The Montrose Democrat.

"WE JOIN OURSELVES TO NO PARTY THAT DOES NOT CARRY THE FLAG AND KEEP STEP TO THE MUSIC OF THE UNION."

A. J. GERRITSON, PUBLISHER. MONTROSE, PA., DECEMBER 29, 1859. VOLUME XVI, NUMBER 51.

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PUBLISHED THURSDAYS, BY

A. J. GERRITSON, EDITOR & PROPRIETOR.

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Job Work of all kinds executed neatly and promptly. **Blanks** always on hand.

BILLINGS STROUD,

FIRE and LIFE INSURANCE AGENT,—Montrose, Pa.

TESTIMONIALS.

WE, the undersigned, certify that we were insured in Fire Insurance Companies represented by Mr. Billings Stroud, of Montrose, and that, having suffered loss by fire while so insured, we were severally paid by said companies to the full extent of our claims; and we have confidence in him as a good and effective agent.

JAS. R. DEWITT, ZIPHON COBB,
LATHROP & DEWITT, H. J. WEBB,
F. B. CHANDLER, J. LYONS & SON,
BENJ. GLIDDEN, LEONARD SEARLE.

Montrose, Pa. November 14th, 1859.

S. H. Sayre & Brother,

MANUFACTURERS of Mill Castings, and Castings of all kinds, Stoves, Tin and Sheet Iron Ware, Agricultural Implements, and Dealers in Dry Goods, Groceries, Crockery, &c. Montrose, Pa., November, 16th, 1859.-ws.

Guttenberg, Rosenbaum & Co.,

DEALERS in Ready-made Clothing, Ladies' Dress Goods, Furnishing Goods, etc., etc. Stores at No 24 Dey-st, New-York City, and in Towanda, Montrose, and Susq'a Depot, Pa.

L. B. ISBELL,

REPAIRS Clocks, Watches and Jewelry, at short notice; and on reasonable terms. All work warranted. Shop in Chandler & Jessup's store, Montrose, Pa. [oc25tf.

Drs. Blakeslee & Brush,

HAVE associated themselves for the prosecution of the duties of their profession, and respectfully offer their professional services to the Invalid Public. Office at the residence of Dr. Blakeslee, midway between the villages of Dimock and Springville. ap20y

A. C. BLAKESLEE, ... P. E. BRUSH.

HAYDEN BROTHERS,

WHOLESALE Dealers in Buttons, Combs, Suspenders, Threads, Fancy Goods, Watches, Jewelry, Silver and Plated Ware, Cutlery, Fishing Tackle, Cigars, &c. &c., New Milford, Pa. Merchants and Pedlars, supplied on liberal terms. wa tf

HENRY B. McKEAN,

ATTORNEY and COUNSELLOR at LAW. Office in the Union Block—Towanda, Bradford county, Pa.

☞ Will attend promptly to all professional business intrusted to him, in this and adjoining counties. [je3'58tf

DR. F. W. WELLS

HAVING permanently located in **Dundaff** offers his professional services to all who may require them. Also, keeps constantly on hand a full stock of **Drugs** and **Medicines, Pure Wines** and **Liquors** for Medical purposes. [ap7—6m.

DR. H. SMITH,

SURGEON DENTIST. Residence and office opposite the Baptist Church (north side) Montrose. Particular attention will be given to inserting teeth on gold and silver plate, and to filling decaying teeth.

ABEL TURRELL,

DEALER in Drugs, Medicines, Chemicals, Dye-Stuffs, Glass-ware, Paints, Oils, Varnish Window Glass, Groceries, Fancy Goods, Jewelry, Perfumery, &c.—And Agent for all the most popular Patent Medicines. Montrose, Pa.

DR. E. F. WILMOT,

GRADUATE of the Allopathic and Homœopathic Colleges of Medicine, Gt. Bend, Pa. Office, corner of Main and Elizabeth-sts., nearly opposite the Methodist church.

M. C. TYLER,

SPECIAL Partner, with Lawrence, Griggs & Kingsbury, manufacturers and jobbers in Straw Goods, Hats, Caps & Furs, Umbrellas, Parasols, Ribbons, and all Millinery articles.—No. 46, Courtlandt street, New York. [sep8

Wm. H. Cooper & Co.,

BANKERS, Successors to POST, COOPER & CO., Montrose, Pa. Office Lathrop's new building, Turnpike Street.

WM. HUNTTING COOPER.....HENRY DRINKER.

C. O. FORDHAM,

MANUFACTURER OF BOOTS & SHOES. Montrose, Pa. Shop over Tyler's Store. All kinds of work made to order and repairing done neatly. jel

WM. W. SMITH, & CO.,

CABINET and Chair Manufacturers, foot of Main street, Montrose, Pa. aug1tf

DR. G. Z. DIMOCK,

PHYSICIAN and Surgeon. Office over Wilsons' store; Lodgings at Searle's Hotel.

DR. JOHN W. COBB,

PHYSICIAN and Surgeon. Office on Public Avenue, opposite Searle's Hotel, Montrose.

DR. R. THAYER,

PHYSICIAN and Surgeon, Montrose Pa.—Office in the Farmer's Store.

JOHN GROVES,

FASHIONABLE Tailor. Shop near the Baptist Meeting House, on Turnpike street, Montrose, Pa. aug1tf

NEWS OFFICE.

THE New York City Illustrated Newspapers Magazines, etc. etc., for sale at the Montrose Book Store, by A. N. BULLARD.

MEAT MARKET.

On Public Avenue, near Searle's Hotel.

KEEP constantly on hand a good supply of MEATS of all kinds. **CASH** paid for **Beef Cattle, Calves, Sheep,** and **Lambs.** Also for **Hides of all kinds.**

HENSTOCK & HAWLEY.

S. T. HENSTOCK. S. HAWLEY.

Montrose, March 30th, 1859.—tf.

H. GARRATT,

WHOLESALE AND RETAIL DEALER IN

FLOUR, GRAIN, SALT, &C.,

NEW MILFORD, PA.—Sale Room, PRATT'S Office.

WILL keep constantly on hand the best brands of FLOUR—by the Sack or Hundred Barrels—at the lowest market prices. Also, SALT—by the Single Barrel or Load.

All orders from Merchants and Dealers will be promptly attended to.

☞ Cash paid for Grain, Wool, Pelts, Hides, and all Farmers' Produce in their season.

SHERIFF'S SALES.

BY virtue of sundry writs issued by the Court of Common Pleas of Susquehanna County, and to me directed, I will expose to sale, by public vendue, at the Court House, in Montrose, on Saturday, 14th day of January, 1860, at one o'clock, p. m., the following described pieces or parcels of land, to wit:

ALL those two certain pieces or parcels of land situate lying and being in the township of Forest Lake, in the county of Susquehanna and State of Pennsylvania, the first bounded and described as follows, to wit: on the north by land of Chauncey Wright, on the east by the public highway, on the south by the Milford and Owego turnpike road, and on the west by land of John Brown, containing about four acres and a half of land, be the same more or less, together with the appurtenances, one framed house and barn, and some fruit trees and all improved. The other is bounded on the north by the Milford and Owego turnpike road, on the east by the Ridge Road, on the south by the Warner Road, and on the west by Caleb Carmalt, containing about fifteen and a half acres, more or less, with the appurtenances, one barn and all improved. [Taken in execution at the suit of Seth Warner vs. David L. Meeker.]

ALSO—By an order of the Orphans Court, the following described real estate, late the estate of Daniel Lyon, deceased, to wit; the lot situate in Gt. Bend township, Susquehanna county and State of Pennsylvania, on which the Baptist church is erected, and described as follows: beginning at the south corner of lot number ten of the Trowbridge survey of the village lots; thence along Pine street south, fifty-six degrees west, forty feet to a post; thence north, fifty-six degrees east, forty-eight feet to the southwest line of said lot number ten; thence along the same south, thirty two and one half degrees east, eighty feet to the place of beginning, containing eleven perches and seven tenths, more or less.

ALSO—All the undivided half part of that tract or parcel of land situate in the township of Great Bend, county of Susquehanna and State of Pennsylvania, bounded and described as follows, to wit: on the south by lands known as the Wharton Lands, on the west by land in the warrantee name of Abjam Duncan, on the north by land in the warrantee name of James Morgan, and on the east by land in the warrantee name of Charles Butler, and containing four hundred and thirty-three acres, be the same more or less, and all improved. [Taken in execution at the suit of William Carpenter vs. N. V. Carpenter.]

ALSO—All that certain piece or parcel of land situate in the township of Great Bend, county of Susquehanna and State of Pennsylvania, bounded and described as follows, to wit: on the north by land of W. S. Wolcutt, on the east and south by land of Truman and Daniel Baldwin, and west by the Great Bend and Chocheeton Turnpike road, containing about two acres more or less, together with the appurtenances, one framed house, one barn and all improved. [Taken in execution at the suit of Chauncey Gurney, to the use of Thomas & Whiting, vs. Henry DeKay.]

ALSO—All that certain piece or parcel of land situate in the borough of Montrose, in the county of Susquehanna and State of Pennsylvania, bounded and described as follows, to wit: on the northeast by Turnpike street, on the south east by land of Mrs. Biddle, on the south west by Cedar lane, and on the northwest by land of Dr E. Patrick, being six rods in front, and measuring back twelve rods, containing seventy-two square rods, more or less, with the appurtenances, one large framed dwelling house, one ice house, one barn, some fruit trees, and all improved. [Taken in execution at the suit of John F. Dunmore vs. Chapman Baldwin, and E. W. Rose, Terre Tenant.]

ALSO—All those two certain tracts or parcels of land, one of which is situate in Great Bend township, county of Susquehanna and State of Pennsylvania, beginning at a stake and stones, corner of lands of L. Smith; thence north 2 1-3° east, 343 6-10th rods to corner of land occupied by McDaniel; thence north 80° 50m. east, by McDaniel's land 73 1-2 rods to a stone near west side of highway; thence north, 16 1-2° east, 47 rods to an elm stump; thence north, 1 1-2° east, 45 1-2 rods, to a birch saplin; thence north 30 8-10ths rods; thence east 275 rods; thence south, 16 1-2° east by line of tract, 100 32-100ths rods in original corner; thence south, 1° 37m. west, 93 1-2 rods to stake and stones; thence south, 1° west, 150 rods to a chestnut stub; thence north, 85° 5m. west, 61 rods to a corner; thence south, 2 1-2m. west, 84 rods; thence south, 87 3-4° east, 130 1-3 rods to east bounds of said tract; thence southerly along same 44 rods to a point 40 4-10ths rods from southeast corner of said tract; thence westerly parallel with the south line and along part of said south line 435 rods to beginning, containing 1006 8-10th acres of land, with the appurtenances, 4 framed houses, 3 barns, 1 steam saw mill, some fruit trees, and about 125 acres improved. ALSO—Another piece in Liberty township, county and State aforesaid, and described as follows, to wit: being the whole of original lots numbered 67, 68, 75 and 76, lying together in the tract formerly of S. A. Law and containing in all 442 97-100ths acres as surveyed by Wm. Wentz, 10th of April, 1856. [Taken in execution at the suit of Minerva Sherwood vs. Stephen and Jas. A. Weed.]

ALSO—All that certain messuage and tenement—centre two stories, with two wings, each one story—situate in the borough of Susquehanna Depot, in the county of Susquehanna and State of Pennsylvania, on the north side of the old road leading from Lanesboro to New Milford, together with the lot of ground and curtillage appurtenant to said building. [Taken in execution at the suit of Harry Shutts and E. N. Smith, partners under the style of Smith & Shutts, assigned to Guttenberg, Rosenbaum & Co., vs Sedate Griswold.]

ALSO—All that certain tract or parcel of land situate in the township of Great Bend, in the county of Susquehanna and State of Pennsylvania, and butted, bounded and described as follows, to wit: beginning at the northwest corner of land sold to the heirs of Charles H. Trowbridge, at a poplar saplin, and thence west forty-six and a half perches to a stone heap; thence south, three quarters of a degree west, one hundred and seventy-one perches to a stone heap; thence east, forty-six and one-half perches, to a stone heap; thence north, three-quarters of a degree east, one hundred and seventy-one perches to the place of beginning; containing fifty acres of land, be the same more or less, together with the appurtenances, one framed house, one log barn, and about twenty-five acres improved. [Taken in execution at the suit of Eran Griggs, assigned to David Thomas, vs. J. P. Langdon, admin'or of Jabez McCreary, deceased, with notice to Terre Tenants.]

ALSO—All that certain piece or parcel of land situate in the township of Auburn, county of Susquehana and State of Pennsylvania, bounded and described as follows, to wit: on the north by lands of S. Hyde, on the east by M. Lott, south by lands occupied by John Donlin, and west by M. Smith, containing about one hundred acres, be the same more or less, with the appurtenances, one log house and about fifty acres improved. [Taken in execution at the suit of A. Lathrop vs. Byerson Cool.]

ALSO—All the equal undivided half part of a lot of land situate in the Township of Great Bend, in the county of Susquehanna and State of Pennsylvania—on the north side of the Cochecton & Great Bend Turnpike Road, adjoining land of Lowrie Green on the north, lands of John Colster on the east, the Turnpike on the south, and lands of H. Crane on the west, being in front on the turnpike 37 1-2 feet, and in depth 120 feet, having thereon a three story building for store and dwelling house, and out building, and all improved. [Taken in execution at the suit of Hiram Crane, to the use of Henry Crane, vs. George W. Hyer.

ALSO—All that farm of land lying and being the township of Great Bend, county of Susquehanna and State of Pennsylvania, known as the Elijah Skinner farm, lately deeded by Elijah Skinner to George W. Scranton, and by said George W. Scranton to Elias T. Young and Edgar Thomas and now in possession of Osman Reed, bounded on the north by lands of Moses Brown, on the east by lands known as the Young, Skinner and Thomas tract, on the south by lands of A. T. Trowbridge, and John Blanding, and on the west by lands of A. T. Trowbridge, David Thomas, and of the estate of Jabez McCreary, deceased, containing about 400 acres, more or less and all the right and interest of said defendants in the saw mill formerly occupied by said Skinner, and the mill privelege appertaining thereto and about five acres of land on which said mill stands, under a certain lease executed by Moses Brown, to said G.W. Scranton, with about seventy-five acres improved, and one two story framed house, one small house, two framed barns, sheds, wood sheds, corn crib, and the other out buildings, a small orchard. [Taken in execution at the suit of George W. Scranton vs. E. T. Young, Edgar Thomas and Osman Read.]

ALSO—All that certain piece or parcel of land situate in the township of New Milford, county of Susquehanna and State of Pennsylvania, bounded and described as follows, to wit: on the north and east by lands of Joel Keep, on the south by lands of Joseph Mead and I. Westbrook, and on the west by William Bowen, containing about one hundred acres, be the same more or less, with the appurtenances, one framed house, two log barns, one orchard, and about eighty acres improved. [Taken in execution at the suit of New Milford Township vs. A. S. Walker.]

ALSO—All that certain piece or parcel of land situate in the township of Oakland, county of Susquehanna and State of Pennsylvania, bounded and described as follow, to wit: on the north by lands of David Merserean, on the south by lands of Isaiah Moore, and Lewis Shutts, and on the east and west by lands of Edgar Thomas, containing sixty acres, more or less, and all improved. [Taken in execution at the suit of L. S. Lenhehn vs. George H. Chappell.]

ALSO—All that certain piece or parcel of land situate in the township of Harford, county of Susquehanna and State of Pennsylvania, bounded and described as follows, to wit: on the north by lands set off to the widow of Crawford Titus, dec'd, east by lands of Preston and David Titus, south by D. Oakley and S. Wilmarth, and west by John M. Hobbs and O. B. Titus, containing about ten acres, be the same more or less, with small building used as a shoe shop thereon. [Taken in execution at the suit of Daniel Oakley vs. Obadiah Bailey, administrator of Crawford Titus, deceased.]

NOTICE TO PURCHASERS.—To prevent misunderstanding, notice is hereby given that purchasers at Sheriff's sales will be required to pay the amount bid at the time the land is sold. It has become imperitively necessary to adopt this rule, and it will be strictly adhered to, except in cases where the purchaser is a lien creditor and is entitled to the fund as provided in the 1st section of the act of Assembly, approved April 20th, 1846, which is as follows:—"Whenever the purchasers of real estate at Orphans' Court or Sheriffs' sale, shall appear from the proper record to be entitled, as a lien creditor, to receive the whole or any portion of the proceeds of said sale, it shall be the duty of the sheriff, administrator, executor or other person making such sale, to receive the receipt of such purchaser or purchasers for the amount which he or they would appear, from the record as aforesaid to be entitled to receive: Provided that this section shall not be so construed as to prevent the right of said Sheriff, administrator, executor or other person aforesaid to demand and receive at the time of sale a sum sufficient to cover all legal costs entitled to be paid out of the proceeds of said sale; and provided further, that before any purchaser or purchasers shall receive the benefit of this section, he or they shall produce to the Sheriff, or other person so making said sale, a duly certified statement from the proper records, under the hand and official seal of the proper officer, showing that he is a lien creditor entitled to receive any part of the proceeds of the sale aforesaid."

JOHN YOUNG, *Sheriff.*

Sheriff's Office, Montrose, Dec. 21st, 1859—ts.

Register's Notice.

NOTICE is hereby given to all persons concerned in the following estates, viz.:

Estate of Merritt Turner, dec'd, late of Lenox township, Zina Bailey, administrator.

Estate of Mehetable Tenant, dec'd, late of Harford, twp, J. D. Richardson, admr.

Estate of Robert Hughes, dec, late of Herrick twp, J. Thomas and Eliza Hughes, admrs.

Estate of Edw'd Kennelly, decd, late of Susq. Depot, Wm M. Post, admr.

Final account of S. M. Whitney, guardian of children of H. A. Whitney, deed.

Estate of Patrick McCauley, deceased, late of Rush twp, James Logan, ex'r.

That the accountants have settled their accounts in the Register's Office in and for the county of Susquehanna, and that the same will be presented to the Judges of the Orphans' Court of said county on Friday the twentieth day of January 1860, for confirmation and allowance.

CHARLES NEALE, *Register.*

Register's Office, Montrose, Dec. 21st, 4w*.

Auditor's Notice.

In the matter of the estate of Orin Lester, dec'd.

THE undersigned having been appointed an Auditor in the above estate, by the Orphans' Court of Susquehanna County, to report a distribution to, and among the widow and heirs of said decedent, will attend to the duties of his appointment on Friday the sixth day of January 1860, at 2 o'clock p.m, at the office of W. & W. H. Jessup, Esqs., in Montrose; at which time all persons having claims upon the fund of said estate are required to present them or be debarred from coming in for a share of such fund.

dec8 4w ALFRED HAND, Auditor.

Auditor's Notice.

In the matter of the assignment of Marsh & Glidden for the benefit of creditors.

THE Assignees having filed their account in the above case, and the undersigned having been appointed Auditor by the Court of Com'n Pleas to report a distribution among creditors, will attend to the duties of his appointment on Saturday, January 7th, 1860, at 2 o'clock p. m., at the office of W. & W. H. Jessup, Esqs, in Montrose, at which time all persons having claims upon the fund in the hands of the assignees, are required to present them or be forever debarred from coming in upon said fund.

dec8 4w ALFRED HAND, Auditor.

Auditor's Notice.

In the matter of the estate of Luther Price, dec'd.

THE undersigned having been appointed an Auditor in the above matter, for the distribution of the funds in the hands of the administrator of said estate to and among the creditors, will attend to the duties of his appointment at the office of W. & W. H. Jessup in Montrose on Thursday the 5th day of January, 1860, at one o'clock, p. m. All persons having any claims against said estate are required to present them at that time or be forever debarred from coming in upon said fund.

T. L. CASE, Auditor.

dec8 4w

Speech of Edward Everett,

AT THE UNION MEETING IN BOSTON.

Mr. Chairman and Fellow-Citizens:—In arising to address you on this important occasion, indulge me in a few words of personal explanation. I did not suppose that anything could occur which would make me think it my duty to appear again on this platform, on any occasion of a political character; and had this meeting been of a party nature, or designed to promote any party purposes, I should not have been here. When compelled by the prostration of my health, five years ago, to resign the distinguished place which I then filled in the public service, it was with no expectation, no wish, and no intention of ever again mingling in the scenes of public life, I have, accordingly, with the partial restoration of my health, abstained from all participation in political action of any kind; partly because I have found a more congenial, and, as I venture to think, a more useful occupation in seeking to rally the affections of my countrymen North and South, to that great name and precious memory which is left almost alone of the numerous kindly associations, which once bound the different sections of the country together; and also because, between the extremes of opinion that have long distracted and now threaten to convulse the country, I find no middle ground of practical usefulness on which a friend of moderate counsels can stand. I think I do a little good,—I try to,—in my waning years, in augmenting the funds of the charitable institutions,—commemorating from time to time the honored dead and the great events of past days, and chiefly in my humble efforts to rescue from destruction and the vicissitudes of private property the home and the grave of WASHINGTON. These, Sir, seem to me to be innocent and appropriate occupations for the decline of life. I am more than contented with the favor with which these, my humble labors, are regarded by the great majoity of my countrymen; and knowing by experience how unsatisfying in the enjoyment are the brightest prizes of political ambition, I gladly resign the pursuit of them to younger men.

Sir, the North and the South, including the Northwest and Southwest, have become fiercely, bitterly arrayed against each other. There is no place left in public life for those who love them both. The war of words—of the Press, the platform, of the State Legislatures, and, I must add, the pulpit!—has been pushed to a point of exasperation, which, on the slightest untoward accident, may rush to the bloody arbitrament of the sword. The great ancient master of political science (Aristotle) tells us, that though revolutions do not take place *for* small causes, they do *from* small causes. He means, Sir, that when the minds of the community have become hopelessly embittered and exasperated by long-continued irritation, the slightest occurrence will bring on the catastrophe.

In fact, it seems to me we have reached a state of things which requires all good men and good patriots to forego for a time all mere party projects and calculations, and to abandon all ordinary political issues; which calls, in a word, upon all who love the country and cherish the Union, and desire the continuance of those blessings which we have till lately enjoyed under the Constitution transmitted to by our Fathers, and which I regard as the noblest work of political wisdom ever achieved,—to meet as one man and take counsel for its preservation. It is this feeling that has brought me here to-day.

It will probably be said, Sir, that those who entertain views like these exaggerate the gravity of the crisis. I wish I could think so. But I fear that it is not we who exaggerate, but those who differ from us, that greatly—and soon, I fear it will be, fatally—underrate the ominous signs of the times. I fear, Sir, that they are greatly misled by the one-sided views exclusively presented by the party Press, and those who rely upon the party Press exclusively for their impressions, and that they are dangerously ignorant of the state of opinion and feeling in other great sections of the country. I greatly fear that the mass of the community, long accustomed to treat all alarm for the stability of the Union as groundless, all professed anxiety for its preservation as insincere, or, if sincere, the result of nervous timidity, have unfitted themselves to measure the extent and the urgency of the existing danger. It is my own deliberate conviction, formed from some opportunities of personal observation, and from friendly correspondence with other parts of the country, (though I carry on none of a political nature,) that we are on the very verge of a convulsion, which will shake the Union to its foundation; and that a few more steps forward, in the direction in which affairs have moved for a few years past, will bring us to the catastrophe.

I have heard it urged on former occasions of public alarm, that it must be groundless, because business goes on as usual,—and the theatres are open, and stocks are kept up. Sir, these appearances may all be delusive. The great social machine moves with a *momentum* that cannot be suddenly stopped. The ordinary operations of business went on in France, in the revolution of 1789, till the annihilation of the circulating medium put a stop to everything that required its use. The theatres and all other places of public amusement were crowded to madness in the reign of terror. The French stocks never stood better than they did in Paris on the 21st of Feb, 1848. On the 24th of that month Louis Philippe was flying in disguise from his capital; the Tuilleries were sacked, and the oldest monarchy in Europe had ceased to exist.

I hold it to be time then, Sir, as I have said, for good men and good patriots, casting aside all mere party considerations, and postponing at least all ordinary political issues, to pause; to look steadily in the face the condition of things to which we are approaching; and to ask their own consciences whether they can do nothing to avert the crisis, and bring about a happier and better state of things. I do not ask them to search the past for topics of reproach or recrimination on men or parties. We have had enough of that, and it has contributed materially to bring about our present perilous condition. In all countries where speech and the Press are free, especially those countries which by controlling natural causes fall into two great sections, each possessing independent local legislatures and centres of opinion and influence, there will in the lapse of time unavoidably be action and reaction of word and deed. Violence of speech or of act, on the one side, will unavoidably produce violence of speech and act on the other. Each new grievance is alternately cause and effect—and if, before resorting to healing counsels, we are determined to run over the dreary catalogue, to see who was earliest or who has been most to blame, we engage in a controversy in which there is no arbiter, and of which there can be no solution.

But without reviewing the angry or sorrowful memories of the past, let me, in all friendliness, ask the question, what has either section to gain by a dissolution of the Union, with reference to that terrible question which threatens to destroy it? I ask patriot men in both sections to run over in their minds the causes of complaint which they have, or think they have, in the existing state of things, and then ask themselves dispassionately, whether anything is to be gained, anything to be hoped, by pushing the present alienation to that fatal bourne from which, as from death, there is no return? Will the South gain any greater stability for her social system, and larger entrance into the vacant public Territories? Will the North have effected any one object, which by men of any shade of opinion, extreme or moderate, is deemed desirable; on the contrary, will not every evil she desires to remedy be confirmed and aggravated? If this view of the subject be correct, what can be more unwise—what more suicidal—than to allow these deplorable dissensions to result in a dissolution, which will leave two great sections of the country in a worse condition than it finds them with reference to the very objects for which they allow themselves to be impelled to the dreadful consumation.

But I shall be told, perhaps, that all this is imaginary; that the alarm at the South is ficticious, or, rather a groundless panic, for which there is no substantial cause—fit subject for ridicule rather than serious anxiety. But I see no signs of panic in Virginia, except for a few hours at Harper's Ferry, when, in the confusion of the first surprise, and in profound ignorance of the extent of the danger, the community was for a short time paralyzed. I am not sure that a town of four or five hundred families in this region, invaded at midnight by a resolute band of twenty men, entering the houses of influential citizens, and hurrying them from their beds to a stonghold previously occupied, and there holding them as hostages—I am not sure, Sir, that an equal panic would not be created till the extent of the danger was measured. Besides, Sir, if the panic had been much more extensive than it was, the panics of great and brave communities are no trifles. Burke said he could not frame an indictment against a whole people; it seems to me equally in bad taste at least to try to point a sneer at a State like Virginia. The French are reputed a gallant and warlike people; but letters from the late war tell us that even after the great victory of Solferino, a handful of Austrians, straggling into a village, put a corps of the French army—thousands strong—to flight. A hundred and fifty men overturned the French monarchy, on the occasion to which I have already alluded, in 1848. When the circumstances of the case are taken into consideration, I suspect it will be agreed that any other community in the country, similarly situated, would have been affected in the same way. A conflict of such an unprecedented character, in which twelve or fourteen persons on the two sides are shot down, in the course of a few hours, appears to me an event at which levity ought to stand rebuked and a solemn chill to fall upon every right thinking man.

I fear, Sir, from the tone of some of the public journals, that we have not made this case our own. Suppose a party of deperate, misguided men, under a resolved and fearless leader, had been organized in Virginia, to come and establish themselves by stealth in Springfield in this State, intending there, after possessing themselves at the unguarded hour of midnight of the National Armory, to take advantage of some local cause of disaffection, (which led to a very deplorable occurrence in this vicinity a few years ago,) to stir up a social revolution; that pikes and rifles to arm twenty-five hundred men had been procured by funds raised by extensive subscriptions throughout the South—that at the dead of a Sunday night, the work of destruction had begun, by shooting down an unarmed man, who had refused to join the invading forces; that citizens of the first standing were seized and imprisoned,—three or four others killed; and when on the entire failure of the conspiracy, its leader had been tried,—ably defended by counsel from his own part of the country, convicted and executed, that throughout Virginia which sent him forth on his fatal errand, and the South generally, funeral bells should be tolled, meetings of sympathy held, as at the death of some great benefactor, and the person who had plotted to put a pike or rifle in the hands of twenty-five hundred men, to be used against their fellows, inhabitans of the same town, inmates of the same houses; with an ulterior intention and purpose of wrapping the whole community in a civil war of the deadliest and bloodiest type, in which a man's foes should be those of his own household; suppose, I say, that the person who planned and plotted this, and with his own hand, or that of his associates acting by his command, had taken the lives of several fellow-beings, should be extolled, cannonized, placed on a level with the great heroes of humanity, nay, assimilated to the Saviour of mankind; and all this not the effect of solitary individual impulse, but the ripe fruit of a systematic agitation pursued in the South, unrebuked for years! What, Sir, should we feel, think, say under such a state of things? Should we weigh every phrase of indignat remonstrance with critical accuracy, and divide our murmurs with nice discrimination among those whom we might believe, however unjustly, to be directly or indirectly concerned in the murderous aggression.

Mr. Chairman, those who look upon the existing excitement at the South as factious or extravagant have, I fear, formed a very inadequate idea of the nature of such an attempt as that which was made at Harper's Ferry was intended to be, and would have been, had it proved successful. It is to want of reflection on this point that we must ascribe the fact that any civilized man, in his right mind, and still more any man of intelligence and moral discernment in other respects, can be found to approve and sympathise with it. I am sure, if any such persons will bring home to their minds, in any distinct conception, the real nature of the undertaking, they would be themselves amazed that they had ever given it their sympathy. It appears, from his own statements and those of his deluded associates, of his biographer, of his wretched wife, that the unhappy man who has just paid the forfeit of his life had for years meditated a general insurrection in the Southern States; that he thought the time had now come to affect it; that the slaves were ready to rise, and the non-slaveholding whites to join them; and both united were ready to form a new Commonwealth, of which the Constitution was organized, and the officers chosen. With this wild, but thoroughly matured plan, he provides weapons for those on whose rising he calculated at Harper's Ferry; he seizes the national arsenal, where there was a supply of arms for a hundred thousand men, and he intended, if unable to maintain himself at once in the open country, to retreat to the mountains, and from their fastnesses, harrass, paralyze, and finally revolutionize the South. To talk of the pikes and rifles not being intended for offensive purposes is simply absurd. The first act almost of the party was to shoot down a free colored man, whom they were attempting to impress, and who fled from them. One might as well say that the rifled ordnance of Louis Napoleon was intended only for self-defence, to be used in case the Austrians should undertake to arrest his march.

No, Sir, it was an attempt to do on a vast scale what was done in St. Domingo in 1791, where the colored population was about equal to that of Virginia; and if any one would form a distinct idea of what such an operation is, let him see it—not as a matter of vague conception—a crude project—in the mind of a heated fanatic, but as it is in the sober pages of history, that record the revolt in that island; the midnight burnings, the wholesale massacres, the maritless torture; the abominations not to be named by Christian lips in the hearing of Christain ears,—some of which, too unutterably atrocious for the English language, are of necessity veiled in the obscurity of the Latin tongue. Allow me to read to you a few sentences from the historian of these events:

"In the town itself, the general belief for some time was, that the revolt was by no means an extensive one, but a sudden and partial insurrection only. The largest sugar plantation on the plain was that of Mons. Gallifet, situated about eight miles from the town, the negroes belonging to which had always been treated with such kindness and liberality, and possessed so many advantages, that it became a proverbial expression among the lower white people, in speaking of any man's good fortune, to say, *il est heureux comme un negre de Gallifet*, (he is as happy as one of M. Gallifet's negroes) M. Odeluc, an attorney, or agent, for this plantation, was a member of the general Assembly, and being fully persuaded that the negroes belonging to it would remain firm in their obedience, determined to repair thither to encourage them in opposing the insurgents; to which end he desired the assistance of a few soldiers from the town guard, which was granted him. He proceeded accordingly, but on approaching the estate, to his surprise, he found all the negroes in arms on the side of the rebels, and hor id to tell, *their standard was the body of a white infant, which they had recently impaled on a stake!* Mr. Odeluc had advanced too far to retreat undiscovered, and both he and a friend who had accompanied him, with most of the soldiers, were killed without mercy. Two or three only of the patrol escaped by flight, and conveyed the dreadful tidings to the inhabitants of the town.

By this time, all or most of the white persons who had been found of the several plantations, being massacred or forced to seek their safety in flight, the ruffians exchanged the sword for the torch. The buildings and cane fields were everywhere set on fire; and the conflagrations, which were visable from the town, in a thousand different quarters, furnished a prospect more shocking, and reflections more dismal, than fancy can paint, or the powers of man can describe."

Such, Sir, as a matter of history, is a servile insurrection. Now let us take a glance at the state of things in the Southern States, co-members as they are with us in the great Republican Confederacy. Let us consider over what sort of a population it is, that some persons among us think it not only right and commendable, but in the highest degree heroic, saint-like god-like, to extend the awful calamity, which turned St. Domingo into a heap of bloody ashes in 1791. There are between three and four millions of the colored race scattered through the Southern and Southwestern States, in small groups, in cities, towns, villages, and in larger bodies on isolated plantations; in the house, the factory, and the field; mingled together with the dominant race in the various pursuits of life; the latter amounting in the aggregate to eight or nine millions, if I rightly recollect the numbers. Upon this community, thus composed, it was the design of Brown to let loose the hell-hounds of a servile insurrection, and to bring on a struggle which for magnitude, atrocity and horror would have stood alone in the history of the world. And these eight or nine millions, against whom this frightful war was leveled, are our fellow citizens, entitled with us to the protection of that compact of Government, which recognizes their relation to the colored race,—a compact which every sworn officer of the Union or of the States is bound by his oath to support!—Among them, Sir, is a fair proportion of men and women of education and culture—of moral and religious lives and characters—virtuous fathers, mothers, sons, and daughters, persons who would adorn any station of society in any country—men who read the same Bible that we do, and in the name of the same master kneel at the throne of the same God—forming a class of men from which have gone forth from some of the greatest and purest characters which adorn our history—Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Marshall. These are the men, the women, for whose bosom pikes and rifles are manufactured in New England, to be placed in the hands of an ignorant subject race, supposed, most wrongfully, as recent events have shown, to be waiting only for an opportunity to use them!

Sir, I have on three or four different occasions in early life and more recently, visited all the Southern and Southwestern States, with the exception of Arkansas and Alabama. I have enjoyed the hospitality of the city and the country; I have had the privilege before crowded audiences, to hold up the character of the father of his country, and to inculcate the blessings of the Union, in the same precise terms in which I have done it here at home, and in the other portions of the land. I have been admitted to the confidence of the domestic circle, and I have seen there touching manifestations of the kindest feelings by which that circle, in all its members, high and low, master and servant, can be bound together; and when I contemplate the horrors that would have ensued had the tragedy on which the curtain rose at Harper's Ferry, been acted out, through all its scenes of fire and sword, of lust and murder, of rapine and desolation, to the final catastrophe, I am filled with emotions to which no words can do justice. There would of course be but one result, and that well deserving the thoughtful meditation of those, if any such there be, who think the welfare of the colored race could by any possibility be promoted by the success of such a movement, and who are willing to purchase that result by so costly a sacrifice. The colored population of St. Domingo amounted to but little short of half a million, while the whites amounted to only 30,000. The white population of the Southern States alone, in the aggregate, outnumbers the colored race in the ratio of two to one; in the Union at large in the ratio of seven to one, and if (which Heaven avert) they should be brought into conflict, it could end only in the extermination of the latter after scenes of woe for which language is too faint; and for which the liveliest fancy has no adequate images of horror.

Such being the case, some one may ask why does not the South fortify herself against the possible occurrence of such a catastrophe, by doing away with the one great source from which alone it can spring? This is a question easily asked, and I am not aware that it is our duty at the North to answer it; but it may be observed that great and radical changes in the framework of society, involving the relations of twelve millions of men, will not wait on the bidding of impatient philanthropy. They can only be brought about in the lapse of time, by the steady operation of physical, economical, and moral causes.—Have those, who rebuke the South for the continuance of Slavery, considered that neither the present generation not the preceding one is responsible for its existence? The African Slave-trade was prohibited by Act of Congress fifty one years ago, and many years earlier by the separate Southern States. The entire colored population, with the exception, perhaps, of a few hundred surreptitiously introduced, is native to the soil. Their ancestors were conveyed from Africa in the ships of Old-England and New-England. They now number between three and four millions. Has any person, of any party or opinion, proposed, in sober earnest, a practical method of wholesale emancipation? I believe most persons, in all parts of the country, are of opinion, that free labor is steadily gaining ground. It would in my judgement, have already prevailed in the two northern tiers of the slave holding States, had its advances not been unhappily retarded by the irritating agitations of the day. But has any person, whose opinion is entitled to the slightest respect, ever undertaken to sketch out the details of a plan for effecting the change at once, by any legislative measure that could be adopted? Consider only, I pray you, that it would be to ask the South to give up one thousand millions of property, which she holds by a title satisfactory to herself, as the first step. Then estimate the cost of an adequate outfit for the self-support of the emancipated millions; then reflect on the derangement of the entire industrial system of the South, and all the branches of commerce and manufactures that depend on its great staples; then the necessity of conferring equal political privileges on the emancipated race, who being free would be content with nothing less, if anything less were consistent with our political system; than the consequent organization of two great political parties on the basis of color, and the eternal feud which would rage between them; and finally the overflow into the free States of a vast multitude of needy and helpless emigrants, who being excluded from many of them (and among others from Kansas) would prove doubly burdensome, where they are admitted. Should *we*, Sir, with all our sympathy for the colored race, give a very cordial reception to two or three hundred thousand destitute emancipated slaves? Does not every candid man see, that every one of these steps presents difficulties of the most formidable character—difficulties for which, as far as I know, no man and no party has proposed a solution. And is it, Sir, for the attainment of objects so manifestly impracticable, pursued, too, by the bloody pathways of treason and murder, that we will allow the stupendous evil which now threatens us, to come upon the country? Shall we permit this curiously compacted body politic, the nicest adjustment of human wisdom, to go to pieces? Will we blast this beautiful symmetric form; pa