Carolina, for the purpose of collecting information as to the number and names of colored citizens of Massachusetts who had been imprisoned in South Carolina—some of whom had been sold into slavery—and also to bring suits in behalf of any such citizens, that the question of the constitutionality of the laws under which they were imprisoned might be tested before the Supreme Court of the United States.

Mr. Hoar, a gentleman advanced in life, and a lawyer of high standing, was appointed such agent. The laws complained of, and which are still in full force, take out of every ship arriving in Charleston from a Northern port every colored man who may be on board, imprisons him during the stay of the vessel, and, on her departure, unless the jailer are paid for the man taken away, sells him as a slave to defray the expenses of his detention. The Massachusetts Legislature held these laws to be unconstitutional, and an order was issued for her ship-owners, both of which had become intolerable. She only asked, however, that the question might be referred by an amicable arrangement to the Federal Courts for adjudication.

Mr. Hoar arrived in Charleston in November, 1844, and immediately announced his arrival and his errand to the Governor of the State, J. H. Hammond, and the next morning sought the Mayor for the same purpose. From the Governor he received no reply, and the Mayor was absent from the city; and for three days no notice whatever was taken of his presence.

At the end of that time he heard that his letter had been communicated to the Legislature, and the Governor, and had created some excitement. At four o'clock, on entering his hotel, he was accosted by one of three persons, who announced that he was the Sheriff of Charleston, adding, with great warmth and earnestness, "I have some business with you, Sir." He then introduced his companions as the acting Mayor and an Alderman of the city, and a conversation ensued, in the course of which the Sheriff informed Mr. Hoar that he was suspected of being an Abolitionist, and the officers of the city were to be a hoax, as he had presented no credentials. The credentials were produced, and he was then assured that it was considered a great insult to South Carolina to send such an agent; and that he was in great danger and had better leave the city as soon as possible.

A letter from the Attorney-General of the State was read to him, in which the writer urged that lynching be avoided, and called upon the Sheriff to prevent that process. The Sheriff further urged the expediency of great public excitement, and doubted if it would be in his power to protect the stranger. To all which Mr. Hoar replied that having been sent there on a legal errand, as the agent of a sovereign State, he should not leave without some attempt to fulfill his mission. A second interview took place the following day with the Sheriff, when Mr. Hoar was again urged to leave, and the same plea. "What do you expect?" said the officer. "You can never get a verdict, and if you should, the Marshal would need all the troops of the United States to enforce a judgment." Several gentlemen called in the course of the day, and informed him of various plans to rid the city of his presence, the mildest of which was to take him by force on board a packet and ship him to New York.

But Mr. Hoar was immovable. At length a proposition was made to him, on the part of the Sheriff, that the case should be made up to be submitted to the Circuit Court, and then carried to the Supreme Court for final decision, provided he would go; and to this he assented.

In waiting the next day upon the Sheriff, this proposition was withdrawn, on the ground that if adhered to, "the purposes of the State might be thwarted;" that it was an "insult in Massachusetts to send any person on such business," and that there was "a determination to rid themselves of him by some means." On returning to his hotel, Mr. Hoar was accosted by a decently-dressed man, who said: "You had better be traveling, and the sooner the better for you, I can tell you; if you stay here till to-morrow morning you will feel something you will not like, I'm thinking." He was again urged by gentlemen, to whom he had brought letters, to leave at once, but he resisted their persuasions. That night he expected an attack upon the hotel, which he afterward learned, was prevented by the promise of his removal by steamboat the next day. The following day was consumed in further negotiation, which led to no result. Mr. Hoar kept to his hotel, and avoided insult. The excitement outside, meantime, increased, but the fact that Mr. Hoar had his daughter with him

probably delayed a resort to extreme measures. One of the persons who waited upon him said: "It is that which creates, or creates, our embarrassment." But the day following, the Committee waited upon him, and announced their intention of conducting him to the boat.

"Fighting on his part," Mr. Hoar said, "would be foolish, and he was too old to run." "It seemed, then," he says, "that there was but one question for me to settle, which was whether I should walk to a carriage or be dragged to it." He preferred the former, and went peaceably. On the boat a man was pointed out to him who had offered his services as "a leader of a tar-and-feather gang to have been called into the service of the city."

Thus the sovereign State of South Carolina disposed of the sovereign State of Massachusetts, through her representative, by virtually kicking her off the premises. The retaliatory measure of Massachusetts has been to come to the conclusion that a system which thus defies the rights of a sister State, and refuses to recognize the power of the Supreme Court of the United States, had better not, for the good of all concerned, be permitted to extend its dominion over the Territories. But South Carolina did not stop there. Her Legislature immediately passed an act by which it is provided that any person coming into the State on his own behalf, or on behalf of any State, to disturb the laws in relation to colored persons, bond or free, shall be held to be guilty of a misdemeanor, be imprisoned in the common jail for trial, and on conviction be sentenced to banishment, and to fine, and imprisonment at the discretion of the court; and for a second offense the penalty is seven years imprisonment, a fine of a thousand dollars and banishment from the State. The penalty first named attaches also to any person coming with the same purpose, who disobeys the warning of the Governor to leave the State within 48 hours, and any citizen of the State who issues a commission for such a purpose from another State, shall be punished, for the first offense, by a fine of one thousand dollars, and imprisonment not more than one year; and for the second offense, by imprisonment for seven years, and a fine of a thousand dollars, or banishment, as the Court may see fit. Thus, if any Northern colored citizen, whose son or whose brother may have been sold into slavery by the cruel laws of South Carolina—a thing that has happened far oftener, without doubt, than any fugitive slave of that State has escaped to the North—shall go there to redeem him from slavery, or any one for him, not only is it held that he has no rights which the State is bound to respect, but he is fined and imprisoned for venturing to assert them. The personal liberty bills of the Northern States have never freed a slave; but every Northern vessel that enters the Port of Charleston with a colored man on board is compelled to surrender him to imprisonment so long as she remains; and not only has he no redress for this gross injustice, but to attempt his redemption, should the captain choose, for any reason, to leave him behind, is a penal offense for which there is no remedy. When, in the course of compromising, we come to the consideration of bills enacted to prevent kidnapping, let us create to make kidnapping easy.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND SECESSION.—A few Sabbaths since, the Most Rev. Archbishop Purcell, delivered an address at Cincinnati, in the course of which he said: "Everywhere throughout the world the clouds hang in darkness. It would seem as if the death-knell of our glorious Union had already been heard; that it was to be dismembered and torn into fragments, and that the people of the States, and Cities from the States to which they belong. Oh, what is the treason of those men who thus sacrifice the noblest hope of man? And who is there that would not lay down his life a willing sacrifice to preserve the union of these States? There is an incident recorded in Holy Writ, in which it is stated that whenever a dead body was found upon the highway, all whose steps led from the spot were brought to the corpse and made to swear that they were not the murderers. It is so, so, so, that our Union is to be severed, every Catholic in the land may come, and extending his hand over the Bier, say: 'I am guiltless of its death.' When you look around this hall, and see the beautiful stars and stripes that adorn it, pray, oh, pray! that the hideous rattle-snake may never sting them, but that the rattlesnake of secession may be crushed, even as the serpent that caused our fall."

UNIVERSAL WHITE SUFFRAGE TO BE ABOLISHED.—The Southern Literary Messenger for January, published at Richmond, in Virginia, has just been revealing some of the purposes of the slaveholder rebels, in breaking up the Union. One of them, and the main one, is to abolish universal white suffrage. It declares the experiment of a Republican Government, based upon the universal suffrage of the white man, to be a disgraceful failure, and openly avows the design of the rebels to be to create a Southern Republic, upon a white suffrage, limited to men of sufficient property for annual subsistence upon usufruct. In other words, the policy of these rebels is, to reduce society in the Slave States to the feudal condition again, with African Slavery for its basis, and to adopt such legislation as will compel the poor white man to emigrate, and to confine the dominant class to the fewest possible numbers. This is but a natural sequence of the policy of the disunionists.

STARVATION AND DISTRESS IN ENGLAND.—The London and Liverpool papers continue to be filled with dreadful accounts of starvation and suffering in the manufacturing districts, in consequence of the lack of employment, resulting mainly from the countermanding of orders from the United States, and the consequent suspension of labor. There is a loud call for the organization of "relief societies," "soup houses," "fuel and clothing associations," &c., in all the great towns and cities. The reports from the trade circulars show the condition of things in Manchester, Leeds and Huddersfield to be distressing. Nottingham, too, is a serious sufferer. One of the journals states officially that "the number of in-door poor, at the poorhouse, exceeded by 415 those from the corresponding period of last year, while the outdoor recipients amounted to 2,016 more than last year."

A jangled schoolmaster excuses his passion for angling by saying that, from constant habit, he never feels quite himself unless he is handling the rod.

## PLAIN TRUTHS PLAINLY TOLD.

In the House, at Washington, on the 26th Jan., the Report of the Committee of the Thirty-three being under consideration.

Mr. GILMER, (Amcr.) of North Carolina, said a desperate struggle was now going on in all the Southern States to consummate that which South Carolina now avowed she had at heart for the last thirty or forty years. When he was a boy the doctrine of nullification was preached in that State. It was declared to be a peaceful remedy, the only remedy by which the differences between that State and the General Government could be settled, and by which the Union could be saved; but when that doctrine was crushed out by Gen. Jackson, the next resource was secession, and in order to give some little plausibility to it, it was said to be of a most peaceful character. Nullification could never have many friends, and secession would have but few friends were it not for that doctrine, the fruitful and seductive compromise which was attached to it, that it was peaceful in character. He would come to the history of events within the last twelve months to the time when the Democratic party, which had been broken up by the nullifiers and seceders at Charleston and Baltimore. Their nullifying friends on that occasion relied upon the action they might take in a separate Convention, which it was said contained many honest and patriotic men. They did not then hold out the idea that the election of Lincoln would be just cause for disruption of the Government. They held out the fact that they had made a Union nomination, and placed at the head of their ticket Union-loving men. But when they were charged with having had a design to disrupt the Government in case they were defeated, and in case Lincoln was elected, these men universally and generally thought of the South denied this charge most manfully. The men who controlled that party—the men who were first on the Breckinridge ticket and who declared that nullification was peaceful and secession was a proper and peaceful remedy—where were they now? They were scattered everywhere over the Southern States, doing all they could to destroy the Government and break up the Union. What was the course being now pursued? Were they giving the country time for reflection? Where they giving it time for thought and consideration? No; but while they found State after State going out of the Confederacy, they still found men indisposed to let the country have an hour to do what it should do in this crisis. While the Gulf States were calling for conventions, what did they see? They found that dispatches were going from this place—dispatches, not of peace, not for reason, not for reflection, not of the peaceful and calculating to irritate the public mind, and still more to fire the Southern heart, and to spread among the Southern people that madness under which they were now acting. Mr. Gilmer then read from the Virginia manifesto, which declared that the Republicans were determined to precipitate civil war upon the South. There were two propositions, dangerous in character, in that manifesto. The first was that Virginia's only safety was in leaving the Union, and the second, equally fallacious, equally dangerous, equally destructive, was that this was the only way to reconstruct the Union. He would also refer to a letter written by Senator Clingman to *The Democratic Standard*, a paper published in North Carolina, in which the people were warned that it was the determination of the Republican party to subjugate the South, and finally to abolish Slavery in the States, even at the risk of civil war. He would refer to the idea of a party and parcel of that fruitful source through which the public mind in the South was to be lulled for a time, until they were precipitated into a civil war and a disruption of the Union. But was the separation of the fifteen Slave States from the eighteen Free States the proper mode to be pursued to secure a reconstruction of the Government? There was a purpose intended in all that, to make the people assure themselves that if the people of the border States could be assured that the object of these men who were hurrying the South into extremes was to break up the Union, they would shudder with horror at the very idea, as the men who voted for Breckinridge would at the knowledge of the truth, had they been told, as they ought to have been told, that the man who put Mr. Breckinridge in nomination intended to break up the Union if they failed. They would shudder at the idea of the Union assisting in such a work. The honest farmers and mechanics and traders of the South would shudder if they were told that the movement, represented to them as one intended for the purpose of securing Southern rights under a reconstruction of the Government, was, in fact, designed by the men of the Baltimore platform to dissolve the Union and break up the Government. The men of the South would shudder in all that, to make the people made in voting in compliance with those secessionists and disunionists. They might as well hope to put together the delicate machinery of a watch, after it had been broken into atoms by the heavy strokes of a sledge-hammer, as to hope for a reconstruction of this Government and Union, after a virtual separation. He would have Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and the other border States, to remember what these Breckinridge had told them before the election, and what these men had since done, so that they might fully understand in time what was meant by reconstruction of the Government. He would say to his Northern friends, in the face of those things, that they had it in their power, without the surrender of an iota of a single principle, to crush out these men and their teachings in an hour. They had it in their power, by a single vote in that House, to crush forever those whom they considered their enemies, and the enemies of this Government—this great and glorious country. Let them but give the country the assurance that they are willing to meet the exigencies of the moment, and that hour consigns those secession leaders to the tomb. It was not because the secessionists considered the Crittenden propositions of any great value to the South, if they asked them, nor because it would injure the North to grant them; but because those men thought that they were safe in making issue upon them, believing that the North would not concede. By refusing them he could assure them that the work of inflaming the Southern mind would go on, and it would never rest till the Union was irrevocably broken up. And yet by offering the Missouri Compromise line they would in fact yield no principle. There was not a man in the House who would put his

hand on his breast and say that he believed that the concession would make one Slave State more or less, or the Free States one more or less. Let them do this, and the question would be settled forever, and those disunionists who were still among them would go hence, weeping and wailing and gnashing their teeth, at the downfall of all their cherished hopes and ambitious designs. It was upon the principle recognized by Southern men, that Slavery should not exist in Kansas, it being North of the line of 36 30 that the Republican party had triumphed—a principle which no man in the South would to-day gainsay. Upon it they had elected their President, and had got into power. . . . He was anxious for the adoption of the Crittenden resolutions, not because he thought them best, but because they would be acceptable to the people of the South. Give the people these propositions; but if you do not, then give the Border States propositions, or the propositions of the Committee of Thirty-three. Let them work together on this point like men who loved the country, and who desired the perpetuity of the Union. He had carefully weighed these propositions; and he would not give a snap of his fingers for distinctions that he could not observe between them. In his own judgment, he conceived the propositions of the Committee of Thirty-Three were the best of the whole, inasmuch as they showed a disposition on the part of the Northern gentlemen of conciliation and compromise which he had not expected from them. The only question of real importance which had agitated the South was in connection with the fear they had been taught to entertain, that the North at sometime or other designed to interfere with Slavery in the South. A constitutional pledge had been proposed to quiet the mind of the South on this point. Let that pledge be given. Let there be a perpetual bond against the interference with Slavery in the South, and that said amendment shall never be altered or amended unless by consent of all the States of the Union, and then he could say to his people that their apprehensions as to the people of the North interfering with them were removed forever; and this would allay those feelings that had been engendered in their minds, and bring them back to the feelings of fraternal peace. He would remind them that they had fifteen great States, having 950,000 square miles of territory, possessing the best rivers in world, the most valuable and productive climate, and institutions most beneficial to them, and these, with all the blessings of a cheap and free Government, were guaranteed to them forever.

POSITION OF HON. SIMON CAMERON.

Senator Cameron arrived in Philadelphia on Saturday, January 26th, and took lodgings at the Girard House. A number of his political friends serenaded him, and the General appeared at the front of the house, although it was snowing at the time. He was introduced to the serenading party by John M. Coleman. Gen. C. declared his inability to make a speech in the open air, and after a few remarks about the manufacturing interests of the city, and of his devotion to the furtherance of the party work inside of the hotel, where Gen. Cameron made a conversational speech, in which he referred to the secession movements, and the deplorable condition of the country in consequence of them. He said: "Fellow citizens of Philadelphia:—I thank you for this demonstration. I am not vain enough to believe that it is because of any personal merit in myself. I know it arises from the deep interest you take in the unfortunate condition of public affairs. Philadelphia is the metropolis of our State, in which every Pennsylvanian takes a great pride. The labor of her working men and mechanics has not only built up and embellished this great city, but has developed the resources and power of our Commonwealth. You believe that, in all things, I have sympathized and acted with you, and therefore you honor me by your presence. It has endeavored, beyond my ability, to do my heart, and to promote, to the extent of my feeble ability, the interests of the laboring classes. My own early life was employed in manual labor, and in after life, in every public station which I have occupied, my mind and energies have been devoted to the interests of the working men and the development of the resources of the country. Your appearance here convinces me that my course is appreciated and approved by you. But, you ask me to speak of the Union. It is in danger. Misguided men in the South, acting under imaginary wrongs, have controlled public opinion and patriot men there are prevented from exercising the influence which is due to their positions to the public welfare. The mob spirit reigns triumphant. Six States have declared themselves out of the Union, and in several of them armies have been organized, and even in the States where our forts and our arsenals have been seized, and the public property of the country has been forcibly taken possession of by men who set the Constitution and laws at defiance. To stay the progress of this rebellion, and to preserve the integrity of the Border Slave States, which have, as yet, maintained their fidelity to the Union, something is required to be done on our part to strengthen the power and influence of the Union loving men of those States. In Maryland, such men as the heroic Hicks, the fearless Davis, and the learned and patriotic Reverdy Johnson; in Virginia, such spirits as Wm. C. Rives, Sherrard Clemens, John M. Botts, James Barbour, and others; in Kentucky such patriots as Crittenden, Guthrie, Powell, Prentice, and their like; in Tennessee, the Hon. hearted Andrew Johnson, John Bell, E. R. Briggs, Nelson, and a host of others; in North Carolina, such as Morehead, Graham, Badger, Gilmer, and many others like them in all the Southern States, deserve and commend themselves to our kindest sympathy. The conduct of these noble spirits appeals to us for emulation of their own self-sacrificing spirit. Shall we, my fellow citizens, be less generous than they prove themselves to be? Unless the Border Slave States adhere to their integrity, the Union will be at an end. If we but afford those men ground to stand upon, to maintain themselves in resisting the mad spirit of secession which surrounds them, the integrity of those States will be maintained, and the Union be preserved. Shall Pennsylvania, herself a Border State, hesitate in this emergency, to extend to them her sympathy and her support in their effort to save the Union. I am one of those who supported the election, and mean to sustain the Administration.

of Mr. Lincoln, cordially and faithfully, upon the principles laid down in the Chicago platform. But I am willing to make any reasonable concession not involving a vital principle, to save this great country from anarchy and bloodshed, and to preserve the proud position which it occupies before the world. We may have material prosperity in a Northern Republic, but a separation brings with it a loss of all influence upon the destinies of the world. It is not necessary to take a step backwards in supporting the resolutions of Mr. Crittenden, which seem to meet the full approbation of the people of this city, if it be amended so as not to extend to territory hereafter acquired, and to remove from it the feature which proposes to incorporate into the Constitution the doctrine of the Dred Scott decision. I prefer to leave the Constitution on that subject as made by our fathers, until reason shall have again resumed her proper sway over the public mind. In other words, I am ready and willing that the Missouri Compromise shall be restored. The repeal of that measure led to the organization of the Republican party. Upon that question it gained its strength and secured its victory. If now our Union-loving brethren of the Slave Border States shall be willing to unite with us in its restoration, and accept that as the basis of settlement of existing difficulties, why should we hesitate thus to meet them?"

These sentiments I took occasion to express a few days since, in my place in the Senate of the United States. In doing so, I did not mean to endorse all the sentiments expressed by my colleague (Mr. Bigler), but only meant cordially to express my approbation of the spirit and sentiment in favor of the Union which he expressed. I did, however, express my willingness to support and vote for his proposition, if that would satisfy the violent men of the south, and bring them back to their duty. His proposition is simply to submit the Crittenden amendments to a vote of the people of the States for their adoption or rejection. As a last resort, when Congress shall prove itself incompetent to adjust existing difficulties, and when the disruption of the Union into confederacies shall become inevitable, I shall hold it to be my duty to join in an appeal to the people to take the matter into their own hands, and determine it in their own way, as they may deem best.

For a lifetime I have never yet seen public opinion wrong, formed after due deliberation and reflection. This is a Government, not of States, but of the people of the States, and they will not suffer this glorious Confederacy to be destroyed at the dictation of agitators who may be governed by personal ambition. Failing in all efforts, either in Congress or by the action on the part of the people themselves, to restore concord and harmony, and civil strife must come upon us, I shall be found among the sons of Pennsylvania, in defence of her soil, her principles and her interests.

THE NORTH, AS A CONFEDERACY.

As the tide of disunion rolls along in the South, and State after State is wheeling into the line of secession, now including South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi; with a tendency that way on the part of others, the press is beginning to canvas what the condition of the north would be, in case the disunion of the states should be consummated. The following view of the question we condense from an article in the Boston *Transfer*.

"The worst should come to the worst," and the Union be dissolved, though such a result of our experiment would be mortifying, there might not be much loss experienced by the North as a consequence of the dissolution of the quarrelsome firm. If all the free States could manage to hold together, and to form a Union not materially different in the provisions of its Constitution from that which now (nominally) exists, all that could have under any circumstances would be had. The free States could form a great nation, which would be in some respects stronger than the present Union, for it would not be liable to cost and convulsions of a servile war, and would not be looked upon by foreign nations as a practical satire on freedom.

"The population of a free States Union would not be much under twenty millions, and as there would not be a bondman in the whole number, save the few persons who should be deprived of their freedom as a punishment for crime, the new Union would be physically as strong as the existing one is, and morally stronger. The free States could construct a new railway to the Pacific quite as easily, to say the least of it, as the present Union could construct two such railways. They would have as much maritime strength as the Union now has, for the Southern States contribute few seamen to our commercial marine, and consequently few to the national navy. A free States Union would not have to pay the cost of the post office for the slave States, and in that way the people would get rid of a heavy charge which they now feel, and which is one of the items of the cost of the Union to them which they would continue cheerfully to pay so long as the Union could be maintained on honorable terms. In 1859, the cost of the post office business in the seven Cotton States—Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Texas, exceeded the revenue therefrom in the enormous sum of \$2,202,879.03! This could all be saved if the Union were lost through the exertions of the very States which are so much benefited by its existence in this one respect alone. A free States Union could institute a uniform two-cents rate of postage, which would be the same thing as the English penny postage, and the system would then be self-supporting. By a judicious system of protection, manufactures, could be as well supported as they now are, and those engaged in them would be subjected to none of those fluctuations that have been so common in consequence of tinkering of the tariff by politicians from year to year. Flax, which is susceptible of being produced to an unlimited extent in the North and West, could be largely substituted for cotton, if any change should be found necessary in consequence of restrictions being placed on our commerce by the South. We should be able to import sugar, which has ceased to be a luxury, and has become one of the necessities of life, free of duty, and stop paying the annual millions which we contribute in aid of the cane growers of Louisiana, Texas, and Florida. There would be an end to our duties on catchers and retiners of fugitive slaves."

He who marries for wealth sells his liberty.