

BLOOMSBURG AND GENERAL ADVERTISER.

LEVI L. TATE, Editor.]

TO HOLD AND TRIM THE TORCH OF TRUTH AND WAVE IT O'ER THE DARKENED EARTH."

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COLUMBIA

LEVI L. TATE. IN BLOOMSBURG, COLUMBIA COUNTY, PA.

OFFICE

on the new Brick Ruilding, opposite the Exchange, by side of the Court House. "Dessocratic Head Quarters."

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BALTIMORE LOCK HOSPITAL BSTABLISHED AS A REFUGE FROM QUACKERY. Man's nightst glories, might his shame conceal The Only Place where a Cure can be Obtained.

Obtained. Description Descri

Especially, who have become the victims of Solitary vice, that dreastial and destructive, habit which minu-ally sweeps to an untimoly grave themcands of Young Man of the most exalted tathets and byiliant intellect, who might otherwise have rutraneed listening Sonates with this thanders of elongence of waked to esstasy the laving lyre, may call with full confidence.

MARRIAGE.

Married persons, or Young Men contemplating mar-riage, bring aware of physical weakness, organic deabili-ty, deformities, &c., spendily cared. He who places himself under the care of Dr. Johnston, may religiously conduct in his honor as a gentlemen, and confidently rely upon his skill as a physician.

ORGANIC WEAKNESS

ORGANIC WEAKNESS immediately cared and full vigor restored. Timbediately cared and full vigor restored. This bistressing Alf cuone-which renders life mis-erable and marriage impossible—is the penalty paid by the victims of improper indulgences. Young per-sons are too and to examine excess from out being ware of the drandful consequence that may ensure ware of the drandful consequence that may ensure ware of the drandful consequence that may ensure whose failing into improper habits than by the present. Heades being deprived of the plasmer of healthy off prings, the most serious and destructive symptoms to both body and anim arise. The system become derang-eft the physical and mental functions weakened, loss of precreative power, herease irritability. Bysepsia pathity, a wasting the heart indige too, constitutional de-nality, a wasting. OFFICE, No. 5 SOUTH FREDERICK STREET

OFFICE, No. 7 SOUTH FREDERICK STREET Loft hand side going from Battimore street, a few door from the corner. Fail not to observe name and number Letters must be paid and contain a stamp. The Doe ter's Diplomas hang in his office.

ter's Diplomas hang in his office. A CURE WARRANTED IN TWO DAYE No MERLEY ON NATED IN TWO DAYE No MERLEY ON NATEDIAL PARTS. DR. JORNSTON Member of the Royal Coll.ge of Surgeons, London, Graduate from one of the most emmaat Colleges of the United Blates, and the greater part of whose bie has been spent in the first Hospitals of London, Taris, Phila-delphia and elsewhere, has effected some of the most as tomshing curse that were ever known a many troubled with tinging in Use head and cars whom asbeen, resul-nervousness, being alarmed at sudden sounds, and hash-fulness, with from end blacking, attendation from swith nervousness, be fulness, with fre cent blushing, attended some times with

BY JOHN G. SAXE. "As the wild tempest wakes the slumbering sea. Thou only teachest all that man can be!" So sings the poet : and his words are true ; Full many a lesson cloquent and new Has stern BELLONA; and with wisdom fraught Deeper than mild Minerva ever taught ! Lessons of Valor brilliant as the giare Of some wild meteor flashing thro' the air : Lessons of Faith that trusts in duty done. Calm as the radiance of the morning sun ; Nay, e'an of Mercy,-when around his bed The wounded soldier hears the gentle tread Of her-the woman with an angel's art-Who smooths his couch and cheers his drooping hea

Oh, that the goddess, who can thus reveat Nor, blushing, show us in the human race All that is sordid, cowardly and hase !

In Washington she trught us to admire A statesman's wisdom and a patriot's fire ; Then turned the medal, that the world might see A traitor's fase-in Arnold and in Lee!

O, there are knaves, and "loyal" knaves at that, Who on their country's woos grow slock and fat; The pumpered crew to whose unhallowed gains The cheated soldier owes his direct pains : Suffering-to swell their heap of sluning gold-The pinch of hunger and the pang of cold ; And wished of't some rehels's punctured head Hadbeen his own "Contractor's" in its stead

A generous highwayman it is said Despoiled the rich to give the needy brend ; A harlot has been known, at Mercy's plea, To do a deed of Christian Charity ;

A pirate once-the curious tale is told-Released a captive, whom he might have sold To Turkish lust-and bade the maiden go Free as the air, and stainless as the snow ! But there are villains so supremely base, No friendly fiction names an act of grace To pulliate their crime - the shameless band-

Sharks of the camp and "wreckers" of the land Mon who would traffic in the sculptured stones Inscribed as "Sucred" to their fathers' hones; Nay, in the bones themselves -grant but a rise often per centum in the current price!

CONTRACTOR AND AND A DOMESTICAL

SPEECH HON BENJAMIN WOOD. OF NEW YORK.

In the House of Representatives. May 16, 1862. MR. CHAIRMAN :- I have hitherto avoided troubling this House. Content to be a listener, without any other participation in its proceedings than to oppose my solemn individual negative against measures which my conscience and my principles would not approve, I have said nothing. Indeed, sir. I have not had the heart to rise here

and speak. A glance at this Hall, of itself,

has been enough to prevent. When I look

gy of fanaticism, with the subtle arts and intrigues of scheming demagogues, with all the appliances of cunning, intellect, and patronage at their command, even at this eventful crisis, when every American brain shoold be at work to bring about a fair and honorable peace, and they have no thought no hope, no duty but to propogate their creed, extending its influence into every nook and corner of the land, poisoning the atmosphere of these sacred Halls with interminable discussion. Openly and in secret, by the agency of the press, the pulpit, and the political rostrum, in the camp, in the city and in the open field, they are spreading the contagion; they are innoculating the country with this moral pestilence which has already brought us where we are, to the very brink of the grave of our

Sir, to these apostles of abolitionism will be traced hereafter whatever of evil has befallen or may befall our country. They are building its sepulchre with the bones of their slaughtered countrymen. I do believe there are gentlemen within my vision now, whose sworn purpose, whose first desire, paramount even to to the preservation of Republicanism, is emancipation. They and their deciples first threw the apple of discord. They first applied the torch, and are now more busy than ever with throwing fresh fuel to the flames. Should history ever trace-which God forbid-the record of this country's ruin, that page will

seem the strangest to those that read which shall tell of the madness and wickedness of the arch tanatics of abolitionism. In the dark recesses of the temple of infamy, the gloomiest niches will bear the inscription of their names.

Sir, I counsel none but a moral interference with the work of these mischief makers. I would not have even fanaticism deprived of the right of free speech ! nor would I in any emergency, advocate the slightest infringement by the Government upon the liberty of the press. Let them sow the seed of their infamous doctrine broadcast over the land, Whatever may be the danger, I will not countenance the greater danger of establishing a dictatorship over the thoughts of my tellow-country-

men. But if the abominable theme must be brought in the Council Chambers of the nation, for the sake of decency, if not of justice,let it be at a more suitable time. If there remains one Union man at the South let us remember that he is unrepresented here ;

prospect than at some distant period reached through seas of blood and heaps of carnage, the forced submission of a crushed and devastated section, and the equally un happy spectacle of a government triumphant, but exhausted by its triumph, detested by a moiety of those sovereignties that gave it birth, and gazing with horror and remorse upon the desolation it has wrought. Sir, it is not my intention to vent reproaches even where I believe them best deserved. I have arisen to enter my protest against the discussion, in this chamber, of any anti-slavery scheme whatever at this crisis, and to offer an earnest appeal to this Congress that its legislation shall embrace every means of securing an immediate peace. If, as the government claims, the confederate cause is hopeless, the leaders of the secession movement cannot be igno-

rant of the fact, and knowing it they will be naturally inclined to lend a willing ear to whatever proper overtures this Government may present. At some period of this struggle there must be negotiation, it must be resorted to, sooner or later; why not Is it because pride forbids that we should

be the first to stretch out the hand of conciliation ? Heaven forefend that thousands of human lives and a country's welfare should depend upon so false a principle. Is it because the South has not been sufficiently punished, humbled, and subdued ? Then let us confess that chastisement and veugeance are the objects of this war. Is it because the anti slavery movement has not yet received a sufficient impetus ? If so, go tell it to the armies that have won your victories! Make Abolition the war cry !-Place a banner with what device in the van. ward, and lure those armies on to conquest with it-if you can. Your soldiers would rend the treacherous ensign into shreds, and would march to their homes with the same alacrity with which they pushed on to the battle-field.

What, then, is the cause that withholds regotiation ? You will not parley with armed treason ! But you have parleyed with armed treason, if that he the word ; parleyed for the mere convenience of au exchange of prisoner, and other purposes to mitigate the grievances of war. It was your duty so to do. And shall you not do so to accomplish all that your troops are fighting forthe reconstruction of the Union? Let us suppose that the South is anxious

to embrace an opportunity of return, and is withheld from making edvances by doubts s to the intentious of the North ; is it not right that we should confer with them, that those doubts may be removed ?-What do the people care for such miserable punctilious in the hour of a na tion's agony ? Sir, an honerable peace is within the grasp of this Congress without urther bloodshed. This Congress knows that it is so, and when the people shall realize that it is only the infamous design to strengthen the anti-slavery movement that prevents an effort to obtain that peace, woe to the chiefs of the abolition party in the land. But, enough of them. Words are thrown away upon their stubborn fanaticism. I appeal with better hope to the loftier feelings that should pervade humanity, and especially pervade this august assemblage ; that should, by the nature of its sacred functions, be far removed from the miserable ambition of reducing a section of our common country to the extreme and therefore dangerous condition of despair. Sir, there may be a fascination in the gory magnificence of war. There may be a craving for martial glories in the hearts of men, and an instinct of contention which we share in common with the brute creation. But if ever there can be a time when a more Christian impulse should possess our souls, it is now; now, when triumph and the consciousness of strength give us the noble priviledge of extending the hand of conciliation without fear of degredation or of self reproach for cowardice. If adversity has been our excuse for sternness, let success be our plea for magnanimity. Providence has placed within the reach of the North a greater triumph than countless armed legions could conquer ; the triumph of subduing a brave enemy with a generous and merciful policy, will disarm resentment and rekindle the old brotherly flame that perhaps is not totally extinct. For, after all, they are our brothers, sir; and some softening of the stern Roman rigor which our rulers have assumed is due to that brotherhood, which, by untimely severity, may be canceled now forever. There are gentlemen who will say that the South mus, be subdued; every armed Southerner must throw down his weapon and sue for mercy .---Should a freeman ask as much of his brother freeman ? Would they be worthy of companionship in our fraternity, being reclaimed at such a sacrifice of manly feeling? What would you have them do ? Would you have them crouch and cringe and strew their heads with ashes and kneel at your gates for readmission ? They are Americans, sir, and will not do it. No ? though Roanoke and Henry and Doneldson should be reenacted from day to day through the lapse of bloody years, they will not do it. Give them some chance for an honorable return, or you will wipe out every hope, and the two sections will be twain forever. Yes, sir! you may link them to each other with chains, and pin their destinies together with wear the badge of victory, I see no fairer I bayonets; but at heart they will be twain

torever. They are the children of the same | sinews with intestine strife. To what purheroic stock, the joint inheritors with ourselves of the precious legacy of freedom ; and it is a sacrilege and an insult to the memories of the past, that so many, sir, should sit in your presence here to-day to goad them on to desperate resistance, and few-alas ! so very few-to meditate and restrain.

Of those few, I thank my God that I am one. I am proud to proclaim it here beneath the dome of the Capitol I shall proclaim it, here and everywhere, until the wings of peace shall be once more folded over the bleeding bosom of my country. I shall proclaim it aloud and honestly although to do so would make me the next victim of this cruel strife,

Sir, it may be said that I speak of peace, while its attainment, without further recourse to arms, remains impossible. I do not believe it impossible. What effort has been made ? What door has been opened through which the passions and ill feelings of the contestants might pass out and reason enter ? None. The single idea has been forced upon the people that the sword, and the sword alone, must decide the issue. It has been pronounced treason to hold an opposite opinion. Sir, if to have but little faith in the efficacy of the sword for joining severed friendships, if to earnestly desire peace and deprecate the horrors of war, be treason, then am I a traitor; and I am prouder of such treason than others can be of their vindictive, flaming, and pretentious patriotism.

I conjure this Congress, in the name of our suffering country, in the name of wives that may be widows, of children' that may be orphans, in the name of gallant men, now strong in health, and who, to motrow, may be stretched in death upon the gory ground, or writhing, maimed, and disfigured with torturing wounds-in the name of humanity, that sickens at the daily record of this terrible strife, I conjure this Congress to seize at the merest chance that may exist of a present termination of this tragedy Let something be attempted in the spirit of meditation. Sir, the people will respond to it. They will thank this Congress for it. They will bless this Congress for any measure that breathes of the spirit of reconciliation. They weary of this war, weary in despite of the excitement of present victory They will wake soon to the consciousness that such victories are purchased at a sac rifice terrible to contemplate; that a national debt is created, which, in its rapid accumu-

pose ? Is it possible that gentlemen can hope to reconstruct the Union by pursuing a policy of unrelenting severity ? Can they expect to re-establish concord and brotherly love by pushing hostilities to the extreme verge ? What is the Union worth without mutual respect and reciprocal amity to bind the sections ? What ! a Union of unwilling States, driven into companionship at the point of the bayonet and held there by military power. Such a Union would not be worth the shedding of one brave man's blood. We want their hearts or we want them not at all. And we cannot conquer hearts with bayonets, although they should outnumber the spears of Xerxes. If not brought back by negotiation they are gone from us forever. To slay their soldiers, lay waste their lands, and burn their cities may be within our power. But to

DEMOCRAT.

hold them in subjection, would, in itself, be a final reputiation of the first principle of Republicanism. Prosecute this war until you have accomplished the necessity of holding a subdued section in subjection. and the world will look in vain for a republic on the Western Hemisphere.

Sir, I love to entertain the hope that our Union will be restored upon the foundation laid down by our fathers; and I desire no changes in the plan of that glorious superstructure. But I am not so unnatural a worshipper of the Union as to seek its salvation with the destruction of those whose welfare it was conceived ; to build upon the dead bodies of my countrymen. I would purchase its redemption otherwise than by anarchy and ruin. I would not fling away the substance to perpetuate the name. Every drop of blood that is shed in this struggle will weaken the bond of Union between us. One word of conciliation at this crisis will do more to save the country than all the achievements, past and to come, of your victorious soldiery.

Why should not that word go forth even now, in the hour of the triumph of the Federal arms. If there has ever been a period in the histories of republics when prolonged civil strife has failed to curtain the liberty of the masses, I have not read that history aright. Already, with one year's bitter experience, we have beheld some of the dearest privileges of American citizenship wrested from our grasp. And how long, at the same rate, before, upon the convenient plea of necessity, shall we be stripped of other rights which heretofore have made us deem ourselves freemen ?-

winds with the doctrine that you will not treat with armed traitors. It is a sentiment fitter for the epoch of a purpled Roman, than for the Christian age in which we live. It is the sentiment of one who rules with a rod of iron, not of a great and generous people who assume to rule themselves --Enough has been done in proof of the vigor of the North and the resources of the Government. Let something be now done for the sake of the past, for the memories of the memories of the Revolution, of the struggle of 1812, of the Battle fields of Mexico, for the sake of a Union whose cement shall be forgiveness for the past, and friendship and forbearance for the future.

In place of exulting over victories and longing for new triumphs, how much more pleasant and more holy to draw a picture of the joy that will pervade many a now gloomy household when the glad tidings of peace shall be borne from city to village, from village to homestead, from lip to lip, and from heart to heart. A nation's jubilee would well repay you for some little yielding of your stern policy. How many arms would be outstretched, how many hearts would bound to give a "welcome home again !" to the war stained volunteer. Oh ! sir, those meetings at the cottage threshold, those claspings at the farm-house porch, the cleaving of throbbing bosoms of wom en, scarred and manly breasts, were worth all the laurels that were ever snatched from a blood-stained field. The news of our vic tories have been hailed with peans and illuminations, but, with the first tidings of peace there is not a hovel in the land that would not have a candle in its window, not a palace that would not blaze with splen-dors in token of the advent of a blessing,

priceless beyond all earthly triumphs. Then, sir, let us lower the points of our victorious swords, and parley with the los while the bugle blasts of victory are yet ringing in our ears. If we are free in an ticipation from the peril of future reverses il we are sanguine that the Federal arms are henceforward gifted with ivincibility, that is the noblest reason why we should say to our opponents, " pause if you will reflect." Let us yield them one chance for reconcilement before we drive them to the resistance of despair. There can be no victory where kith and kin, where brothers and fellow countrymen, where men who are bound to each other by the holiest of past associations are strucyling for supremacy. All is defeat; all is disaster; all is misfortune, tears and mourning. Do not let us efface with blood every sacred memory that may yet bind these men to us as brothers. Give one sign of invitation before the death struggle is renewed.

Sir, I have spoken treely, studying only to make my words an index to my thought My opinions have brought me the censure often most discorteously expressed of many who differ with me, but for that I care little. am content to abide the hour that shall se

nationality.

TAKE PARTICULAR NOTICE. SOVIENCE

"A D V I H H V K Dr. J. addresses all those who have injered themselve by improper minipenes and solitary habits, which ru-in both body and mind, unifting them for either busi-ness, study, society or marriage. These are some of the sad and tancholy effects pro-duced by early habits of youth, viz: Weakness of the linek and Linus Pain in the Bend, Diomess of Sight Loss of Muscular Power, Felpitation of the H-art. Dis-pepsia, Nervous Irratability, Distancement of the Diges ave Functions, General Debility, symptoms of Consump-tion, &c.

tion, &c. MENTALLY.—The fearful effects on this mind are much to be dreaded, Loss of Memory, Confusion of Ideas Depression of the Spirits, Evil Forehedings, Aversion as Society, self-distinst, love of solitude, Timity, &c. are some of the evils produced. Thousands of persons of all ages can now judge whet is the cause of their decluming health. Loosing their vigor, becoming weak, pale and emeriated, having sin-mar some sent the sector source of the sector.

gular appearance about the eyes, cough and symptom. YOUNG MEN.

Who have injured timestives by a certain practice indulged in when alone -a high frequently learned from evil companions, or at school - the effects of which are inpluty feit, even when askep, and if nucleared rematers marriage impossible, and destroys both mind and body, should apply immediately. What a plity that ayong man, the hope of his requiry and the darking of his parents, should be susticised from all prospects and enjoyments of life, by the consequen-ces of deviating from the path of nature, and including in a certain secret habit. Such persons near before contemplating

reflect that a sound mind and hody are the most no censury requisities to promote counshil happing indeed, without these the journey through life becaus a weary pilgrinage, the prospect hourly darkens the view; the mind because shadowed with despair filled with the melancholy reflection that the happin of another becomes blighted with our own.

DISEASE OF IMPRUDENCE. When the unisguided and improdent volary of pleasure finds he has imbined the scales of this painful disease, it too often happens that an jil timel sense of shame or dread of discovery, deters into from applying to those who from education and respectability can alone he trivend horid disease makes their apportance, such as ulcerated sore threat, diseased noise, neutrinal planas in the head and limbs, dimness of sight desfness, nodes on the shin bones, and arms, hotches on the head. face and extremo tiss, progressing with replaying objects of the victim of the mouth and bones of the nose fall in, and the victim of the mouth and bones of the nose fall in, and the victim of the mouth and bones of the nose fall in, and the victim of the mouth and bones of the nose fall in, and the victim of the descase becomes a horrisi object of commisseration all death puts a period to his dreadful affectings, by sen-ding him to "that boarne from whence no traveler re-turns." DISEASE OF IMPRUDENCE

It is a welancholy fact that thousands fall victims to this torrible disease, owing to the unskillfulfaces of ig-norant pretenders, who, by the use of that Deadly Percary, rain the constitution and make the res due of life miserabl-STRANGERS

S TRANCERS Trust not your lives, or health, to the care of the ma-try theoremed and Worthinss Pretenders, destitute of Anowledge, name or character, who copy Dr. Jonaston's advertisements, or style themselves, in the newspapers, regularly Educated Physicians incapable of Caring they and poisones compounds, or as long as the smallest free can be obtained, and in despart, base you with ruined to althe obtained and in despart, base you with ruined to althe obtained, and in despart, base you with ruined to althe obtained, and in despart, base you with ruined to althe obtained, and in despart, base you with ruined to althe obtained, and in despart, base you with ruined to althe obtained, and in despart, base you with ruined the state of althouse always human his office. The remedies of treatment are unknown to all others, prepared from a life spent in the great hospitals of Eg-sets than any other Physicians in the world. INDOREMENT OF THE PRESS. The many, thousands cored at this institution year af-

The many thousands cored at this institution year af-ter year, and the numerous important Surgical Opera-tions performed by Dr. Johnston, witnessed by the re-porters of the "Sun," "Clipper," and many other papers notices of which have appeared again and again before the public, hesidds his standing as a gentlemen of char-ter public, hesidds his standing as a gentlemen of char-ter public, hesidds his standing as a gentlemen of the the public, hesides his standing as a gentlemen of char-acter and responsibility, is a sufficient guarantee to the afficted.

SKIN DISEASES SPEEDILY CURED. Persona writing should be particular in directing their atters to his Institution, in the following manner: JOHN M. JOHNSTON, M. D. Of the Baltimore Lock Hospital, Baltimore, Maryland, Jan 18, 1802. [March 17, 1860.

TINWARE & STOVE SHOP.

TIRWARKE & STOVE SHOP. Tille undersigned respectfully informs his old friendl and castomers, that he has purchased his brokers interst in the above establishment, and the concern wits hereafter be conduced by kinnself exclusively. We has just received and offers for sale, the larg-est and most extensive assorting of FANCY BTOVE & ever introduced and to this sarket. The basek consists of a complete assorting of the result cooking and parlos stoves in the market, togeth-re with Stores Faktures of every description, oven and Bay Stores. Radjuers, Cylinder Stoves, that Iron Ajr-Tight stores, Cannon Stoves, &c. &c. Stovepipe and Tinware somatantly on hand and manufactured to order. All hads of repairing done, as usual to is hort notice. illy on hand and manufactured to of a airing done, as usual, on short notice, e of old friends and new customers ; ted. A M KUPERT. li kinds of repairing Bloumaburg, November 34 1660. - tr.

around and see one third of the Union un represented here, and find myself in a body, purporting to be one branch of the Congress of the United States, really in fact but a fragmentary part of it, my heart sinks within me. It appears to be a sectional bodya gathering of the representatives of a sectional party. With these feelings and with his spirit, I have until now avoided participating in depate.

Besides, sir, during the earlier period of this session, disaster had accompanied the efforts of the Federal arms. I felt that the hour of defeat was not a fit one in which to strive to awaken the great soul of the North to thoughts of peace ; I felt that something was due to the sense of mortification, something to the natural desire to retrieve the shame of discomfiture. I hoped, too, that when victory should perch upon our banners, others than myself would seize the occasion to urge a plea in behalf of peaceable measures; and that this govorument itself, feeling secure and strong enough to be magnanimous, would take the lead and be the pioneer in opening a path

for the settlement of our difficulties without forther recourse to bloodshed. Leven hoped that the leaders of the now dominant party, moved by the sore distress which has vished our country, would relent from the stern rigor of their doctrine of subjugation, and, in the flush of triumph, would lean a little towards a gentler policy than that which they have heretofore championed with so much zeal and with so little forbearange

I hoped in vain. The triumph came ; a long train of successes has relieved the North from its humiliation. The Government claims now to stand as a rock against which the tempest of opposition must waste itself in futile efforts. The partisans of the ulira war party laugh to scorn the idea that any effectual resistance can be offered to the onward march of our triumphant armies, and yet no single effort has been made in these congressional Halls, to stay the offusion of blood. It has been left for me, powerless as I am, to speak the first conciliatory word in behalf of my country. men. And I do it, sir, in the hope that others, more capable, will not be too much engrossed with the lust of conquest and the

pride of victory, to follow my example. Sir, it is an ineffaceable reproach to those either deluded or wicked men, who, in the North, by their unwearied agitation of abolition schemes, have stirred the embers of this strife; it is an eternal reproach to them that, through victory and deteat, in every phase of this unhappy struggle, with the groans of their distressed and tortured country smiting upon their ears, they have clung, and still cling, with unpitying pertinacity and even with ferocity, to the doctrine which has been the germ of all the mischief. With the first exulting shouts of Federal victories they set up the echoing cry of emancipation. With all the uner-

that the subject particularly concerns him, and that it is unjust and ungenerous if not cowardly, to take advantage of his absence to push forward measures in regard to the local institutions of his section, measures against which, were he present, he would give his earnest opposition. It will quench whatever remains of Union feeling in the South, if it has not already done so. It will prove that the first idea of the dominant party in the North is an active and unwavering antagonism to slavery, and a fixed purpose to legislate it out of the country at all hazards. Is it thus that we are to conquer a peace? Sir, we are flinging away the last chances of reconciliation as reckless as madmen cast their treasures into the sca. The agitation of the subject has been the country's bane at every period of its history; its discussion at this crisis is desperate self destruction. Is it while the magazine is beneath us and about us, bursting with the agancies of ruin that we must choose to sport with the flaming torch of the incendiary? Sir, until our beloved country shall be saved, the word "emancipation" should by common consent, be banished from the language of debate in this assemblage. It is a spell which has wrought enough already of desolation. It is a hellish formula of incantation which has conjured up the fiends of discord and civil war, and it was never so potent in its evil tendency as now, when it is being passed, like the breath of the plagae from month to mouth, in the Council Chambers of the country which it has ruined. It should be spoken in a whisper and with a prayer linked to it, as a thing that brings a curse and spreads a pestilence. I despair of my country; I despair of ever living once more in a blessed Union of frater-

nal States, when I hear all around me the utterance of that ruinbreeding word "emancipation," mingling with the shouts of battle, the fierce huzzas of triumphover fallen brothers, and the groans of our dying countrymen. Sir, if in place of making the negro question a subject matter of debate, this Congress would take into earnest, solemn con-

crown our efforts. If they would enter upon that task, not with hearts embittered and intellects swayed by sectional antipathies and mock philanthropy, but with all their souls devoted to that one sacred purposethe reconstruction of the Union and our redemption from civil war; if they would do this in the spirit of conciliation, of forgiveness, of tolerance, of brotherhood, and kind feeling; it is my conviction that before the close of this eventful session, the preliminaries of a peace would be arranged. But while, with the obstinacy of a blind fanatic and the instinct of a brutal gladiator, the first object is to promulgate a party creed, and the second to crush an opponent and

lation, is appalling-a debt, which, if ever paid, will press like an incubus upon future generations, stunting the growth and paralyzing the vigor of our young Republic; or, it repudiated, resting a blot upon our annals.

If we look abroad, the speciacle tends only to out shame. We see the sceptred hands of Europe planting their royal banners upon the soil of this Western hemisphere, which it is our natural duty to consecrate to republicanism, and which we might at loast have goarded from the greed of foreign despots. The flag of Aragon and Bastile flaunts in the air of San Domingo and united with the blazonries of France and England, is unfurled upon the walls of San Juan d'Ullou. Where may they not float a twelve months hence, if we, the natural guardians of this continent, should still be busy dabbling in each others gore ? Sir, if there must be war, let it be against the natural enemies of republicanism ; if we must humble our national pride to conciliate the British lion, let us make some sacrifice to win back in amity the South, that we may stand once again as comrades in arms, to scourge these foreign interlopers within their proper limits.

I am no advocate of bloodshed but if a foreign war should be the alternative of submission to foreign insolence, I trust that I should be the last to fall prostrate that the hurricane might sweep harmless by. To subserve the schemes of a party, we have already humiliated the American people in the eyes of scoffing Europe ! It will be a task hereafter to regain the caste we have lost in the family of nations. No greater evil could befall us than to be forced from the position we have hitherto assumed towards foreign Powers ? I would not have my country swerve one inch from any vital principle of her foreign rolicy in any emergency whatever. Above all things I hold dear that national honor, which we have ever, till of late, preserved untarnished. However gloomy may be the aspect of things at home, I would have our flag float as proudly as ever abroad, not deigning to make domestic affliction a plea for humility, an excuse for cowardice, or a paliation of national dishonor.

Whenever the occasion demands that a stand should be made against foreign aggression, or a rebuke administered to foreign pride, or a chastisement inflicted upon toreign insolence, I would have the gauntlet thrown down upon the impulse of the national sentiment, without reference to domestic exigencies, or pausing to measure the strong proportions of the loc. In the heat of our private discord, we seem to have lorgotten that our great mission as a people, is to republicanize the world, to advance the principle that men are capable to self-government, and to check the progress of monarchy. Sir, we are losing ground in the fulfilment of that sacred mission, and monarchy has gained a new foothold, while we have been weakening our

How long, while personal liberty even now depends on the nod of an official ? How long, while free born American citizens can be left to languish in bastiles, beyond the reach of the constitutional tribunals of the land and at the mercy of the Executive. How long, while the press, the guardian of liberty, the friend of the masses, is shackled, gagged, cowed down to sulled silence, or worse yet, become the minion of a party? How long, while voters are arrested at the polls by military process, and legislators are hurried off to prison before they can assume their sacred functions ? How long while the partizans of the Abolition party are coining money out of the blood of their countrymen, parading their showy patriotism and shouting "Union," with their arms up to the elbows in the public Treasury ?-How long, sir, will the people of the North, taxed beyond endurance, robbed and cheated by an evereraving horde of political hyenas-how long will they have a choice between freedom and anarchy, between a republic and despetism? Alas! we still cling to the name of a republic, but have we the reality ? It is entirely at the option of one man, or of a council of men, whether the citizen shall breathe in freedom the air of Heaven. At the ' open sesame" of the Executive, the gloomy portals of the Bastiles La Fayette or Warren will gape to receive him. And this is the Republic I was

taught to love. Sir, this is only a symbol of what must inevitably be, should the South be crushed into the Union. You may bring the South to terms with your bayonets, but when you have done so you will have made a bond of air; a covenant whose seal will be a military despotism, and to break it at the first opportunity will be an aim and a purpose on the part of a subdued section. What they have attempted once they will not fail to attempt again, when smarting under the remembrance of defeat, when cherishing the deadly hate that a war to the utterance will engender. For the sake of Union now and Union

hereafter-not an enforced Union, but the strong Union of willing hearts-let the word of peace go forth, let the hand of reconciliation be extended. Why, sir, I have heard such words of bitter hatred expressed against these Southerners by Northern lips, that I fear it may already be too late ever to renew the bonds of fraternity. Such sentiments, I have heard of implacable resentment, of thirsting vengeance, of sectional antipathy as Hennibal was taught to nurture against Rome, as Rome in her quenchless jealousy conceived towards Carihage to the end. And the doom of Carthage may be accepted by the South rather than reanion at the bayonet's point.

I appeal to this Congress to avert that fate as inglorious to the victor as to the vanquished. Let the door of negotiation be flung wide open, flung open now, while we can make advances with good grace, and with laurels upon our brow. To the

me right before my countrymeu. As I believed the prosecution of this war to be a widening of the galf that seperates the sactions, I have earnestly opposed it. I have always looked upon the subjugation of the South as a project, whose fulfillment would strike a heavy, perhaps a fatal blow to tree Republicanism, and although I yield to no man in devotion to the Union, although would make any and every personal sact fice to restore its glory and integrity, 1 will never consent, even for the sake of the U on, to yield up my birthright as a free ma: to sacrifice those principles of sell-govern ment, those rights of free speech, frethought, and personal liberty, withou which Union is but a mockery and a name It is not grandeur and extent of territory that I cover as the chief attributes of the Government under which I am to live .--Were I one of but a single community, in significant in numbers, but secure in a goarantee of pure republican ministration of al fairs, I would be proud of my citizenship But the Union of a thousand States, each one as great and populous as the noble one among whose Representatives I have the onor to be, I would detest, yes, sir, in my inmost heart I would detest it, if the holdin together of its component parts should create a necessity for the assumption of despotic power.

Sell government is the god of my political idolatry, and the Union is but a temple in which I have worshipped it. Shanle that temple be destroyed, I would not for sake the creed, nor would the mighty prin ciple be buried in the ruins. would preserve the temple, for beneath its roof are gathered the holy treasures of past associations; upon its hallowed wall are inscribed the names of patriots, from the North and from the South, whose blood has been its cement. But rather would I have the glorious fabric crumble to the dust, than see the spirit of despotism enshrine within its sacred precincts.

I have seen already the silent but length ening shadow of Abolitionism creeping into this sacred asylum. And when the Ex ecutive hand, for the first time in our histry, was interposed between the c tizan and his rights, the germ was planted of a danget mightier than rebellion in its most gigantic phase; for I believe encroachme in by an Executive to be in ilself rebelliagainst the only sovereignty I acknowled: -the majesty of the people. I believe each step towards Abolitionism to be more fatal to the welfare of the Republic than any possible act within the power of the citizen to conceive and execute. I will resist every grasp that may be made upon an attribute of savereignty not heretofore ac-knowledged to the Chief Magistracy ; for reason and instinct, no less than the fearful examples that history has fornished from the asnes of republics, teach me that the first step, unchecked, will not be the last but only the precursor of those giant strides by which, over the necks of beirayed freemen, ambitious men have mounted to a We want a Union, sir, of sovereigns, not

of subjects. And that our Government[shall extend over a vast area, to me as if less moment than that it should be purely, strictly, and unequivocally Repualican at all times and under all conditions.

Sir, I have done. I have only to reiterat. my hope and my entreaty that this Congress, which has in sacred charge the weltare of our country, will adopt some meas ure which will bring about a cessation of hostilities, with aview to negotiation. That done, I am firm in my belief that hostilities will not be resumed.

sideration some expedient for securing peace, I do believe that success would