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BY DAVID OVER.

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## Poetry.



For the Inquirer.

### TO MY MOTHER.

All thy locks are fading, mother,  
And thy eyes are dimming too;  
Teaching me though still unwilling  
That I soon must part with you.

Oh by souvenirs awakened,  
Rings the hour of memory,  
In a tone of melting sadness,  
Singing songs of home and thee.

Mother, I can ne'er repay thee  
For your kind and constant care;  
But I will in realms eternal  
Try by grace to meet you there.

On the walls of Zion, mother,  
I believe I'm called to stand,  
And when done with earth, my mother  
May we meet at God's right hand.

HENRY STAY, Jan. 7, 1861. J. M. A.

## REMARKS

OF  
**COL. SAMUEL S. WHARTON,**

On Senate Bill No. 1, relative to the maintenance of the Constitution and the Union.

DELIVERED JANUARY 11, 1860.

The Clerk having read the original bill No. 1, as read in phrase by the Senator from Philadelphia, (Mr. Smith.)

Mr. WHARTON moved to strike out all after the words "whereas," and insert the following:

WHEREAS, A crisis in our national affairs has arisen out of seeming and imaginary rather than real difficulties, resulting from the long existing controversy between ambitious partisans in the north and south, and in relation to which the public mind has become inflamed, bitter jealousies engendered, fraternal strife begotten and the permanency of the Union endangered:

AND WHEREAS, This crisis, although resulting in our opinion from no adequate cause, has in the progress of unbridled passion and fanaticism assumed an aspect so threatening as to demand an unqualified expression of opinion and prompt and decided action on the part of those who value and are impressed with the importance and necessity of preserving for ourselves and our posterity the blessings of this best of all the governments of earth, as transmitted to us by our patriotic fathers.—Therefore,

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met, That the people of Pennsylvania earnestly desire by conciliation and compromise to bring back the working of the National Government to what it was in the days of the fathers of the constitution, if it can be so effected, and thereby restore harmony to the country, re-establish fraternal feeling and indicate that love of the Union, always our pride and boast.

Resolved, 2. That recognizing all our territorial possessions as the common heritage of the people, we, as a measure and means of conciliation, are willing to subdivide this domain into States, and admit them into our common brotherhood as such, with or without slavery therein, according as the wishes or interests of the citizens thereof may dictate, or that the Missouri Compromise line be restored, and south of that line the citizens be permitted to choose between slavery and freedom, as their interests may dictate, and thus remove forever from the halls of our National Legislature this prolific source of strife.

Resolved, 3. That to remove another cause of angry discussion and acrimony it is our opinion that in the hands of all legislatures in the different Free States, which seem ever to discountenance the recapture of fugitive slaves, should be promptly repealed, and that on the other hand the fugitive slave law should be so amended, that an efficient officer should call upon all citizens to act as posse comitatus, unless violence or rescue be attempted.

Resolved, 4. That as our sentiment upon the general subject of controversy, that while we will try all reasonable efforts to maintain and sustain our southern fellow citizens in the enjoyment of all their constitutional rights, it is our opinion that the northern sentiment is decidedly and unchangeably opposed to the extension of slavery, and that this sentiment has been greatly strengthened by the frequent indignities and outrages to the persons of southern people in the southern States inflicted for some casual expression of opinion, or upon mere suspicion; without the forms of law, and which, although borne hitherto almost without complaint, have in hundreds of instances afforded just grounds for retaliation; and also, because of the steady and persevering hostility of the cotton States to a fair protection to free labor and the homestead bill.

Resolved, 5. That we are in favor of the Union of these States, and that we will sustain the Executive in maintaining the Constitution and the Union, with all their compromises and guarantees inviolate; and that if all means looking to conciliation and compromise should unfortunately fail, we are in favor of the stern enforcement of the Constitution and laws of the United States at any cost, and all hazards, believing that tolerated secession or nullification would be the destruction of this Government, the surrender of all the sacred rights which the Constitution wisely administered, secures, and protects, the extinguishment of every patriot's hope, and the most direful event that could happen this country or the world.

Mr. WHARTON: The main objection which I entertain to the adoption of the resolutions presented by the gentleman from Philadelphia, (Mr. Smith) is that there is no distinct point in them. If I cast my vote in favor of their adoption, I believe I would not act in a manner which would tend to give that decided and emphatic expression of our feelings, and the sentiments of the people of Pennsylvania to

the other States comprising the National Government, that I should like to do. I have presented a preamble and resolution for the consideration of this body which, I think do not infringe upon any party platform, neither upon our own or that of the Democratic party. We must meet this question of our national difficulties fairly, as it was in 1820, and again in 1833 by compromise and conciliation. I concur in the expression of the Senator from Philadelphia, (Mr. Smith) when he alleges that the great underlying question in the present national controversy is not that of slavery, but that of obedience to the revenue laws of our Government. The resolutions offered by myself recognize the fact of a resistance to the revenue laws of the Government, as the occasion and first cause of the present irritated feelings of the country upon the alleged subject of slavery.

The arguments used by members of our own party during the last political campaign, were mostly designed to show that the great object of the party to which I belong was to bring the Government back to its original purity—to what it was in the days of the Fathers of the Republic; and our orators did not fail to show to the people the indignities we have so frequently suffered at the hands of our Southern fellow citizens, which were sufficient, taking a Southern view of the matter, to cause a rebellious spirit on the part of the people of the North. I believe that the complaints made by the Northern people are not simply imaginary, but are based upon such indignities to our citizens as no people can bear with complacency. Have not citizens from almost every portion of the North been maltreated and subjected to insult for no other reason than that they were Northern men.

I have set forth in the resolutions a justification, if such is needed by any section of this Confederacy, of the course we have been pursuing in Pennsylvania. I firmly believe that our difficulties are political; that they have been caused by politicians and embittered partisans, both in the North and South. Much of the difficulty, which, as a nation, we meet today, is owing to the repeated misrepresentations of our political opponents. We wish to remove the erroneous belief entertained by the people of one section of this Union against the people of the North, who voted for the Republican candidates for President and Vice President of the United States, and to show them that we are now, as we always have been, in favor of the compromises of the Constitution. Mr. Lincoln will falsify every charge made against him by reckless politicians, both North and South, before one year of his Presidential life is past. It is my firm belief that we cannot exist as one people without compromises being made, and we, as the representatives of the majority of the people, should be the first to offer such compromises, as a great State, such as we represent, should offer to those States distracted by misrepresentation of designing politicians and bad men. We have prospered as no nation on earth has done for more than three-quarters of a century by compromises on the part of all nations; and, Mr. SPEAKER, if we do not present some measures of compromise here, the representatives of the people at Washington will.

There are in our country, two systems of labor, the interests of which always have and will continue to run counter to each other.—One of these systems can get along without protection, the other cannot; and, we therefore, honestly and unambiguously say to the South that we cannot get along without such protection as our necessities demand. This being the state of the case we should give mutual protection to each great sectional interest, and we have but to look back to the past of the republic to see that as matters were harmoniously conducted then, so should they be now; and to do this we must have the Missouri Compromise line re-established. We must have the territories which are the common heritage of us all, so arranged as to settle this question which is creating such universal excitement over the entire land. No government can long stand while such an excitement over the entire land. No government can long stand while such an excitement as that which we now witness, is prevalent within her borders. When the Missouri Compromise line was in existence the country was at peace, and remained so until the repeal of that measure by the Democratic party, whom I charge with causing all the difficulties which are threatening the permanency of the Union. The misrepresentations of the Democratic leaders in 1856 elected Mr. Buchanan by falsely representing the policy and doctrine of their opponents. They then unscrupulously assured the people that unless their candidate was successful, there would be a dissolution of the Union.

The same assertion was made during the canvass last year, but it failed in its effect.—The people were determined that the Democracy should not dissolve the Union at every Presidential election. But the Northern Democracy in their extreme efforts to carry the election by a Southern sectional vote, represented the Northern sentiment so unfairly to the people of the South that they became alarmed for the safety of their institutions, having been falsely assured that the Northern people were a unit for aggression upon their Constitutional rights.

The North has now to make the choice of two alternatives, compromise or war; and I believe that it is our duty as sensible men, and as the representatives of a patriotic and christian people who prefer compromise to war, when such compromise can be made with our Southern fellow-citizens, which do not involve the sacrifice of any principle, or of our own honor. The people of this State are not in favor of war; and I assure gentlemen, the man who will not go as far as he can go without the loss of principle or of honor to himself to

avert the dire calamities of war; is doing that for which he will be held responsible. This whole difficulty has arisen from party prejudice, but we must meet the question now, and show to our Southern fellow-citizens our entire willingness to act fairly towards all sections of this Union, and to keep our promises with a religious sincerity to the people, to carry out the very spirit of the Constitution. We have seen the Democratic party in the pride of its power, with an organization around which men gathered, and to which they looked up because of its integrity. It was irresistible; yet that organization became corrupt.

And the leaders had so long promised protection to the people of the North that their promises were finally received with suspicion and at length totally disbelieved; and hence their utter destruction. Let us not follow in their footsteps, but come up manfully and propose to the South what we will do, and having done that, if we should be unfortunate as not to arrive at any conciliatory measures, then we will sustain, as my resolutions show, all measures instituted by the Chief Executive of the whole nation for the preservation of the Union, the enforcement of the Constitution and of the laws. This is the duty of Pennsylvanians, and the Republican party of our State can afford to say and do just what is right and liberal in the eyes of our fellow citizens of every section of the Union. I was sorry to hear Senators talk of rolling in the dirt and running under beds, which was proclaimed here to-day. Such talk might gratify the folly of youth, but it does not become grave Senators. Because some of the southern States have gravely erred, and set the Constitution and laws at defiance, is that a reason for us to be less just than we would under other circumstances? Surely not. If because the South does wrong, is that a reason for us committing an error? If such doctrines are held here, we will eventually place ourselves in no better position than that of South Carolina. It is more folly for us to talk about standing upon our dignity, and about fighting a few misguided whites and degraded blacks in South Carolina, after having lived for eighty years in peace and prosperity under the compromises of the Constitution of the country.

The principles endorsed by the people at the last election cannot be misunderstood and they cannot be changed. The South cannot alter or abridge them, nor can we fail to advocate them as heretofore, because the necessities of our people require that we should have protection for our labor. The people of our own State are determined to protect free labor, and if the sixty or eighty millions of dollars annually expended to carry on the Government of this country, be judiciously levied on our imports, the North will obtain all the protection she desires.

The cotton States may get along without that protection by which we are so greatly benefited, because their labor receives no compensation, but that of scanty clothes and coarse food. In the northern portion of the confederacy the poorest man we have amongst us looks forward to a day when he may accumulate something of a competency for old age and decrepitude. The slave makes no such provision; old age either finds him in the hands of a kind master who cares for his wants, or in the hands of a cruel one, who soon puts old age and decrepitude to rest where the lash will not be required to perform its task. It does not in reality affect the interests of the cotton States adversely to allow us this protection, for it makes both New England and Old England markets for their products. As it was not my intention, when I arose, to make a long speech I will merely run over the few remaining points I intend to make in advocacy of the resolutions which I have offered.

When the Missouri Compromise Line was established, our northern people pressed it upon the south, and when the Democratic party repealed it, a large portion of the south hesitated a long time before they acceded to the proposition.

Mr. SMITH. Under which king does the Senator fight—in favor of the Douglas doctrine of Squatter Sovereignty, or the Missouri Compromise?

Mr. WHARTON. I answer the Senator by saying that I am in favor of any honorable compromise which will restore peace and harmony to our distracted country, and prevent civil war and disunion.

The question of squatter sovereignty is not entertained in the resolutions offered. The doctrine of Mr. Douglas allows one hundred or one thousand people to go into a territory and regulate the question of slavery there.—My resolutions contemplate the formation of the territories into States; and that when they come into the Union as such, the people may have the right to say whether they shall choose slavery or freedom. Abraham Lincoln, the President elect, in his answers to Stephen A. Douglas during the canvass for United States Senator of Illinois, stated that if the people of a State wanted slavery, he would vote for its admission into the Union; he would not attempt to annul their wishes. I hold that this is the doctrine of the Republican or People's party of Pennsylvania. Such is the doctrine of popular rights. It is an easy matter for us to talk of war, but we will find it a different matter when we come to vote supplies in order to maintain an army. Now whilst the excitement in the country is at fever heat, men may go to great lengths in their declarations of war and of which they may regret in their moments of sober second thought. I believe it to be the duty of the Democracy on this floor to vote for the resolutions I have offered, and thereby show to the country that they will sustain the Executive of the National Government, and that they are opposed to the treachery of the Government officers who have lately resigned their much abused official positions.

In conclusion, I assert that when the time comes for decisive action—when all compromises fail—I will stand here in my place and vote for as great an appropriation to defray the cost of maintaining the unity of these States as any man here, and I will go as far as any man, because it is the duty of Pennsylvanians to the people of this country to sustain the government thereof, by all the means in their power. A man who would not do so, even though he be not the representative of a conservative, Union-loving constituency, is not true to the interests of the country in which he lives.

In regard to the subject of the Fugitive Slave Law, and the repeal of the sections of the Penal Code, alluded to by the resolutions of the Senator from York, I know that the Governor appointed his own party friends under an act of Assembly providing for the appointment of a commission; and that those gentlemen have fulfilled their duties, and they alone are chargeable with all the wrong resulting therefrom. But if there is anything in those sections which affects the rights of the South, I am willing that it should be repealed. I can vote for such repeal upon the same principle that I would vote for the resolutions of my friend from Philadelphia, (Mr. SMITH) because they contain nothing that could possibly do wrong or injustice.

From the London Times Jan. 5.  
**The Southern States Have Sinned More than the Northern.**

Nobody, either on the one side or the other—neither Mr. Lincoln, the President elect, nor Mr. Buchanan, the President in office—has condescended to bestow a single argument on that proposition from which the Free soilers originally set out. They started from the principle that Slavery, in its very nature and essence, a disgrace to a Christian people and a civilized land. At that time there were hardly two opinions on the abstract proposition. What was said for the South was not that Slavery was a defensible institution in itself, but that it was an existing one, that it had been inherited from the earliest times of the Commonwealth, and encouraged by a long course of legislation; that the abrupt enfranchisement of millions of Slaves was a thing impossible, and that the work of abolition must be most carefully considered, even if it were not repudiated, in default of any practicable scheme, to the insensible operation of time itself. Nobody, however, denied that Slavery was an evil, or that certain citizens of the Union might justifiably exert themselves to compass the removal of such an evil from their common country. Foremost among these proposals stood naturally their resolution to prevent the evil from growing. If they could not, for the present, make Slavery any better, at least they might take care that it grew no worse. They might keep the blot from spreading, and so provide by timely legislation that no new State of the Union should be infected with the disorder which had been inherited by the old ones.—That was the original theory of the Abolitionists, and we reproduce it for the sake of showing its moderation and its justice. Considering what slavery is, and must be—considering the infinite evils which it necessarily engenders, will any one say that the people of New England had not a right to declare that it ought not to exist within the Territories of the American Union; that the soil of a free people should be a free soil to all, and that an institution which benighted the Union in the sight of the world should be abolished as soon as prudence would permit, and confined to the narrowest limits possible until the time of that consummation should arrive?

Nevertheless, that position of the Northern States is now utterly overlooked. The character of Slavery, as a national institution, is left without a word of comment. All the arguments proceed on the assumption that the controversy is one between the North and the South, in which the South holds one opinion and the North another, and each with equal justice. No one thinks of asking whether the principles for which South Carolina is contending are admissible in themselves. Mr. Buchanan, especially, addresses himself to the subject as if such a view of it never entered his mind. He argues as if the difference between the Northern and Southern States of the Union was simply a difference of tariff, or a disputed boundary, or a contested jurisdiction. He never gives a thought to the fact that what the Free States require they are morally justified in requiring, while what the Slave States demand they can demand only at the cost of humanity and right. He even goes to the length of affirming—so strangely has the contest degenerated—that the New Englanders have no right to discuss the question of Southern Slavery at all. He says that the usages of the Carolinas are no more to them than the institutions of Russia or Brazil, and that their meddling with such matters partakes of impertinence. If this be so, we can only say that the "Union" of America must be so utterly substantial that it may as well be dissolved at once. If the people of Massachusetts are so absolutely without interest or concern in the affairs of Georgia that they have no tide even to discuss the question of Georgian Slavery, the separation of the two States cannot be much widened by a rupture of the Federal Union.—If the South really stands to the North in the relation only of Brazil or Russia, matters will not be changed by the dissolution of a nominal confederacy, for the States could not well become more strange to each other than this theory would represent them to be already.—But, of course, we dispute the fact. The people of the American Union are in the eyes of the world one people—not only as springing from the same stock, speaking the same language, and owning the same blood, but as acting through the same Government, and sitting

under the same flag. Whatever affects one State in the way of national reputation affects all. Europe does not discriminate between provinces, whether for praise or blame. When America's greatness is spoken of, Massachusetts and Mississippi share alike in the respect which is commanded, and when stories of slavery are circulated it is on the national stars and stripes that the discredit falls. To say that one portion of the American people have no title to concern themselves with the acts of another portion, on a question touching not only the eternal instincts of morality, but the character of the whole, is to assert what it would be impossible to maintain.

As we have taken up this case for an impartial though friendly judgment, we must in honesty go one step further, and declare our conviction that even in the political agitation of the question the Southern States have sinned more than the Northern. No stretch of fanaticism on the part of the North has been so extravagant as the doctrines now openly avowed by the South. The Slave States have long ceased to be content with suffering. In their passionate enmity they have loudly declared that Slavery, so far from being a blemish, is a positive blessing to a country. That it is the only true basis of labor, and the best cement of social institutions. They have claimed the right, not only of preserving it for the present, but of perpetuating it for all time, and of extending it into every Territory annexed to the American Union. One by one they have destroyed or set aside all barriers in the shape of limits or compromises, and have driven their principles by sheer force down the throats of their opponents. As a last resource they are preparing, apparently, to carry out a menace of long standing, and to destroy the very fabric of the Union rather than recognize the fact that any other view than their own may prevail in the council of Government. They cannot profess to apprehend any interference with their "property." What they claim is that no man should be President of the United States who does not regard this "property" exactly as they do—that is, who does not acknowledge that a black servant and a black portmanteau are chattels coming under exactly the same category and description.

In this country we cannot so entirely overlook the original question as is done on the other side of the Atlantic. We look at Slavery as unlawful and abominable. We know, and have repeatedly acknowledged, what can be said, if not precisely on its behalf, at any rate, against the views of fanatical Abolitionists.—We can understand that it would be hard for an independent and spirited community to hold their institutions under sufferance, and by the tolerance, as it were, of others. We can imagine that the Southern States were led on step by step, and under the impulse of unexpected successes, to change their ground and raise their terms till the present light of extravagance was reached. All this we can well suppose and admit, and the Americans may confidently assure themselves that there is no party in this Kingdom which desires anything but the maintenance and prosperity of the Union. We are more disposed, indeed, to advocate conciliation even at the expense of principle than to stand up for principle in the face of such high political peril. But, for all this, we cannot disguise from ourselves that, apart from all political complications, there is a right and a wrong in this question, and that the right belongs, with all its advantages, to the States of the North.

### LOUIS NAPOLEON ON THE UNION. HIS CONVERSATION WITH FAULKNER— HE DEPRECATES SECESSION.

The Paris correspondent of The Newark Daily Advertiser, after describing the New Year's Reception of the French Emperor of the various Foreign Ministers, speaks of his interview with the American Ambassador.—He says:

It now devolves upon your correspondent to describe an incident of the diplomatic reception, occurring a few moments after their formal address had been pronounced, which, at the present momentous juncture in the affairs of our own country, will excite a deep interest in the United States. The statement I am about to make may be relied upon as exact in every particular. When the collective reception of the diplomatic body was over, the Emperor passed slowly along the line of Embassadors and Ministers, speaking a few words to each in person. After a moment's conversation with the Persian Ambassador, who stood at the right of the Minister of the United States, the Emperor approached Mr. Faulkner and cordially shook his hand. The usual words of greeting were then exchanged, after which the Emperor asked, in English:

"What is the latest intelligence you have received from the United States? Not so alarming, I trust, as the papers represent it."  
"Like most nations, Sire," replied Mr. Faulkner, "we have our troubles, which have lost none of their coloring, as described in the European press."  
The Emperor—"I hope it is not true that any of the States have separated from the General Confederation."

Mr. Faulkner—"The States still form one common Government, as heretofore. There is excitement in portions of the Confederacy, and there are indications of extreme measures being adopted by one or two of the States. But we are familiar with the excitement, as we are familiar with the excitement, as we are with the vigor which belong to the institutions of a free people. We have already more than once passed through commotions which would have shattered into fragments any other Government on earth, and this fact justifies the inference that the strength of the Union will now be found equal to the strain upon it."  
The Emperor—"I sincerely hope it may be so; and that you may long continue a united and prosperous people."

Mr. Faulkner then asked permission of the Emperor to present to him Mr. J. G. Clarke, acting Secretary of Legation, and Mr. E. Boyd Faulkner, acting assistant Secretary, to whom his Majesty made a few kind remarks, and then passed on to the Minister of Denmark.

I repeat that the account given of this important conversation between Napoleon III. and the Minister of the United States may be relied upon fully. I have it from a gentleman who was present, and who heard every word pronounced on both sides. Indeed, the circumstances are now very generally known among the Americans in Paris, who comment upon the affair according to their individual political sentiments; but all, I believe, concurring in the opinion the interrogations and observations of the Emperor were inspired by a sincere regret at our unhappy internecine divisions, threatening a disaster which will not be attributed in Europe, to its real sources, and which could not fail to inflict a terrible blow upon the struggling populations of Europe, looking to our country as a model of political liberty, and to our unexampled material prosperity as the most signal evidence of the success and stability of republican institutions.

### AN ENGLISH CALL TO US TO BE FIRM.

From the London News, Jan. 4.  
We ought to consider also that when the bulk of the American nation has condemned and adjured Slavery, the public opinion which the collective nation could not withstand must be crushing to any severed portion of it; and again, that there is both a disagreement among the slaveholders about the policy of secession, and a refusal of the landless whites to be disposed of by their aristocratic neighbors and oppressors; and, again, that the respective States in the South are already jealous of each other's attempts at a port; and, again, that the Republican spirit which alone can form a federal association in America exists only among that portion of the population which abhors Slavery, and will never go into opposition to the North for its sake.

In short, the proposal of secession is so wild, so absurd, that it could not be put forth by men sensible enough to conduct public affairs unless they were so dishonest as to be unworthy of the trust. The threat is either an outbreak of mad passion, or a device to obtain concessions from the fears and affections of the North. If the citizens of the Free States are firm, frank and steady, there will be no secession, organized and actual, or there will presently be applications for readmission to the Union. We, at a distance, can see how steadiness and patience on the part of the victorious party might convert this "Revolution" into a Reformation; and, though we can hardly expect so pure a result of the present fermentation of passions, we may refuse to despair of it.

Ralph Farham, the last survivor of the battle of Bunker Hill, died on the 26th ult., in Acton, Maine, at the age of 104 years, 5 months, 19 days. On the afternoon preceding his demise, he asked his daughter-in-law, "Ain't there angels in the room?" She replied, "Father do you think there are?" "Oh, yes," said he, "the room is full of them, and they have come to assist me home!" Speaking of his recent trip to Boston, where he met the Prince of Wales and the Massachusetts State officers, he said: "One day Gov. Banks and Mrs. Banks came to see me, and each of them made me a present. Mrs. Banks kissed me, and I don't recollect that I ever felt so embarrassed in all my life as I did when I found the Governor's wife was going to kiss me."

IOY—  
Her heart is like a frozen lake,  
On whose cold brink I stand;  
Oh, buckle on my spirit's skates,  
And take me by the hand,  
And lead thou, loving saint, the way,  
To where the ice is thin,  
That it may break beneath my feet,  
And let a lover in.

A facetious boy asked one of his playmates how a hardware dealer differed from a shoemaker. "The latter somewhat puzzled, gave it up. "Why," said the other, "because the one sold nails, and the other nailed soles."

Within two days after the delivery of his great Union speech, Senator Johnson, of Tennessee, received one hundred and sixty-three letters of approval from Maryland and Virginia.

Mrs. Partington says that she has noticed that whether flour was dear or cheap, she had invariably to pay the same money for half a dollars worth.

If you wish to learn all your defects, quarrel with your best friend, and you will be surprised to find what a villain you are even in the estimation of a friend.

"My son, I dislike your low ways." "Pray, father, would you have me turn highway man?"

A shop closed on Thanksgiving Day with the following sad announcement: "Closed on account of the death of a Turkey in the family."

During 1854, three times as many emigrants came to this country as in 1860.

Gen. Scott was burnt in effigy on Saturday night by two students of the University of Virginia.