this city was, last Monday evening, arrested upon a requisition from the Governor of Illinois and the warrant of the Governor of Illinois, and taken away that same evening. He surrendered so quietly and said so little before leaving that his friends had no idea he was under arrest. After he left, in custody of the Illinois Deputy Sheriff, the facts became known to a certain extent, and there was much talk and excitement about town.

"Friends of the abducted merchant, not entirely understanding the business, requested us and the other reporters not to make any publication till the whole thing should be known. We consented, not so much in a spirit of accommodation, as from a desire to report knowingly if we did report anything, and because we had no certified facts as to the why or wherefore of this extraordinary proceeding; all owing to the silence of the merchant himself when he went away.

"We now hear, that when the Illinois officer and his prisoner reached Vicksburg, some facts as to the arrest had been telegraphed there, and the gallant Vicksburgers took it upon themselves to inquire why an officer from Abe Lincoln's State was dragging Northward a well-known and responsible merchant of New-Orleans. The inquiry was followed with sudden results. The Illinois officer narrowly escaped lynching, and was glad enough to slope without his prisoner. The merchant was treated with all kindness and politeness, and will probably be laughing over the adventure with his friends in this city to-day.

There was a civil lawsuit of some years' standing between our man and a man in Illinois, who were once associated in the steamboat business. There were law-suits on both sides, as we hear, in New-Orleans and in Cairo. Latterly the Cairo man, in his suit, obtained judgment against the New-Orleans man, for some $2,000 or $3,000; and the latter, having no seizable property in Illinois, was, upon some finding, a little stronger than that of mere indebtedness, sent for, and arrested and taken away, as above narrated.

Alexander Norton, produce merchant, of Poydras street, was the man taken away, and so suddenly dropped at Vicksburgh. His enemy in the law-doings was one Davis, with whom he once had an interest in the steamer Western World.

MINOR ITEMS.

SATISFACTION AT LAST.

The Albany (Ga.) paper relates the following incident:

"Just then a new scene was presented. Our enterprising book-merchant, L. E. Welch, appeared with a large bundle of Harper's Magazine, and some other periodicals of a like kit, and, constructing the pile in the middle of Broad street, they were well sprinkled with camphene, and then touched off with a lightwood torch (at the hands of a little boy, the son of an immediate Secessionist), and burned to ashes, amid the plaudits of the crowd."

EXTENSIVE SALE OF MEN AND WOMEN.

The negroes belonging to the estate of Samuel Townsend, deceased, were sold at auction in Huntsville, Tenn., on Monday and Tuesday last. The bidding was very high, and the prices far exceeded the expectations of every one. One hundred and sixty-six negroes, old and young, were sold for $136,642, the average being $823 14 apiece.

HIS BUDGET OF EXCUSES.

From The Washington Star, Dec. 12, 1860.

Mr. Cobb's budget of excuses for running away from his charge so soon as he found it apparently in a desperate strait, will, we apprehend, have an effect opposite to that of relieving him from the censure of public opinion for the part he has displayed in the work of destroying the Government, for the last month or two. Our own belief is, that had his mind been as closely occupied in that time with the exigencies of the branch of the public business of which he was nominally the guardian, as with the labor of aiding and abetting the work of the oligarchic immediate secessionists in all the Gulf States, the latter would not have so far succeeded as to beggar the former—the Treasury of the United States—his charge. Our means of observation here have satisfied us that he has done more than any other public man in the country to make the settlement of the Slavery trouble within the Union well nigh an impossibility, if but by persistently using the influence of his official position to strengthen the hands of those who want disunion in preference to entire security of Southern rights under the existing Government. His disunion labors have been at the bottom of all the imputations upon the integrity of the course of the Government here toward its trust, which the opposition have of late urged so vehemently, to the destruction of the value of property of all kinds—stocks, labor, lands, negroes, produce, and goods, wares, and merchandise, everywhere.

LET THEM GO—WHO CARES?

The St. Joseph (Mo.) Free Democrat winds up a long article on secession as follows:

"If they leave—what then? The first result will be a Republican majority in the Senate and in the House. A Tariff will be passed; the Homestead bill will pass; Kansas will be admitted; the Territories will be free; rivers and harbors will be improved; a Central Pacific Railroad will be built; industry in all its forms will be revived. Congress will become an advantage to the people instead of a curse. Let them secess and disune."

LETTER FROM THE HON. J. L. PUGH OF ALABAMA.

EUFAULA, Nov. 24, 1860.

I feel that it is due to my constituents, as well as myself, to make public my reasons for going to Washington, since the destruction of the Federal Government, by the election of Lincoln, and you will oblige me by stating them in *The Spirit* of next Tuesday. The sole object of my visit is to promote the cause of secession. I believe much good can be done and evil prevented by the presence of Southern members. The schemes of temporizers and Union-savers may be frustrated—the plans of the enemy understood—and valuable service rendered the cause of Southern deliverance by consultation, and especially by consolidating and putting in active operation the influence, wisdom, experience, and learning of the faithful. After doing all in my power to secure the speedy deliverance of the Southern people from the thraldom of an Abolition Government, I shall bid farewell to the City of Washington, never again to return while it is the seat of a Government that has jurisdiction over the State of Alabama.

Whether the election of Lincoln is a result to be deplored by any true Southern man, depends upon the future action of Slaveholding States. If we negotiate for new guaranties, palaver about coöperation, or entangle ourselves in the meshes of diplomacy, we are a doomed people. But if Alabama covers herself with the glory of being alone if she must, in the second Declaration of Independence, then the historian will record it and our posterity celebrate it as the cause that secured to them the blessings of a Southern Confederacy. The manhood and self-respect of Alabamians will be subjected, however, to no such test, for no event in the future is more certain than that we shall have abundant coöperation; and while we may be called on to weep a little over the dead body of the old Union, we shall rejoice that the South is free.

Yours, truly, J. L. PUGH.

AMOS KENDALL ON THE CRISIS.

SECESSION NO. VIII.

Fatal Error of the North—The States foreign to each other in Relation to Domestic Institutions—Unconstitutional Legislation not Nullification—Hostile Acts North the most Effective Arguments of Secessionists—The Sufferers are the Border Slaveholding States, and not South Carolina.

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH.

If a portion of the people of the South have been deluded into the idea that they have an inherent right to secede from the Union, a delusion equally fatal has been practiced upon the public mind of the North. It is in the inculcation of the idea that they have any right to interfere with the existence of Slavery in the South. They do not realize the fundamental principle of our institutions that so far as regards the reserved rights of the States they are as foreign to each other as are Great Britain and France. Massachusetts has no more right to interfere with the relations of master and slave in South Carolina than South Carolina has to interfere in the relations of master and apprentice, man and wife, parent and child, in Massachusetts. A man in Massachusetts has the same right to the labor of his wife, his son, his daughter, and his apprentice, that a man in South Carolina has to the labor of his slave. It is not a natural right, but a right originating in the laws of an independent State, with which no foreign States or people have any right to interfere. If our States were not united for general purposes under one Constitution, the interference of one State or its people with the institutions of another would be impertinent and offensive, and might be carried so far as to afford just cause of war.

Under our present Constitution not only does every State reserve an unlimited control over its domestic institutions, but it is one of the conditions of union that "no person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

This is the language of the Constitution, the supreme law of the land, which all State legislators and Judges are not only bound, but are sworn to support.

The provision has two aspects. In one of its aspects it provides, in substance, that no apprentice or slave owing labor to his master under the laws of one State shall, on escaping into another, be relieved from that legal obligation by legislation or judicial decision in the latter State. Every State Judge, therefore, who decides that an apprentice or slave is free as soon as he escapes from one State into another, as from Kentucky into Ohio, or from Virginia into New-York, not only violates the Constitution, but also his oath to support it.

The other aspect of the provision is that which requires that the fugitive, apprentice, or slave shall be delivered up to his master. It does not say by what agency he shall be delivered up; but if the several States were actuated by the spirit of harmony which ought to pervade the Union, they would lend their agency to carrying into effect this provision, as well as every other part of the Constitution. The least that could be expected of them, if they wish to preserve the Union, is not to obstruct the Federal authorities in their efforts to make effective this provision of the Constitution. But several of the States, instead of aiding to give effect to the Constitution in this respect, or even maintaining a passive attitude, have done their utmost, by legislation and otherwise, to render this provision nugatory. Their legislators have by their acts defied the laws of the United States and violated the Constitution, together with their oaths to support it. These acts afford the most effective argument now wielded by the secessionists, because they constitute a just cause of complaint, and they furnish a pretext for charging the offending States with nullification.

While these acts are an outrage upon the Constitution, they are far from constituting "nullification" in the South Carolina sense of the term. In that sense, "nullification" is a sovereign act of the people of a State not susceptible of revision by any earthly tribunal, rendering any designated act or acts of Congress inoperative and void within the limits of that State; whereas these offensive acts of the States do not profess to render void any act of Congress (though designed to obstruct the operation of a particular act) nor to be beyond revision by the Federal judiciary, which will undoubtedly pronounce them unconstitutional and void as often as an appeal shall be made to them. Whether, with this remedy always at hand, they constitute a just cause for rebellion and revolution may well be doubted.

The practical effect of those laws is not so much to prevent the recovery of fugitive slaves as it is to encourage negro-stealing and demoralize Northern sentiment on that subject. There will always be thieves of other property as well as negroes, whose operations no State can prevent, but so far from attempting to restrain the negro-thief, he is encouraged and sustained by legislative enactments, void though they be.

That a portion of the Northern States and people have grossly violated the rights of Southern slaveholders under the Constitution, does not admit of a doubt. But who are the sufferers, and what is the remedy?

The sufferers are almost exclusively the border slaveholding States—Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri. They have lost slaves in consequence of Northern agitation and legislation by thousands, while South Carolina, secure by a double cordon of slaveholding States intervening between her and the haunts of the negro-thieves, has lost few or none from that cause. Yet, without consulting them in a matter which concerns their interest a thousand times more than her own, she tells them their only remedy is in a dissolution of the Union; and with a white population scarcely exceeding that of the City of Baltimore, she plunges into the sea of revolution, expecting to compel these great States to follow her.

We will examine the remedy she proposes, and consider whether there is not a better. AMOS KENDALL.

HOW NORTHERN MEN ARE TREATED IN NEW-ORLEANS.

AN OUTRAGEOUS STATE OF THINGS.

From The Chicago Journal, Dec. 10.

One of our prominent citizens, a gentleman of undoubted veracity, who has just returned from New-Orleans, gives an exciting account of the state of feeling that exists toward Northern men in that city, and down in that region generally.

He informs us that on the 2d of this month a well-known member of the Chicago Board of Trade, who was at New-Orleans on business, was waited on at his hotel at midnight by members of the "Southern Protection Society," and warned to leave the city immediately, or be prepared for the consequences. He forthwith, for the sake of his personal safety, proceeded to change his quarters to another hotel, and left the city as soon as he could transact his business. He had not said a word about Slavery or politics while in the city, having gone thither on private business, and the only reason his persecutors gave him for their conduct was that they had been informed by somebody that he had a brother in Missouri who is an active Republican.

Another gentleman, a citizen of Cincinnati, who had gone down to New-Orleans with half a million of dollars to buy sugar, was in like manner waited on and compelled to leave, because, as they were informed by some person, he had a son who is in some way connected with *The Cincinnati Gazette*—a "Black Republican" sheet.

Our informant, the gentleman first mentioned, says he stopped at the St. Charles Hotel while there, and he was the only Northern man whom the "Southern Protection Society" allowed to stay there, and the reason why he was spared was the fact of his having influential relatives in the city, who are members of the "Society."

He says that at the St. Charles Hotel he saw a subscription paper, on which $55,000 had already been pledged to secure the assassination of Lincoln and Hamlin—and it was there freely offered that Lincoln should never be President either of the whole Union, or either section of it.

He also says that on his way northward through Mississippi, he saw two dead men hanging on a tree, and the people thereabouts being asked what it meant, they replied that they "had been talking to niggers;" and on being asked why they were not buried, replied, that they "wouldn't bury any d—d Abolitionists on their soil"—would "rather see 'em rot."

The people of the North have but an imperfect notion of the extent of the hatred and desperation of the Secessionist portion of the Southerners. They are mad with headstrong fanaticism, exhibiting neither judgment nor even a regard for their own business interests—are, in a business-point of view, cutting their own throats, declaring that they "don't care, but will fight these Northerners to the bitter end, let the consequences be what they may."

JOHN COCHRANE'S PANACEA.

[The substance of the following letter has been given by telegraph.]

WASHINGTON, December 11, 1860.

To the Hon. JAMES HUMPHREY: The undersigned, Representatives in Congress from the City and State of New-York, deem it our duty to communicate to you, as the representative of our State in the Committee of Thirty-three, to which has been referred that part of the President's Message relating to the condition of the Union, our views of what, at the present crisis of the Union, is demanded alike by the sentiments of our people, the great interests of the country, and the moral and political necessities of the situation. We think the time has arrived when an effectual stop ought to be put to all aggressive and irritating agitation of the Slavery question at the North. If there are any points of Federal relation to the peculiarly Southern institution of Negro Slavery which give rise to a conscientious sentiment at the North adverse to it, and therefore to a sense of supposed duty to deal with the subject according to theories at variance with the sentiments and convictions of the South in regard to it, we think that these points ought to be brought to a conclusive constitutional settlement, so as to relieve uneasy consciences at the North of that feeling of responsibility, and conquer supposed right and duty. We think that the South cannot be expected to remain, and that it will not remain, associated in confederation with a fixed Anti-Slavery majority domination from the North, as the South are in a relation of conquered submission to a power manifestly hostile and menacing to their vital institutions and fundamental rights. We think that the South, or even the more southern South of the Cotton States, is strong enough both to assert and maintain its independence of the North, and now, in fact, fully resolved to do so, unless a just and necessary satisfaction to its reasonable claims, and a respectful and friendly recognition of its equal rights and the equal sovereign dignity of its constituent States in the Union, are now frankly and honestly conceded to it by the North, and effectually secured to it by constitutional provisions. We think that there have been reciprocal faults on both sides, in the long sectional controversy which has now culminated to its final issue and the necessary permanent solution in the now apparently almost inevitable dissolution of the Union; but we also think that it is no time now for recriminations, which ill befit true statesmen and patriots at such a moment as the present. And now, condensing into practical application the views generally indicated in the above expression of not only our own opinions, but, as we well know to be those of our people, we think that a more practicable and adequate solution of the now pending crisis of the Union would be the adoption by Congress of certain amendments to the Constitution, in part explanatory and in part new, but all in harmony with the pervading spirit of the Constitution, and the submission of those amendments to Conventions or the Legislatures of the States, for ratification, within the course of the next two months. We believe that such amendments would be ratified by large majorities in nearly all the States of the North, and that they ought to be and would be satisfactory to the patriotic reason of the South; and that, by the proposed course of action, if recommended by your Committee and adopted by Congress, all the present storm of danger to the Union will, by the 4th of March next, have rolled away as rapidly as it has swept upon us, and that we shall enter upon a new era of fraternal peace and universal prosperity, which may in no way disappoint our confident trust in the perpetuity of this sublimest work of human wisdom—the constituted Union of the sovereign States of America.

The amendments we therefore recommend to you, as the representative of New-York in the Committee of States, are as follows:

1. The Territorial question (in our view of the existing diversity of views, and the necessity of a practicable compromise on that subject) would be wisely settled by a return to that which even from a period long anterior to the date of the Missouri Compromise was the fair and sagacious policy of the fathers, namely—a climatic partition, by securing to the South the right of unmolested immigration into and settlement in, the Territories south of the latitude 36° 30′ during the period of Territorial minority, with the same right to all necessary protection to their accustomed property which may be enjoyed by Northern immigrants in regard to their various descriptions of property; and with full right to the people of each Territory to determine their permanent policy in regard to Slavery and the negro race on the formation of their State Constitution for admission into the Union.

2. The Federal jurisdiction over local spots within the States, such as forts, arsenals, and over inter-State commerce, should be declared not capable of being applied to any interference with the lawful right of property as recognized by the States locally concerned, and that simultaneously with this guarantee to the South in regard to inter-State commerce, the revival of the African slave-trade should be prohibited.

3. Inasmuch as the Constitution, in its wise distribution of the different kinds of representations intended to be embodied in the three great branches of the legislative and Executive power—the Senate, the House of Representatives, and the President—has made the first the representative of the equal State sovereignties; the second, that of the people in their representative local districts, and the third that of the whole aggregate people of the whole Union, the mode of electing the President ought to be modified so as to secure the object of his being the representative of the true majority of the whole, and not that of a minority, which may happen to be the mere local majority of a single section. With this view the single electoral district system for the election of the Presidential Electors ought to be adopted, with two Electors at large for each State, as at present, provision being made for a second election between the two highest candidates, in the event of no candidate having received the requisite majority on the first vote.

4. Although not directly connected with the controversy which has resulted in the present crisis, we think that a provision for the non-eligibility of Presidents hereafter elected would be acceptable to the general opinion of the country, and be highly beneficial in its influence upon the administrative action of the Executive.

In addition to the foregoing proposed amendments of the Constitution of the United States, we think that at the present time a very pernicious source of reciprocal irritation between the two sections of the country would be removed if certain amendments were adopted in the existing legislation in regard to the rendition of fugitive slaves. On the part of Congress, we think that the Federal law ought to provide that an alleged fugitive who may not admit the right of his claimant should be delivered over, not to the immediate possession of such claimant, but to the Marshal of the District from which he may be alleged to have escaped, there to receive a full and deliberate trial of the fact in issue, and that in the event of his unlawful rescue the State or the county should be liable to the claimant for his full value. On the part of the States which have passed laws designed for the obstruction of the rendition of such fugitives, all such laws ought to be repealed or amended into conformity with the solemn faith plighted in the Constitution by each State to all the rest; and we are convinced that such repeal or amendment would promptly follow the adoption of the above proposed modification of the existing Federal law.

JOHN COCHRANE, GEORGE BRIGGS,
WILLIAM B. MACLAY, THOS. J. BARR,
DANIEL E. SICKLES, H. F. CLARK.

COCHRANE vs. COCHRANE.

To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.

SIR: I am a Hunker Democrat—one of that rare class who have opposed Anti-Slavery movements all my life, and who have never voted for any so-called Free-Soil and Barnburner Democrats under any circumstances. Having, therefore, a record which, whether right or wrong, is at least consistent, I have some privilege to criticise the inconsistency of others, and especially of Democratic politicians like John Cochrane, William Kelly of Dutchess, William Cassidy of Albany, and their comrades, who in twelve years have eaten all their brave words uttered in 1848, and become hypocritically penitent for all the mischief they did when standing on the Buffalo Platform. Did I believe their repentance and recantation sincere and heartfelt, I would welcome these newly-awakened victims of delusion. But who of us all, whether Republican or National Democrat, can credit the good faith of men whose history presents such strange and impossible changes of opinion as those of the Buffalo Platform Union-savers of the present day?

These remarks are impelled by the perusal of the Hon. John Cochrane's resolutions, offered in Congress, and his letter to the Hon. Mr. Humphreys. Let us look upon the two pictures. This is John Cochrane, in May, 1848:

"*Resolved*, That the lash has resounded through the halls of the Capitol, and we are, therefore, prepared for the vote on which 'Northern Senators' shall unite with their 'Southern brethren' in consigning an empire of free Territory to the dominion of the slaveholder; that revolting as must be the ceremony which introduces by the baptism of a 'Compromise,' 250,000 square miles of our newly-acquired possessions into the communion of Slavery, there needed to perfect its harmony, but the presence among the sponsors of a Dickinson and a Bright, of whom, if the latter in his recusancy to Indiana is recommended to her compassion by the necessities which constrain the possession of slaves, the former by 'almost wishing to be born in Virginia,' inspires in the breasts of the millions, whom he misrepresents and dishonors, a proportionate desire for his translation to some more congenial clime.

"*Resolved*, That we denounce, in advance, *all projected compromises or surrenders* of the vital principle of freedom, regardless of their origin, their object, or their extent; that, in the anticipated defection of the Senate, we place our reliance on the other branch of Congress; but should the hope of favor, the fear of punishment, or the schemes of political ambition, accomplish the enactment of a law for the extension of Slavery over a single square mile of Territory, now free, we hereby pledge ourselves immediately to enter on *the task of its repeal*, and unceasingly to labor for the accomplishment of this object."

And John Cochrane, in August, 1848:

"*Resolved*, That our fathers ordained the Constitution of the United States, in order, among other great national objects, to establish justice, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty; but expressly denied to the Federal Government, which they created, all constitutional power to deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due legal process.

"*Resolved*, That in the judgment of this Convention Congress has no more power to make a slave than to make a king; no more power to institute or establish Slavery than to institute or establish a monarchy; no such power can be found among those specifically conferred by the Constitution, or derived by just implication from them.

"*Resolved*, That it is the duty of the Federal Government to relieve itself from *all responsibility for the existence or continuance of Slavery*, wherever that Government possesses constitutional authority to legislate on that subject, and is thus responsible for its existence.

"*Resolved*, That the true, and, in the judgment of this Convention, the only safe means of preventing the extension of Slavery into territory now free, is to *prohibit its existence in all such Territory* by an act of Congress.

"*Resolved*, That we accept the issue which the Slave Power has forced upon us, and to their demand for more Slave States and more Slave Territories, our calm but final answer is, No more Slave States, and no Slave Territory.

"*Resolved*, That we will inscribe on our banner, 'Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men,' and under it will *fight on and fight ever*, until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions."

And, John Cochrane, in August, 1849:

"This Convention holds that the Federal Government possesses the legislative power over Slavery in the Territories, and *ought to exercise it* so as to prevent the extension of Slavery there."

Again, John Cochrane, at the State Convention, at Syracuse, August, 1851, opposed and voted to table the following resolution relative to the Fugitive Slave Law:

"*Resolved*, That the Democratic party of this State will faithfully adhere to the recent settlement by Congress of the questions which have unhappily divided the people of these States, and will neither countenance nor sanction *any sectional agitation or legislation* on the subjects embraced in the settlement."

This record brings Cochrane down to the period of the election of Pierce, in 1852, from whom he received the influential and lucrative office of Surveyor of the Port of New-York, which formed a stepping-stone to his elevation to Congress. Look at him now! *Quantum mutatus ab illo!*

Here is John Cochrane in the House of Representatives, Dec. 12, 1860:

"That in all territory of the United States lying south of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, not included within the limits of any existing State, neither Congress nor any Territorial Government *shall pass any laws prohibiting or impairing* the establishment of Slavery: Provided always that the said Territory, or any part of it, when admitted as a State, shall be received into the Union with or without Slavery, as its Constitution may prescribe at the time of admission. *Congress shall pass no law prohibiting or interfering with* the trade in slaves between the slaveholding States and Territories. The right of transit through, and temporary sojourn in, the several States and Territories of the United States, is hereby guaranteed to all the citizens of the several States and Territories, and their right to the possession and *control of their slaves during such sojourn and transit shall not be impugned*. No law enacted by Congress for the rendition of fugitive slaves shall be impaired or impugned by any provisions in the laws or Constitution of any State or Territory, but all such provisions in any State or other Constitution *shall be null and void*."

Now, Sir, is this change of doctrine the result of conscientious conversion and conviction, or is it the trick of the demagogue, reckless of principle, and only seeking self-advancement and place?

In 1848, Mr. Cochrane denounces "all compromises or surrenders of the vital principle of freedom," as he terms it, and in 1860 he hastens to propose a "compromise" himself.

In 1848, he demands that the Federal Government relieve itself of "all responsibility for the existence or continuance of Slavery," and calls for a prohibition of Slavery in all the Territories. In 1860, he proposes now to deprive Congress of any power to "prohibit or impair the establishment of Slavery," and denies to Congress "the power to prohibit or interfere with the trade in slaves between Slaveholding States and Territories."

In 1851, he refuses to adhere to and abide by the Fugitive Slave law, and will not pledge himself to discountenance "sectional agitation or legislation" upon the subject. In 1860, he wishes to declare "null and void" all State legislation whatever in contravention of Congressional enactment.

In 1849, he is morbidly anxious about Slavery in the Territories. In eleven years' time he has so altered his mind that he will permit slaves to be carried into and held in all the States and Territories! SATIS.

LET US KNOW.

To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.

SIR: In the event of the secession of South Carolina and other Slave States, and the formation of a new Confederacy by them, what guaranty would there be of South Carolina's remaining in the new Confederation any longer than she chose so to do? Would she not, judging from her past history, on the first indication of her own chronic weakness, insist upon again seceding, and forming still another Government, less obnoxious to her, but feebler than the one she last left? Where will she stop? INQUIRER.

Dec. 12, 1860.

A PEACE PROPOSITION.

To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.

SIR: The great, wise, and numerous people who value union, peace, and money—and especially the latter—have now two difficulties before them. These difficulties are not two bundles of hay that allure their wise tastes in opposite directions, but two inexorable millstones, which will grind them to powder unless one or the other is itself pulverized.

On one side are the Southern patriarchs, who hold that Slavery is a divine institution, and practically kill everybody within their reach who denies that dogma. Their numbers, though not large compared with the entire population of the country, are considerable. Their power is by no means to be despised, as any one may prove by defying them in any one of fifteen States.

On the other side, scattered through the other fifteen or more States, is a much more considerable number of educated and enterprising persons, who agree with Blackstone, Brougham, Bolivar and other fanatics of that sort, that Slavery is naturally a crime which legislation cannot legalize, and that in opposing it, a outrage, no one can be guilty of anything worse than a want of wisdom. These persons make no secret of opinions so radically hostile to slave property, as to be positively intolerable in any Slave State. Considering that such opinions always lead to corresponding practice, that the slaves themselves are susceptible of opinions, and that their ignorance is not proof against steam locomotion and steam printing-presses, in any very long run, it is plain enough that the peculiar institution, however divine, cannot be safe till such persons are exterminated, or at least driven from the continent.

Here, then, are two irreconcilable parties, no one of whom reason is wholly imperative, and the other unfortunately has all the reason on its side. There is positively and absolutely nothing for it but to use the *ultima ratio regum* at once and effectually on one party or the other, or else their irrepressible conflict (whether in the Union or out of the Union) will grind to powder together the peace of the country and all the neutral lovers thereof.

The pious people whose divinity is Mammon, and whose Bible is the ledger, who have no particular preference on behalf of other people, between slave labor and free labor, may as well look this state of facts in the face, and make their option. Let them, between two days as it were, exterminate the Abolitionists throughout the North, making them as scarce, or at least as silent as they are in the South, and then there will be peace and union, for a century or less. Let them, on the other hand, by a sudden irresistible blow annihilate, not the slaveholders or the slaves, but the peculiar relation of the one class to the other, and then there will be peace and union. But, if this immense, wealthy and conservative class neglects to do, or only half does either of these things, and vainly strives to argue down those who have all the reason on their side, or to convince without argument those who know they are wrong, but mean to remain so, then there will of course be neither peace nor union. It is childish nonsense to deprecate a civil war. It is here. The only sensible question is, which of the factions will the country get rid of easiest, and to the best effect. AN ABOLITIONIST.

A RADICAL PROPOSITION.

To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.

SIR: As it is quite evident that we can never live together in peace while one portion of our country is slaveholding and the other non-slaveholding, and as we should feel disgraced by a dissolution of the Union—although I rejoice to believe that the prevalent feeling at the North is, that we will suffer such disgrace before we will yield one iota of the principles for which we have been contending, and which have so overwhelmingly triumphed in the success of the Republican candidates—therefore, to settle all matters of disagreement between the North and South, would not some such plan as this be acceptable to both sections:

1. Let Slavery be abolished in all the States in five years from the fourth day of July, 1861.
2. Compensation to the slaveholders to be made in Government Bonds, bearing 3 per cent interest. Said bonds to have fifty years to run; value of slaves to be fixed by Commissioners appointed for that purpose.
3. As an equivalent for the five years services of the slaves, the slaveholders to give them four months schooling in each of the five years.
4. An amendment of the Constitution prohibiting Slavery forever in any of the States or Territories of the Union.

I am aware that it would be an enormous debt that we should incur—some $2,000,000,000 or more—but in view of the vast benefit to the whole country of a peaceful settlement of our difficulties, and the certainty that we should as a nation, thereby soon attain a degree of prosperity unparalleled in the history of the world, this would render the burden comparatively light; and should our tariff not be sufficient to provide for the interest, the people would no doubt cheerfully submit to a tax sufficient to meet it.

It may be urged that 3 per cent interest is too low for the bonds. I believe that the bonds would command at least par. The country would, as soon as this plan of settlement was agreed upon, start off in such a degree of prosperity, that the bonds would be in demand for banking purposes.

After emancipation, the services of the slaves would be wanted where they now are, and with kind treatment and payment for their services, they would no doubt stay where they are, and the slaveholder would find the new system more profitable than the old. Indeed, it seems to me, that as a matter of speculation, this plan would be a very desirable one to the slaveholders, for they would receive the value of their slaves at once, and relieve themselves from all losses by deaths or runaways, and could hire the slaves for about the interest on their present value, and would undoubtedly get more work from them. Besides, the enhanced value of their bonds, which would be sure to follow, would of itself almost compensate for the value of the slaves. The South would indeed, then be truly prosperous; and the capital which has so long been drained to the North in business enterprises, for there would at once commence an influx into the Southern States of our mechanics and enterprising business-men; that class to which the North is so much indebted for the degree of prosperity to which it has attained. It does seem to me, that if the people of the South would calmly look at their own interest, and their safety depends upon the acceptance of some plan something like the above. E.

Orange, New-Jersey, Dec. 10, 1860.

PENNSYLVANIA LIBERTY BILL.

To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.

SIR: Since the publication of recent letters from Gov. Letcher of Virginia, on the subject of Pennsylvania laws, an opinion prevails that we have on our statute-books enactments which interfere with and prevent the execution of the Fugitive Slave law, and to correct this opinion, permit me, through your columns, to state a few facts.

The Fugitive Slave law acts independent of all state authority. It does not depend upon State laws for its success, and makes no reference to any State officers whatever. It is a perfect system within itself, looking entirely to Federal authority alone, and referring only to United States Courts, Judges, Marshals, and Commissioners.

Again, the Fugitive Slave law declares that the officer or officers in the execution of process "shall use all *proper* means and *reasonable* force," but provides against any officer to create a riot by improper or unreasonable means. Now to the Pennsylvania law complained of by Gov. Letcher, and the only one on the subject of fugitive slaves among our statutes. Section 95 Penna. Pamphlet Laws, 1860, provides, first, against kidnapping free negroes; second, that no Judge, Alderman, or Justice of the Peace shall take cognizance of any fugitive slave case.

The Fugitive Slave law gives them no authority, and our law positively forbids them from interfering. Certainly no Southern man would complain of this.

Thirdly: This section provides against the arrest of a fugitive from labor "in a riotous, violent, tumultuous, and unreasonable manner, so as to disturb or endanger the public peace." The Fugitive Slave law, as before indicated, gives no man authority to raise a riot and disturb the public peace, and does this provision interfere with the law of Congress? A few years ago, three or four officers arrived in Wilkesbarre to arrest a fugitive slave—a muscular mulatto, a waiter at one of our hotels. Without any notice to the landlord, and when the negro was waiting on the dinner-table, these men rushed upon him and a severe conflict ensued. The negro seized a carving-knife, and his assailants drew their pistols; women and children screamed, and the whole company was instantly in an uproar. Fighting desperately, and unaided by any person, the negro rushed from the dining-room, crossed the street, and plunged into the Susquehanna River. Several shots were fired at his head while in the water, one ball causing a flesh wound in his neck, and another a wound on his head. By this time the whole town was in an uproar, and the river bank was crowded with spectators. To attempt an arrest in the water was of no use, as the negro declared he would drown himself, and after firing a few shots at his head, the brave officers of the law retired and hastened out of town. The negro, I believe, is in Canada.

This negro could have been taken without any disturbance, perhaps, by prudent officers; but when men disregard the lives of community, violate all decency, and even the Fugitive Slave law itself, our law provides for them, and if these men had not hastened out of town they would have been arrested. Was justice done by these officers to the owner of the slave, or our community? Such performances, under the Fugitive Slave law, makes thousands of what are called Abolitionists.

The people of Wilkesbarre have always been conservative, law-abiding citizens, and will always be found true to the country. They turn their faces against Abolition lecturers; but one such scene as I have described will produce more Abolitionists than forty lectures.

The people of the South complain that their runaway negroes cannot be arrested in the North, and we complain that they, by the Fugitive Slave law, are determined that we shall become negro-hunters. According to the provisions of that law, any low-bred, vulgar deputy officer has power to command gentlemen, the equals of Southern slaveholders, to accompany him to "Negro Hill," or "Negro Hollow" (I believe almost any Northern town has such a place), and assist in hunting and arresting a fugitive from labor. This is degrading freemen of the North to the level of slave-drivers in the South—yes, lower than slave-drivers—and no high-minded Southern man can sustain such a law. That distinguished Virginian, J. M. Botts, says this repugnant portion of the law ought to be repealed, and I trust it will be; but whether it is or not, the North will not secede.

If an officer of the United States arrests a negro fugitive from labor and an attempt is made, or he has reason to believe that an attempt will be made, to rescue him, the law provides that the officer shall employ a sufficient number of men to prevent such rescue, and also for the payment of such persons for services thus rendered.

But, suppose it is still insisted that our Pennsylvania law conflicts with the free operation of the Fugitive Slave law, who is responsible for it? Certainly not the Republican party.

In 1847, the Whigs had a majority in our State Legislature, and, with the Democrats, voted for joint resolutions requesting our senators and representatives in Congress to vote for the Wilmot Proviso. I say voted with the Democrats, because the measure was Democratic. The resolutions were introduced by a Democrat, and were voted for by Senator Bigler and our present State Attorney-General, J. C. Knox, and every Democrat in the Senate and House except three, and were approved by Gov. Shunk, a genuine, pure Democrat. Soon after the adoption of these resolutions, the law above referred to was passed, and signed by Gov. Shunk. The Yeas and Nays were not called on the passage of this act, and consequently its passage was not seriously objected to by the Democracy. In 1852, when Mr. Bigler was Governor of the State, and the Democracy had a majority in both branches of the Legislature, the sixth section of the law, refusing the use of county jails, was repealed.

Attention was directed to the whole Act, and if it conflicted with the Fugitive Slave law, why did not Gov. Bigler and the Democracy repeal the whole law? In 1856 or '57, a law was enacted directing the Governor to appoint three competent lawyers to revise our penal code. Gov. Packer appointed three distinguished Democratic lawyers, who revised the code, and incorporating therein (section 95) the unrepealed portion of the law of 1847. This code was adopted by the Republican Legislature of 1860, and approved by that sound Democrat, Gov. Packer. Thus it is evident that the Democracy have had full share in the adoption of what the South are pleased to call "the Pennsylvania Liberty bill"; but I hold that we have no such bill, and hence both the Democratic and Republican parties are free from censure.

Yours truly, STEWART PEARCE.

Wilkesbarre, Pa., Dec. 10, 1860.

NO SLAVERY EXTENSION.

To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.

SIR: I cast my vote at the last election for the Republican candidates in preference to those of the Democratic party, with which I had been in the practice of acting. My reason for doing this was that on the one great issue presented in the contest, the extension of Slavery, my judgment approved of the position of the Republicans. This opinion was not the result of a passing caprice, but it was a deliberate judgment, based on the study of history and of political science. To the present generation of Americans is committed the great trust of determining the future destiny of broad territories which are now unpeopled. The annals of almost every nation are little else than the record of a long struggle between a subject and a dominant race, and where has permanent peace been realized till the races became homogeneous, and with equal rights before the laws.

From comprehensive principles of statesmanship, therefore, I believe it better that our new Territories should be peopled with white men, in the possession of equal rights, than that they should be inhabited by negro slaves and their masters. It was because I was sure that the candidates of the Republican party were pledged to the freedom of the Territories, that I gave them my vote; and now I call upon them to redeem their pledges. The Personal Liberty bills were not in issue in the contest; they are of temporary influence, and any legislator may vote on them as he thinks best; but I protest against the sacrifice of the great and durable interests of the country by the further extension of negro Slavery over its Territories. When I cast my vote I did it with my eyes open, and perfectly prepared to accept the consequences.

If South Carolina secedes, we will plant the American flag in the south-east corner of the Indian Territory, where Arkansas joins to Texas, and we will give the Fire-eaters an opportunity to display their chivalry in driving it away. But I trust that no man will be frightened into giving up any territory to Slavery by the easy process of voting. If there is anything loathsome in a public man, it is to see him desert his principles and pledges, in a time of trial, from weakness.

Respectfully, ONE OF THE MASSES.

New-York, Dec. 12, 1860.

TO GOV. WISE AND HIS MINUTE-MEN.

HERE's a health to you all, gallant Minute-Men,
While the Union you guard and stay in it, men;
But if, "by the Powers!"
Disunion—you dare to begin it, men,
We'll count you by *sixties*, brave *Minute-men*—
And then don't you see it'll be *ours?*

New-York, Dec. 13, 1860. "E P. UNUM."

MARINE AFFAIRS.

COLLISION.

The steamship Florida, Crowell, hence for Savannah at 3 p. m. on the 12th, when off Absecom at 11:30 p. m., came in contact with an unknown propeller, carrying away bowsprit, cutwater, and stove a hole in her bow, which extends to her flooring, causing her to leak so badly that her five steam-pumps can barely keep her free. The propeller sustained but trifling damage.

The steamship Florida, which left for Savannah on Wednesday, the 12th inst., has returned to New-York, in consequence of collision. Her cargo will be transferred to the steamship Alabama.

ANOTHER METEOR.—A correspondent, writing from Millersburg, Ohio, says:

"A tremendous *Meteor* passed over here last night (Dec. 8) about 7 o'clock. I was coming in from Middletown to Millersburg (the latter being some four miles north of the former). The night was cloudy and quite dark. Suddenly it seemed as if a *mighty lantern* had been let down through the clouds, and gradually drawn back. The light was intensely bright with a mellow golden appearance and luster, and lasted about ten seconds. A feeling of external heat passed over my body while it lasted, much such a sensation as that which passes over the register of a hot-air furnace, only the heat seemed to come from above and not below. The clouds seemed melted to a *red hot heat*, and I confess I was slightly "*skeert*," and hardly knew for a little while that I was not "*Saul of Tarsus*." It exploded about five minutes after with a loud report.

—Men find it difficult to formally announce a death gracefully and properly, yet briefly. A fair specimen of the blunders made in this department of literature appears in the British Premier's announcement of the death of William the Fourth to the Mayor of London: "It is *with much regret* that I announce to your lordship that it has *pleased* Almighty God *to relieve his Majesty from his sufferings*."

CITY ITEMS.

WINTER GARDEN.—Mr. Edwin Booth takes his benefit at this Theater to-night, performing, for the last time, the rôle of Richelieu, in which he has evoked so much enthusiasm.

ITALY AND GARIBALDI.—The Rev. J. C. Fletcher will deliver the lecture on this subject, this evening, at the Cooper Institute.

MR. PAGE'S LECTURES ON ART.—The first of a series of three lectures on Art, by Mr. William Page, will be delivered at the Mercantile Library Lecture-Room, in Clinton Hall, this evening.

CARRY A CANDLE.—We are glad to see that some of the late travelers to Williamsburgh, who are obliged to cross the river in George Law's ferry-boats, are determined not to do it in total darkness, as they have adopted the practice of carrying candles. We commend their example to all who cannot reach Roosevelt-street Ferry before nightfall. Stop at some corner grocery and buy a two-cent candle, and have an independent light. No matter if a little grease drops, it will be intercepted by the dirt before it reaches the floor.

GAS FOR THE SOUND STEAMERS.—A new method of lighting the Sound steamboats from large reservoirs of gas, to be placed on the upper deck, the latter being filled at either terminus of the route, is soon to be put in operation. Four iron reservoirs, capable of holding 1,800 feet of gas, are to be secured on the hurricane deck, and it is thought that in case of emergency these buoyant tanks may prove very efficient as life-preservers.

CITY CANVASS.—The Board met at 2 o'clock yesterday, and went through the Twelfth and Nineteenth Wards, completing the canvass within one day's work. The Twentieth and Twenty-second Wards will be taken up to-day. To-morrow the work will be reviewed, and corrections made.

POLICE COMMISSIONERS.—This Board met yesterday afternoon, and dismissed Neil Duffy of the Third Ward, for violation of the rules and regulations. The Clerk said that no other business was done.

NEW STATION-HOUSE.—The Twentieth Precinct Station-House, situated in Thirty-fifth street, between Eighth and Ninth avenues, having undergone a course of repairs and improvements, has been reopened. The old house being inadequate to accommodate the force of the ward, by a resolution of the Common Council, an extension was built, and the entire building painted throughout. A new feature has been introduced by Capt. McKelvey, which is not to be found in any other Station-House in the city. The walls of the rear room of the building are painted green, which assists greatly in subduing the glaring light of the gas. All the modern improvements of the day are also applied. The citizens of the ward are about getting up a subscription for a library, for which purpose a fine book-case is arranged in the Station-House.

CULPABLE CARELESSNESS OF A DRUGGIST—AN INFANT POISONED.—Coroner O'Keefe held an inquest yesterday at No. 10 Baxter street, upon the body of an infant, 14 days old, named Isaac Isaacson, who died from the effects of poison. The child, it appears, was suffering from an ulcerated mouth, and borax and honey were prescribed for it. The father went to the drug store of Ernest Bihn, No. 16 Franklin street, and ordered the mixture, but was given instead, corrosive sublimate. The child's mouth was washed with this and in four hours the child was a corpse. The Jury rendered a verdict implicating the druggist, and he was arrested and required to furnish bail in $500, to await the action of the Grand Jury.

HOW THE HERALD MAKES PANICS.—The following note to *The Herald* needs no comment:

MESSRS. LIGHTE & BRADBURYS' PIANO-FORTE FACTORY.

NEW-YORK, Dec. 13, 1860.

To the Editor of The Herald:

We notice in your issue of this morning, under the heading of "The Laboring Classes," several statements with reference to our house, which are so palpably wrong that you will allow us to correct the same. You say we have "totally suspended business;" "that our force consisted of about a hundred men," and "the firm did not discharge their men until absolutely compelled to do so." Every word of these statements is false. Our force consists of about 300 men. We have not suspended business, and we have not discharged a man. The mistake has probably occurred from the fact that our men have been on a strike for the last week, demanding a higher price than we are willing to pay. Yours, &c. LIGHTE & BRADBURYS.

FILTHY STREETS.—Captain McKelvy, of the Twentieth Ward, made the following report this morning to the Superintendent of Police:

"I would most respectfully report that this Precinct is in a most filthy condition with ashes and garbage. I have applied to the Street Inspector of the Ward, but cannot get the ashes removed. The citizens complain so bitterly that I have notified the City Inspector."

SUIT FOR ALLEGED FALSE IMPRISONMENT.—Proceedings have been instituted by George Frank Lemon against George Mountjoy, James Bryan and Thomas Moxhan, the latter Captain and Patrolman of the Nineteenth Precinct. The affidavit, drawn by Richard Busteed, recites that on the 8th of December, the defendants, maliciously, and with intent to injure, harass and annoy the plaintiff, did by force and without warrant of law, compel him to go to a certain Police Station-House in Fifty-ninth street, and there imprison him in one of the cells, and restrain him of his liberty for fifteen hours, &c., for all which he claims damages in the amount of $20,000. The arrest in question took place near the residence of Mrs. Taylor, relict of the late Street Commissioner.

FATAL FALL.—Terrence Redman, a laborer, died yesterday from the effects of a fall from a ladder, erected against a new building in Fifth avenue, between Twenty-second and Twenty-third streets, where he was at work. He was ascending the ladder with an empty hod upon his shoulder, and when about 20 feet from the pavement missed his footing and fell, receiving internal and other injuries which caused his death. Coroner O'Keefe held an inquest upon the body. Deceased was 56 years of age, and leaves a family residing at No. 116 West Seventeenth street.

DEATH FROM INTEMPERANCE.—Ann Clark, an Irish woman 42 years of age, died suddenly yesterday morning, in a shanty in One-hundred-and-twentieth street, near Third avenue, and it was rumored that her husband had beaten her to death. Coroner O'Keefe was notified, and held an inquest upon the body, when it appeared that deceased had been an habitual drunkard for many years. A post-mortem examination made by Dr. Charles Gallagher showed conclusively that she had not been beaten, as no marks of violence were to be found upon her person, and that death was the result of exhaustion, produced by intemperance. The Jury rendered a verdict to that effect.

FATAL BURNING-FLUID CASUALTY.—Coroner Schirmer held an inquest yesterday, at No. 81 Crosby street, upon the body of Mrs. Mary S. Morrissey, a native of Ireland, 25 years of age, who died from burns received on Monday evening, by the explosion of a fluid lamp. It appears that deceased shook the lamp to make it burn brighter, when it exploded, setting fire to her dress. She ran into the street, when a gentleman who was passing succeeded in extinguishing the flames, but not until she was fatally burned. The Coroner's Jury rendered a verdict of "accidental death."

[Advertisement.]

NOTICE!

THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS' WORTH
of
WINTER CLOTHING,
FURNISHING GOODS, &c.,
for
MEN AND BOYS,
to be
SOLD OFF AT AN IMMENSE SACRIFICE,
by the 1st of January.

In view of the condition of the times, we have concluded to dispose of our entire stock on hand at
A VERY GREAT SACRIFICE ON THE COST.

DEVLIN, HUDSON & Co.,
Nos. 256, 258, and 260 Broadway.

[Advertisement.]

The "crisis" is frightening everybody now-a-days, but BARNUM is after it, and proposes showing it up at his Museum. Meanwhile he keeps "Masaniello" and other amusements going every afternoon and evening, and those amusing AZTECS, WHAT IS IT? AQUARIA, the 30 Monster SNAKES, and other novelties and curiosities, at all hours.

[Advertisement.]

HOLIDAY PRESENTS.

Those wishing to present to their friends their Photograph for a HOLIDAY PRESENT, could not get a more suitable or FINELY finished style of Portraiture than the IVORYTYPES made by J. GURNEY & SON, No. 707 Broadway.

[Advertisement.]

EDWARD H. DIXON, M. D., Editor of The Scalpel and Operating and Consulting Surgeon, No. 42 5th-av. Office consultations on the more obscure diseases of the pelvic viscera. Rupture, Piles, Varicocele, and Fistula, radically cured without the knife or ligature. Office hours from 8 to 9, 1 to 2, and 7 to 9 evenings.