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POLITICAL.

Defense of New England and the Union.

SPEECH OF
HON. JOHN J. PERRY.

In House of Representatives, Jan. 17, 1861.

Mr. Chairman, I rise to speak for New England and the Union. I am a citizen of the United States, and to its Government I owe allegiance. While I am proud to acknowledge that, I cannot forget that I am a son of New England; that I was born and reared among the hills that circle her happy homes. I love the Union, but I love New England none the less for this; it is a part of my country, and as such has added to her past glory and renown.

I am not unmindful of the fact, that the land of the Pilgrims has for many years been made the point of attack from her sister States in this Confederacy. She has been accused of treason, fanaticism, and disloyalty to the Union and the Constitution.

And now, when treason and rebellion are stalking abroad through the land; when men are turning to each other and anxiously inquiring for some plan, some scheme, or compromise, that will avert and drive back the storm, but few among the Union savers inquire after New England, or consult her Representatives as to the terms of settlement to be agreed upon.

"Slough her off," seems to be a favorite idea with certain gentlemen on both sides of Mason and Dixon's line. We hear much said about a Southern confederacy, a great central confederacy, and a Northwestern confederacy; while a common idea seems to take possession of the minds of all these political schemers that New England shall be left out in the cold. When gentlemen sit down to cut and carve up this great and glorious Union into petty, contemptible confederacies, they draw their lines and mark their boundaries with a view to the utter exclusion of the six Northeastern States. More especially do our Southern brethren, when speaking of "Yankee land," put on loudly airs of derision and contempt, while they disclaim all desire any longer to maintain Federal relations with the descendants of the Pilgrims. Standing here in this great council chamber of the nation, and speaking for the brave sons of New England, I most emphatically declare to all who try the experiment, and discover the ties that bind us together as a common people, we can live without you as well and as long as you can without us.

For more than three-quarters of a century we have lived with you in the Union; not as your inferiors, but as many dependencies, but independent sovereignties, subject to the obligations and limitations of a common Constitution, to which we have been loyal both in peace and in war. In all that makes a nation great and powerful, prosperous and happy, respected and honored, at home and abroad, none have contributed more than the six New England States; and if ever the time shall come when the demon of disunion shall make you one people and us another, history will record the fact that six of the brightest gems that ever bedecked our national diadem were found in the great Northeast.

In defending New England from the vituperous assaults that have long been made upon her, I shall deal in facts and figures, and not in empty declamation; the former appeal to the judgment and reason; the latter please the ear, but seldom enlighten the understanding.

To elaborate the proposition that the people of New England have been and still are a patriotic community—that they love their country, the Constitution, and the Union, would be like an argument to prove that the sun shines at noonday. The memories of the past depict the idea. So long as the plains of Lexington reverberate the echoes of the first guns that inaugurated the American Revolution, and cover the ashes of the heroes that first laid down their lives in defense of their country; so long as the tall shaft, that "lifts its awful form" from the heights of Bunker Hill, shall signal the spot where repose in majestic silence the bones of Warren and his brave compatriots, who fell fighting for their homes and firesides; so long as the remnants of old Faneuil Hall, where liberty was first enshrined, and whose walls once echoed with the eloquent trumpet tones of the fiery Otis and the impetuous Adams, shall linger in American minds, until all these cherished recollections shall fade away in the dim distance of the future and be forgotten, the sons and daughters of the Pilgrims will need no champion, here or elsewhere, to vindicate her honor or repel assaults upon her valor and patriotism.

The bones of her heroes lie buried beneath the sods of every battle field of the Revolution; while there was not a scene of conflict in the second war of independence where her sons did not fall, facing the foe, under the canopy of the "stars and stripes." Not a battle was ever fought upon the ocean in defense of the American flag, where were not found New England's hardy seamen, the first to point the gun's at the enemy, and the very last to "give up the ship;" and their number never will be known until the last great day when the "we shall give up the dead."

Southern gentlemen remind us that we live in a region of cold, that boisterous winds and chilling frosts are our constant visitors; but they do not know that the mountain breeze and invigorating air of New England breathe into her inhabitants the very elements of a hardy, athletic race. If the winds do sometimes blow around their tasty, quiet mansions, you will find warm hearts and hospitable hands within. Our Southern brethren visit our cities,

towns and villages, and are treated with a generous hospitality. We never hang them for "entertaining opinions," mob them because they are not sound on "Puritanism," or send armed vigilance committees to present the alternative of fleeing the country or taking a coat of tar and feathers. No, sir, no such barbarous indignities ever disgraced the soil of New England.

Again: we are accused of entertaining strong and decided opinions, upon questions of religion, morals, and political economy. To this we plead guilty; and when you demand a surrender of these God-given rights we answer, no—they will only expire with the last man of the stern old Puritan race.

Mr. Chairman, in pursuing this discussion, I propose, very briefly, to speak of New England, first, as to her territory and population; secondly, her moral and social condition; and thirdly, of her wealth and industry. I doing this, I shall use the standard of comparison, so often resorted to in these questions of the kind.

In order that the House, the country, and the world may judge between us, I shall institute the comparison between New England and her most vehement accusers. Let South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, stand up and face Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Maine. New England has a territory of 65,038 miles, and a shore-line upon the ocean of 4,003 miles, being more than a third of the whole Atlantic coast. She has the best navigable waters and harbors in the world. Her inland streams abound in water powers and facilities for driving machinery. Her population, by the census of 1850, amounted to 2,705,095. But as I prefer to deal in results rather than theories, I shall pass at once to my next point. In my references to statistics, I am obliged to refer to the census of 1850. The religious habits of the people can be determined by the attention they give to the well-recognized institutions of Christianity. The regard paid to the Sabbath and the institutions of the Sabbath are a correct index from which to judge the religious character of a community. By the census of 1850, the value of church property in New England was \$19,875,948; value of the same in the six aforementioned cotton States, \$7,729,046. In New England there were 1,131 churches to every 100 square miles; in the six cotton States, only 218 to the same area of territory.

From the same authority it appears, that in the New England States there is an annual circulation of 81,683,924 copies of newspapers, while in the six cotton States, only 28,348,051 copies. In New England there are 50,911 inhabitants who can neither read nor write; in the six cotton States 129,126. In New England there are 14,905 public schools, 19,470 teachers, and 662,759 scholars; in the six cotton States, 4,732 schools, 4,920 teachers, and 141,543 scholars. From this it appears that there are four times the number of schools and scholars in the New England States than there are in the cotton States. From the number returned as attending school during the year in each of the States, it appears 707,512 scholars attended in the New England States, and 267,907 in the six cotton States. Academies and grammar schools in the New England States, 630, and 43,664 scholars attending the same; in the six cotton States, 558 schools and 22,501 scholars. In New England 13,329 primary schools and 574,277 scholars; in the six cotton States 1,427 schools and 60,283 scholars. In New England the number of libraries, including public school, Sunday school, college, and church libraries, is 2,183, containing 1,226,044 volumes; in the six cotton States 254, containing 211,079 volumes. From this it appears New England has ten times as many libraries and about six times as many volumes as the six cotton States. New England has more than one-fourth of all the library volumes in the whole Union; the whole amount to 4,636,411 volumes. I prefer to make no further comments upon the statistics, but leave them to speak for themselves.

I now pass to speak of the wealth and industry of New England. I admit that its soil, as a whole, is not naturally so productive as that of many other States in the Union; yet New England abounds in agricultural products. Take, for example, her crop of hay in 1850, 3,463,152 tons, worth \$27,000,000. Her dairy products, being 71,043,784 pounds of butter and cheese, worth, at least \$9,000,000 more. In the six cotton States they made but 16,956,392 pounds the same year. The orchard products of New England, in 1850, were \$1,872,938; while that of the six cotton States was but \$216,747, being in the proportion of about one to nine in favor of freedom. In the New England States there 167,629 farms, and in the six cotton States 175,475. The cash value of the former, \$372,359,542; of the latter, \$379,483,494. Many of the farms in the South, many of which are plantations, does not exceed those of the North, in the aggregate, but a few dollars. What New England lacks in fertility of soil, she makes up in the skill, industry, and perseverance of her hardy farmers.

In manufacturing, New England not only stands ahead of the cotton States, but the entire Union. I have no time to go into details to show the different kinds of manufactures in which her industrious sons are engaged. I will refer only to two—that of cotton and wool. For the purpose of manufacturing cotton, New England has 564 mills. She has a capital of \$53,832,430 invested in this business, and the products amounted, in 1850, to \$42,040,178. They are much larger now. The six cotton States

have but 67 mills, capital invested \$3,363,256, with a product amounting to \$3,346,062. The difference between the two sections in the manufacture of woollens is even greater. New England has 483 woolen mills, with a capital invested of \$17,667,895; the six cotton States have but three mills, with a capital of only \$68,000.

The facts show that New England has 1,047 cotton and woolen mills; the cotton States 70. The former a capital invested of over \$70,000,000; the latter only about three millions. The whole cotton crop of 1850, in all the Southern States, was \$98,603,720. Talk about its being "king," when the products of New England manufactures inclusive amount in millions more annually than your whole crop! In 1850 New England had 268,304 persons employed in manufacturing establishments; the six cotton States 30,917.

I now turn to the commerce of New England. By a reference to the letter of the Secretary of the Treasury, on the Commerce and Navigation of the country, I find the following returns for the year ending June 30, 1859: The number of American and foreign vessels which entered the ports of New England, for said year, was 5,738; the tonnage upon these vessels was 1,170,297; and they were manned by 45,149 men and boys. In the cotton States the number of vessels entered were 2,069; the tonnage 1,100,811; manned by 34,400 men and boys. More than half of this latter amount, to wit: 661,415 of the tonnage, was at the port of New Orleans, which takes the commerce of the Mississippi from the free States in the Northwest. Of this number of vessels which entered the ports of New England said year, 3,396 were foreign, and 2,340 American; and of the number which entered the ports of the cotton States 721 were foreign, and 1,348 American vessels, showing a great preponderance of the foreign trade to be with New England.

In 1850 New England had engaged in sea and river navigation 43,018 men; the six cotton States 6,698. More than nine-tenths of all the persons navigating the ocean, in the whole Union, are from New England—42,154 being from this section, and 4,967 from all others.

Intimately connected with commerce, are the fisheries of the United States. In 1850, \$8,966,044 capital was invested in the fisheries of the United States; and of this sum, \$8,292,060 was from New England, and only 13,975 was from the six cotton States. These fisheries employed 20,704 men; of which 17,576 were from New England, and only 98 from the cotton States. The products of these fisheries amount annually, to more than \$10,000,000, \$9,000,000 of which go to the New England States.

VESSELS BUILT IN 1850.

St. N. E. States.	Total.	Tons and 95ths.
Maine	127	40,963.74
New Hampshire	6	3,861.41
Vermont	3	119.39
Massachusetts	91	31,269.29
Rhode Island	3	248.61
Connecticut	22	3,945.69
Total	250	79,434.73

St. Cotton States.	Total.	Tons and 95ths.
South Carolina	2	61.64
Georgia	1	292.85
Florida	4	374.92
Mississippi	7	1,301.27
Alabama	17	1,129.57
Louisiana	31	3,070.25
Total	64	6,832.50

By the above table, compiled from Commerce and Navigation for 1860, it will be seen that 250 vessels were built in 1850 in New England, just one half of the same having been built in Maine. These vessels had a tonnage of 79,434.73. During the same time the cotton States built 64 vessels, carrying a tonnage of only 6,832.50. In 1860, 89 ships and barks were built in the United States. Of this number 78 were built in New England. The great mass of the shipping for the whole Union has been built, for years, by New England mechanics.

In works of internal improvement New England comparatively is ahead of any other section of the Union, and far in advance of the cotton States. In 1854, New England had built in operation 3,353 miles of railroads and 165 miles of canals. In these works she had invested \$121,425,422, being more than one-fourth of all the capital invested in railroads and canals in the United States. The six cotton States had, at the same time, 2,006 miles of railroads, and 230 miles of canals, and had invested in these works \$35,459,283; only about one-sixth of the amount invested by New England. The whole capital invested in railroads and canals in the United States in 1854, was \$489,603,028. In 1852, the States of this Union owed in the aggregate the sum total of \$191,508,922. Of this sum the New England States owed only \$6,854,905; being only about one-thirtieth part of the whole debt. The six cotton States owed, in 1852, \$28,697,592; more than four times the amount of indebtedness on the part of the New England States.

The currency of New England is the soundest in the Union. In 1850 she had 500 banks, having a capital invested of 119,590,423. They had in circulation, in loans and discounts, \$179,992,429. The six cotton States had at the same time but 62 banks, with a capital of \$56,357,341; and a circulation in loans and discounts, of \$81,248,983. The banks in New England are, as a whole, the most reliable of any in the country. Their notes pass at less discount, by way of exchange, than those of any other banking institutions in the country.

If it is said, New England does not bear her full proportion of the public burdens in the Confederacy, let me give you a mathematical demonstration which blows away all such charges like chaff before the wind. I cite to show how other portions of the

Union suffer peculiarly in consequence of their Federal relations with New England. The Postmaster General, in his annual report made to the last session of the present Congress, gives us a schedule of the receipts and expenditures of each State in that Department for the year ending June 30, 1859. From this it appears that there was an excess of expenditures, over the receipts, of \$6,376,733.04; but when you take the schedule for New England, you find not one dollar of this excess can be charged to her. On the other hand, New England paid all her own bills, and had an excess of receipts over her expenditures of \$67,556.07; which sum went into the common fund to relieve the States having a deficit.

How is it with the six cotton States. Their receipts were \$772,887.24; their expenditures \$2,289,583.17; leaving the General Government to pay for them the nice little sum of \$1,566,595.93 annually. The Federal Government pays them three dollars, where it receives one back. No wonder the "Kingdom" of South Carolina graciously allows the United States to keep up its postal arrangement within the "realm" after it has, through the fire and sword, marched out of this "accursed Union." And I suppose the other seceding States will allow "Uncle Sam" to do what they cannot do themselves—carry their mails at an enormous expense, even if it be in foreign Governments. Massachusetts, the most wealthy New England State, pays all her bills for carrying the mail and for postoffice accommodations, with an excess of \$157,622.51; whilst Georgia, the most wealthy of the six cotton States, pays into the Treasury \$168,664.73, and draws out \$358,180.03. The following table, prepared from the Postmaster General's report, proves the facts above stated:

POST OFFICE RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES, 1859.

New England.	Receipts.	Expenditures.
Maine	\$154,523.21	\$298,884.83
New Hampshire	103,319.27	110,992.93
Vermont	103,218.50	137,742.34
Connecticut	189,306.61	292,392.95
Massachusetts	691,249.40	442,626.89
Rhode Island	66,665.69	47,175.47
Total	1,294,281.48	1,136,725.41

Six Cotton States.	Receipts.	Expenditures.
South Carolina	\$107,355.12	\$119,068.10
Georgia	268,904.73	358,180.03
Florida	25,932.41	171,184.76
Alabama	129,103.23	393,628.90
Mississippi	101,549.12	320,003.88
Louisiana	195,201.63	777,517.50
Total	729,987.24	2,289,583.17

Mr. Chairman, I do not make these comparisons for the purpose of assailing any of the States of this Union, but I do it to vindicate New England from the eternal calumny that has been raised against her by her sister States in the South.

I ask our brethren of the South, and of the middle States, of the Pacific coast and of the great Northwest, to lay aside your prejudices; and as the great Webster once said of Massachusetts, I now say of New England: "she stands, look at her." Look at her ships riding upon every ocean, and her commerce whitening every sea; look upon her beautiful harbors, her broad, expansive bays, her glassy lakes, her flowing rivers, and gurgling waterfalls; look at her fertile valleys, her gentle slopes, and cloud capped mountains; look at her magnificent cities, teeming with life, activity, commerce, and trade; at her beautiful villages, where the charming notes of industry greet each coming morn and salute the parting day; look at her thousand farm houses and white cottages dotting her landscapes; her bleating flocks and lowing herds roaming upon a thousand hills; look at her lofty spires, from whose sounding domes the church-going bell greets each returning Sabbath morn; at her halls of science and erudition; at her school-houses, where Presidents and Senators are made; look at her gigantic mills, whose busy hum forever chants the dignity of labor and cheers on the hand of industry to a rich reward; look at her asylums, her hospitals, her splendid humane institutions, where the blind are restored to sight, the lame taught to leap, and the dumb to sing. Ay, sir, give one long, earnest look at that godly heritage left us by our fathers, and then tell me, if, in the honesty and sincerity of your hearts, you cannot exclaim: "blessed land of the Pilgrims," "with all thy faults we love thee still."

Our Southern brethren may have forgotten the glorious past; but New England's sons still linger in their thoughts around the council fires of the Revolution. You sent us a Washington, to lead our armies against a hireling, mercenary foe; we sent you a Greene to defend your homes and firesides against invaders from abroad and traitors at home. Your fathers and our fathers, side by side, and the winds and frosts and snows of winter, the sultry heat and scorching suns of summer, fought and toiled and suffered seven long years to purchase the blessings we are now enjoying. To-day they are sleeping "that sleep which knows no waking" in a common grave. Notwithstanding we have a common history, a common inheritance, our brethren of the South, in a hostile manner, threaten to cut asunder all Federal relations with their brethren of the free States, and especially of New England.

New England has an interest in the preservation of this Union beyond a mere love of a common country. Her hardy sons are found in every State and Territory. They have gone out from the old northeastern hive to build up the commerce of your cities; to navigate your rivers, lakes, and seas; to clear your forests, and people your prairies. They have carried along with them the enterprise, the genius, the moral training, the love of learning, and good order, which has always characterized the

home of their fathers, in the East and the West, in the North and the South; upon every advancing wave in the floodtide of civilization, you will find the brave sons of New England struggling onward; onward! amid the ragings of the elements, and the howlings of the storm. Who first penetrates your forests, and who first pitches his tent upon the rolling prairies of the Great West? None but the hardy pioneer from New England.

And here let me remark, when New England sends out her sons to her sister States, she often parts with her brightest jewels. You take New England boys for your Governors, your Judges, your Senators, and your Representatives; you honor them, and they honor you. The first representative from Texas upon this floor, was a son and emigrant from Maine. The first Delegate and first Representative to Congress from Oregon were sons of Maine; both natives of my own country. Maine gave to Mississippi the brightest intellectual gem of which she ever could boast—I mean the distinguished, the eloquent, the brave, and generous Sargent S. Prentiss. And here upon this floor, and in the other end of the Capitol, we find sons of New England representing almost every State in the Union. Among their number upon this floor, they come from New York, from Pennsylvania, from Ohio, from Tennessee, from Illinois, from Missouri, from Michigan, and from Wisconsin.

Among the distinguished statesmen who, in times past, have shed such a halo of glory upon the country and the world, New England has furnished her full share. If the South boasts of her Calhoun, and the West of her Clay, cannot New England with equal pride, point to her Webster?

And now we are told by our Southern brethren that all these fraternal relations, which have so long been fostered, cherished, and loved, must be broken off; that the old flag, which has for more than eighty years been floating upon the land and the waters; which has been the pride and protection of the citizens of this Republic, at home and abroad, must be pulled down and trampled in the dust, and the palmetto, with a wriggling, crawling snake, substituted in its stead.

Mr. Chairman, I now pass to a few reflections upon the crisis which now seems to be upon us. Ninety days ago, this nation was in the very floodtide of prosperity. Never before were the people of the United States in a condition to be happier or better contented. This bright picture is now veiled in gloom. In the North, business is depressed, labor is depressed; while an uncertainty as to the future paralyzes its industrial pursuits. In the South the peaceful avocations of life are laid aside; quiet no longer reigns around the fireside; bright hopes and glowing aspirations have given way to fearful forebodings and sullen gloom. Commerce has been driven from her cities; her marts of trade gradually disappear before the measured tread of martial array. Civil war lifts its ghastly head and rattling bones while the very heavens are black with revolution and domestic strife.

"Rule or ruin" is the only policy that rules the hour in a portion of the South. How shall it be met by the friends of the Union? The real question at issue is whether we ever had a Government; whether as a nation, we have ever had any elements of self-preservation. If the doctrine we hear from men of South Carolina politics are true, the whole country has been under a delusion for seventy years. If, under the Constitution, a State has a right to go out of the Union at pleasure, then a city in a State has a right to secede from a State; a ward has a right to secede from a city, and any individual in a ward, if he feels himself oppressed by the restraints of law, has a constitutional right to secede and declare himself independent of all law and all government. The constitutional argument of secessionists, if they are good for anything, go to this extent. They contend that secession is a reserved constitutional right, and that it is found in articles nine and ten in the amendments to the Constitution.

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

Under this reservation the people, or one man from among the people, both or either, have just as clear a right to secede as a State. The doctrine of secessionists goes to this extent, that the people, when they made the Constitution, reserved the right in the instrument itself, to destroy it at pleasure. This theory is destructive of all government. If we have a Constitution and laws framed in obedience thereto, neither have any inherent power or vitality to protect themselves against a mob, a bandit, or a lawless man, who choose to exercise their reserved rights, and set up rebellion. There is another idea advanced by secessionists, in connection with the one already noticed, which to my mind, is equally illogical and absurd. They contend that they not only have a right to secede but they claim it shall be a peaceful right. The only logic to sustain this position is found in the assumption that "necessity makes law."

But it is no part of my purpose to argue the constitutional right of secession. The whole theory is a modern invention—a political heresy, repudiated and condemned by a long line of eminent jurists and statesmen. Secession is rebellion and revolution. No fine-spun theories or abstractions can ever change the fact. Again: the statesman who denies the right of secession and at the same time contends there is no remedy against it, stands upon equally untenable grounds. An observance of the laws implies force, for one cannot exist without the

other. The seizure of the United States arsenal at Charleston by an unlawful armed force, was just as much treason as was the attempt of John Brown to do the same thing at Harper's Ferry. There is but one tenable ground upon which the secessionists can base their attempt at secession and that is to fall back upon the right of revolution; and by this rule will they be judged by posterity.

Mr. Chairman, the North has another demand made upon it for concessions and new "compromises." The laws of Congress have been set at defiance; our arsenals have been plundered; our forts wrested from us by violence, and our own guns turned upon American citizens, peacefully sailing under the American flag. Under these circumstances, New England and the North are called upon to concede, to give up, to surrender. I stand here to-day to declare that New England surrenders no principle. In spite of menaces and threats, she exercises her constitutional rights at the ballot box. Her great and overwhelming vote for the men of her choice, is but the record evidence of the well settled convictions of her people. That man, here or elsewhere, who shall undertake to reverse that judgment, will be hurled into an ignominious political retirement. Abraham Lincoln has been elected by the people, and he must be inaugurated, cost what it will.

As to overtures for peace, I can only judge of them when they come up for action. I reserve to myself the right to vote for or against any bill that may find its way into this House. There are, however, certain principles which will govern my action in all these matters. I never will vote for any bill, or amendment of the Constitution, which will by implication, either directly or indirectly, or otherwise, extend slavery over a single foot of free territory, or that will sanction or establish it in any of the Territories of the United States. These issues have been squarely and understandingly submitted to the American people, and they have passed judgment upon them, and by no act of mine shall that solemn decision be reversed. I will vote for no amendments to the Constitution which will "convey the idea" that that sacred instrument "creates property in man." Mr. Madison thought such an "idea ought not to be incorporated into it," and I have no ambition to set up my opinion against his. With the Governor of my State, I believe it right that the personal liberty bills of the several States should be examined, and if found in conflict with the Constitution, they should be either modified or repealed. As an offset to this, I would have the fugitive slave law so modified as to secure to the fugitive a jury trial.

While I would leave each State to the free and full enjoyment of its own domestic institutions, and give them adequate remedies against invasion or lawless mobs coming from other States, I would demand and have full and complete protection for citizens from the free States, when travelling in the slave States.

Southern gentlemen complain of us because we fail to turn out and catch their runaway negroes, and for this would break up the Union; yet, at the same time, they suffer our own citizens—the white men of the North who have never committed any offense against any of their laws or regulations, while peaceably travelling in their States, to be seized on mere suspicion by armed mobs, and murdered in cold blood. Others are whipped, have their heads shaved, are tarred and feathered; while there is no result that can be invented by lawless violence that is not practiced upon them. Should an American citizen be thus treated abroad, it would be cause for immediate war. These outrages are common occurrences, and I have yet to learn that the civil authorities in these States have ever, in a single instance, made any attempt to enforce the laws against the villains who are guilty of these atrocities. The freedom of New England want no "Union" which consigns their own citizens to the demon-like fury of an infuriated mob.

To our brethren in the slave States who are sincerely laboring to save the Union, I would extend the olive branch of peace. To them I would any reasonable concessions that would not involve a sacrifice of principle, or be construed into an abandonment of the doctrines of the Chicago platform. To the rebels in the cotton States who are preaching and practicing treason, who are trampling the national flag in the dust, who are seizing our forts and stealing our arms, I have no compromise to offer. They ask for none, and I would offer none. So long as they stand with arms in their hands, so long as they stand pointing their weapons of death at American citizens; so long as they forcibly resist the laws of our common country, my voice is for war. That Government which negotiates with traitors or surrenders to armed rebels, deserves the contempt of the whole civilized world.

Mr. Chairman, I desire to make a suggestion or two, of a practical nature, and I am done. I am not among the number who believe our Government a weak Government. The powers delegated to it under the Constitution clothe it with sufficient authority and power to protect itself against loss without and loss within. The present perilous condition of the country has not arisen from any inherent defects in our government to execute its own powers and functions; but from the vacillating, timid, truckling, treacherable conduct of those charged with the execution of the laws. What can we expect, when the President of the United States retains openly avowed disunionists in his Cabinet for his constitutional advisers; when he makes agreements with men that he knows are plotting the overthrow of the Government, that he will

not place the forts belonging to the Union in a state of defense? What can we expect, when the Chief Magistrate of this great nation sits down to purvey with men in open rebellion against the laws and against the Government? I answer, just such a state of affairs as now exists.

In almost every speech that has been made in Congress by the disunionists, the present session, we have strong and earnest appeals made to the friends of the Union to allow the seceding States to go out in peace. While the Representatives of the cotton States have been engaged at the Capitol in crying peace, peace, their constituents at home have been sounding the tocsin of war. The property of the Government, which they have bought and paid for, has been seized; our forts, arsenals, and munitions of war have been taken forcibly from the hands of our own officers; American guns have been turned upon American citizens; and the great highway of the Mississippi blocked up by armed mobs. Men may cry peace; but there is no peace. And shall we sit here under the serene song of peace, until revolution has done its work? Shall we be lulled into a false security until the guns of the enemy are thundering at the gates of the Capitol?

We are now dealing with stern realities, and not with imaginary evils. We are told we have no constitutional right to make war upon a seceding State. In the name of fairness, I ask who has done it? Who fired the first gun at Charleston harbor—the Government, or those who are acting to overthrow it? The grave question forces itself upon us, what shall be done when a State makes war upon the Government—when called upon to answer for their offenses, hide themselves behind the specious plea of State sovereignty? These are questions that must be settled—not theoretically, but practically.

While I would exhaust every constitutional remedy for the sake of peace, it is my first and settled opinion that the laws must be firmly executed under the Constitution. The President has no discretionary power in this matter, and it is the duty of Congress to come to his support and use all constitutional means to aid him in the discharge of this duty. It is equally the duty of the President, and of Congress within the scope of its constitutional authority to protect the property of the United States against foreign aggression and domestic violence.

Entertaining these opinions, I would have the President collect the revenue in every Southern port, and every other port in the Union, peacefully if we can, forcibly if we must. More than this, I would have him maintain the national flag at every harbor, over every fortification, arsenal, dock, and navy yard in the Union. If in the discharge of this duty, he is met by force, then I would place at his command the Army, the Navy, and purse of the nation. Sir, this Union must and shall be preserved. The experiment of self-government is not yet exhausted. It would be a shame, an everlasting reproach to the American name, to allow it to be destroyed by the hand of domestic violence. Every citizen of this vast republic has a direct interest in its preservation. To say that this great, this mighty and powerful Republic has no power to perpetuate its own existence, to protect its property and citizens, is to manifest a weakness of which we have never been suspected at home or abroad. The great heart of the American people beats responsive to the preservation of the Union. Madness may rule the passing hour, yet reason will ere long return and resume its wonted sway. Men frenzied with unwholesome excitement, may raise the hand of violence against the best government the world ever saw; but the hallucination will pass away, and they will then wonder at their own folly. Gloom may hang over us like a dark, portentous cloud; the deep shadows of night may gather around our dwellings at noonday; yet in a little while, the thunder ceases its loud roar, the clouds flit away before the splendors of a meridian sun, the rainbow of promise again spans the political heavens, and the angel of peace again spreads his wings over a happy land.

—Mr. Gurney was a strict observer of game. Upon one occasion, when walking in his park, hearing a shot fired in a neighboring wood, he hurried to the spot and his placid temper was considerably ruffled on seeing a young officer with a pheasant at his feet, deliberately reloading his gun. As the young man, however, replied to his warm expression by a polite apology, Mr. Gurney's warmth was somewhat allayed; but he could not refrain from asking the intruder what he would do if he caught a man trespassing on his premises. "I would ask him to luncheon" was the reply.

—Tom Hood mentions the case of an old Jew, who had lost a large sum of money, and charged interest upon it at nine per cent., instead of six, which was the legal rate. The borrower remonstrated, and at last asked the usurer if he did not believe in a God, and where he expected to go when he died? "Ah," said the old Hebrew, with a pleasant twinkle of the eye and a grin, "I have thought of that, too; but when God looks down upon it from above, the 9 will appear to him like a 6."

A firm in Newark, N. J., having suffered some pecuniary embarrassments, recently closed business, and the senior member gave to the public the following "notice": "Do dissolution of our partnership heretofore existing between me and Mose Jones in de barber profession, an heretofore resolved. Persons who owe me must call on Jones, as the firm is dissolved."

The Oxford Democrat

PARIS, MAINE, FEB. 22, 1861.

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PROPRIETORS.

JOHN J. PERRY, Editor.

TERMS.—One Dollar and Fifty Cents, per year, in advance; Two Dollars, at the end of the year.

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JOB PRINTING neatly executed.

Editorial Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 18, 1861.

On Wednesday last, agreeably to a provision of law, the Senate came into the House, and in the presence of both Houses of Congress the votes for President and Vice President were counted, and Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin were declared duly elected President and Vice President of the United States, for four years from the fourth of March next.

Considering the threats that have been made, it was deemed prudent, on the part of Gen. Scott, to have a military force so stationed as to act effectively on a moment's notice, in defending Congress from any outbreak from a pro-secession, disunion mob. Policemen were stationed all round and in the galleries to witness the ceremony; but the whole proceeding was one of the most quiet and orderly that we ever witnessed. The Vice President, attended by the venerable Ashley Dickens, who has been Secretary of the Senate for over thirty years, came into the House, leading the Senators, who followed two by two, and took seats in front of the Clerk's desk, the Vice President taking the Speaker's chair on the right of that officer. The tellers, consisting of Judge Traubull, of Illinois, on the part of the Senate, and Messrs. Washburn, of Illinois, and Phelps, of Missouri, on the part of the House, were seated at the Clerk's desk. The Vice President then opened the returns, one by one, beginning with the State of Maine, and handed them to the tellers, who examined and declared them, and a record was made by the Secretary of the Senate. A report of the aggregate vote was then made by Judge Traubull to the Vice President, who then declared Lincoln and Hamlin duly elected. The Senate then retired, and the ceremony was over. We observed a large number of the Diplomatic corps, who watched these proceedings with evident curiosity.

Mr. Howard, from the committee of five, to whom was referred a resolution of inquiry, whether any conspiracy existed against the Capitol of the United States, made a report in which they declare there was no evidence before them that any such combination existed. At the same time one of the committee—Mr. Dawes—stated that in his opinion, and in the opinion of a majority of the committee, there was a conspiracy and plot to take the Capitol, and that the men engaged in this business were only deterred from consummating their treason by the efficient operation of General Scott in placing a force in the city to defend it.

The State of Tennessee has in the recent election gone for the Union by an overwhelming majority. There is not a single border State, where, if the vote of secession or Union could be submitted directly to the people, they would not vote for the Union as it is; and yet, from the politicians in these States comes a constant demand upon the people of the free States for concessions and compromise.

The Peace Convention is still in session. Saturday no business was done in consequence of the sudden death of Mr. Wright, of Ohio, who was its temporary chairman. A majority of its members attended the funeral exercises. It is a fact pretty well understood, that the committee to report a plan of adjustment has reported, and their report is now under discussion. Whether any good will grow out of this convention is a matter which remains to be tested. This will depend very much on the character of the propositions the Congress may adopt and recommend to the American people.

It is said the delegates from Virginia will insist on the "Crittenden plan" as an ultimatum, and if the Convention refuse to adopt it, will retire. If this is so, there is but little good that can arise from this meeting. If nothing but a direct recognition of slavery in the Constitution, in the territories of the United States, will satisfy Virginia and the border States, if they insist on this or secession, then they must go for all my vote. The whole question ought to be more generally understood. The demand now made on the free States is a reconstruction of the government; new guarantees for slavery in the organic law, a new constitution, and a new government. More than all this, these new demands are made under menace. Rebels and traitors stand with arms in their hands—arms and ammunition they have stolen from the government—and in this attitude of war and rebellion, demand the North to give up, to concede, to submit, or they will destroy the government. Humiliating as it is, we find men in the free States shake in their shoes, frightened, cowering, ready to fall in the dirt to appease the wrath of thieves and traitors. And because Republican members in Congress stand by the Union and the Constitution as our fathers made it; because they will not yield to the clamors of secessionists, they are denounced as fanatics, extreme men, not fit to be trusted with northern interests.

In the border States, secession never would have grown into its present dimensions, had not noisy demagogues and corrupt politicians in the democratic party fanned up the public mind by their abuse and falsehoods as to the purposes and intentions

of the Republican party. For mere political purposes, to answer their own selfish ends, they have precipitated the present troubles upon themselves. Now they come and declare northern men must make concessions to get them out of the troubles of their own creating.

If the American people demand a new government, the only sensible way to enter upon a reconstruction is to have a national convention called, and delegates elected for this special purpose. The present Congress never was elected to make a new constitution, or even pave the way for such a result. If the constitution of our fathers is to be overhauled, then, in our judgment, the North will have something to say about it. Why should the three-fifths clause be retained, making property the basis of representation—giving the South twenty Representatives in Congress, based upon their slave population? The North get nothing for this, and they never had an equivalent. Representation and taxation were alike based upon population; but as our revenues are raised from duties on imports, and not by direct taxation, the North never has realized a farthing, or any other consideration, for this surrender made to the South in the Constitution.

Neither the Republican party or the free States have done anything that in any sense justifies this rebellion. Instead of stopping to talk about "compromise," the government should have put in operation its whole force, civil and military, if necessary, to have quelled the rebellion in the onset. But instead of this, the traitors in and about the White House went to work deliberately to encourage treason, to aid rebellion, and betray their country into the hands of its most deadly enemies. These men raised to power by the democratic party, are guilty before High Heaven and the people, of treason, and richly deserve a traitor's doom. Democratic misrule has brought all the ruin and distress we are now witnessing upon the country; that party has had control of every department of the General Government for the last eight years, and they are responsible.

Notwithstanding this plain, truthful proposition, we have leaders in the Democratic party all over the country, and in the free States, with brazen faced impudence, charging the present troubles to the Republicans. Such insolent slander will, in the end, recoil upon the heads of its guilty authors. The truth of history will yet triumphantly vindicate the proud position of the Republican party, and visit upon the guilty heads of its calumniators a doom not less enviable than that surrounding the names of Arnold and Burr.

We do not pretend to say what the policy of Mr. Lincoln's administration will be, but we run no risk in predicting that one of his first acts will be to find out, first, whether we have a government, and second, whether or not there is any law for high treason. Unless this government has power to protect its citizens, enforce its laws, and take care of its property, it had better at once "give up," and go back into chaos and confusion.

Talk about it as you will, there is but just one issue, and upon this everything will turn—this government has either got to subdue the rebels, or the rebels subdue the government. And in this contest there are but two parties—the friends of the government and its foes. They that are not for this country are against it.

Progress of Mr. Lincoln.

The movements of Mr. Lincoln, during the week, have been attended with an enthusiasm hitherto unexampled on a similar occasion. Wherever he has stopped, immense throngs of people have come together to welcome him, and bid him God speed. In nearly all cases he has made short speeches, pledging his best services in rescuing the Ship of State from impending danger. He implores the whole people to rally to the support of a common government; and humbly relies upon divine aid, with which he says "he cannot fail; and without which he can do nothing." His addresses all show that he fully comprehends the magnitude of the work before him, and that the policy which will be indicated in his inaugural, will be such as will commend him to the judgment of all right-minded men throughout the country, and that it will be carried out with energy and vigor. It will be no "coercion," but simply the preservation of the public property and vindication of the laws.

He arrived in New York city, Tuesday afternoon, where he would remain till Thursday morning, when he was to proceed to Philadelphia. All the newspaper offices in New York, but the Day Book, displayed the American flag.

Departure of Mr. Hamlin.

Hon. Hannibal Hamlin, with his wife, left for Washington, Monday morning. They were escorted from Hampton by a large number of citizens; and at Bangor were received by the Mayor and Ex-Mayor. A large procession of sleighs escorted them to the station, where there was a crowd assembled. C. S. Crosby, in behalf of the people, made a brief address, to which Mr. H. responded as follows:

"I go to the discharge of official duties which have been conferred on me by a generous people, relying upon a Divine Providence. I trust that confidence will never be betrayed. I know full well that dark clouds are lowering around the political horizon, and that madness rules the hour. But I am hopeful still; our people are not only loyal to the Government, but they are fraternal to all its citizens; and when in practice it shall be demonstrated that the Constitutional rights of all the States will be respected and maintained by following the paths illumined by Washington, Jefferson and Madison, may we not reasonably hope and expect that quiet will be restored and the whole country advance in a career which will elevate men in a social, moral, and intellectual condition."

The Journal reports that the friends of Mr. Hamlin propose to give him a reception ball, on his arrival at Washington.

The town elections, now progressing in the State of New York, result favorably to the Republicans.

State Sovereignty—Federal Authority.

The position of some of the Southern and border States, at the present time, demanding, as they do, that the right of secession shall be conceded, raises the question of State Rights, and Federal authority. This is not a new question; but one that was the subject of grave consideration, when our Federal Government was established. Gen. Washington, after his election to the Presidency, in his solicitude for the welfare of the country, issued a circular to the Governors of the several States, in which he presented his views at length. His was the hand that safely started the Ship of State on its career, and we give below an extract from this circular, embracing three views. Speaking of the option of government left to the United States, he says:

"This is the time of their political probation; this is the moment when the eyes of the whole world are turned upon them; this is the moment to establish or ruin their national character forever; this is the favorable moment to give such a tone to our federal government as will enable it to answer the ends of its institution, or this may be the ill-fated moment for relaxing the powers of the Union, annihilating the cement of the confederation and exposing us to become the sport of European politics, which may play one State against another to prevent their growing importance, and to serve their own interested purposes. For, according to the system of policy the States shall adopt at this moment, they will stand or fall; for by their confirmation or lapse, it is yet to be decided whether the Revolution must ultimately be considered as a blessing or a curse—a blessing or a curse, not to the present age alone, for with our fate will the destiny of unborn millions be involved."

"There are four things which I humbly conceive are essential to the well-being, I may even venture to say to the existence of the United States as an independent power."

"1st. An indissoluble Union of the States under one Federal head."

"2d. A sacred regard to public justice."

"3d. The adoption of a proper peace establishment; and"

"4th. The prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition among the people of the United States, which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and politics, to make these mutual concessions which are requisite to the general prosperity, and in some instances to sacrifice their individual advantages to the interests of the community."

"These are the pillars on which the glorious fabric of our independence and national character must be supported. LIBERTY is the basis, and whoever would dare to sap the foundation, or overturn the structure, under whatever specious pretext he may attempt it, will merit the bitterest execration, and the severest punishment which can be inflicted by his injured country."

Again in the same letter, he says:

"It is only in our united character that we are known as an empire, that our independence is acknowledged, that our power can be regarded, or our credit supported among foreign nations. The treaties of the European powers with the United States of America will have no validity on a dissolution of the Union. We shall be left nearly in a state of nature, or we may find by our unhappy experience, that there is a natural and necessary progression from the extreme of anarchy to the extreme of tyranny, and that arbitrary power is most easily established on the ruins of liberty abused to licentiousness."

In a letter to Gen. Lee he says: "It was for a long time doubtful whether we were to survive as an independent Republic, or decline from our federal dignity into insignificance and wretched fragments of empire."

For The Oxford Democrat.

PORTER LYCEUM. Being at Porter, Saturday evening, I availed myself of the opportunity of attending the Lyceum, which has recently been established by the young men of this place. It seems to be well attended, and has called forth considerable talent.

The secession question was before the society, and it was ably and logically handled by Messrs. Randall Libby 21, James French Jr., A. H. Mason, and Nelson Towle.

At the close of the discussion, the Ladies' Union, an interesting and well written paper, was read by Miss Ursula Taylor and Miss S. L. Roberts. Porter has a class of boys and girls which are up to "the mark" with all the "world and the rest of mankind."

JAN. 30, 1861.

SS.—Readers of legal documents have often puzzled over the letter, standing at the head of the paragraph, which are placed after the name of the County. If they will look in the Appendix to either Worcester's or Webster's late Dictionaries, it will be ascertained that these letters are the abbreviation of the word "scilicet," which the same Dictionaries define "to wit, namely." We have found very few people to be able to accurately define this abbreviation.

Messrs. Holmes & Clark offer great inducements to purchasers. They have a large stock of seasonable goods in store. See advertisement in another column.

The Maine Teacher for February, contains only original matter. This is a hopeful indication for the future of the profession in the State.

MALICIOUS. The fraternal advice of the Providence Journal to Kansas is, "Now, young sister State, don't you go and secede before we have had a chance to spend a few millions on you."

BORERON PLUCK. A legitimist journal of the South of France announces that Francis II has dug a grave in his case at Gasta, in which he means to be buried if the bombardment should go against him. His heroic resolution will probably be brought to the test before long.

Wm. P. Burr has become associated with N. K. Sawyer, in the publication of the Ellsworth American.

The following letter is taken from a Georgian paper. It will be seen that the editor vouchers for its authenticity, yet we cannot conceive that any man in the possession of his right mind would send such statements abroad. We regard it as a forgery, designed to increase the secession excitement in that State.

Hamlin's Negro.

Some weeks since (says the Bainbridge Argus) we addressed a letter to a prominent gentleman in New Hampshire, who is said to have known Hamlin's father, to ascertain whether said gentleman really did know anything concerning the matter. We this morning received his reply. We give it below, withholding the author's name, at his request.

If there are any doubts as to its authenticity, we will inform the doubting that we retain the original letter, signed with the writer's full name:

PORTSMOUTH, N. H., Jan. 8th, 1861.

Dear Sir: In answer to your inquiries respecting "a report at the South, that Hannibal Hamlin has negro blood in him, and if I had any knowledge of his ancestry," I would say that I only knew his father and family who lived in the town of Paris, Maine, where my family now reside. In transmitting to you such information as I possess, with the authority from which it was derived, you must pardon me in communicating uninteresting details.

In the winter of 1843 or '44, while a member of the senate of Maine, I met with Hon. John Burnham, of Hancock county, who had been many years and was then a member of the Governor's Council. In conversation with him at the Augusta Hotel, he publicly stated that "he knew Hannibal Hamlin well. That his great grandfather was a mulatto, and married a French woman for his wife."

My father often told me that, when a soldier in the Revolutionary army at R. I., under General Sullivan and Greene, he often saw the grandfather of Hannibal Hamlin, Capt. Eleazer Hamlin, who commanded a company of Negroes, Mulattoes and Indians; that there were but five white men belonging to his company, and they were taken from the same house. None of his company were ever placed in any responsible position or trusted on guard. He once heard the inspector of the regiment enquire of Capt. Hamlin, "How many blacks besides himself were in his company?"

If my father were correct in his representation of Capt. H.'s conduct, and I have no reason to question it, he did not serve his country faithfully in the revolution, as the Republican papers represented in the late census.

Capt. H. embezzled the pay belonging to his company, soon after applied for and received the appointment of keeper of the Provost, and after stealing the wines and other necessities provided for the sick and wounded, sold them, pocketed the money, resigned his commission, and left the army in disgrace.

The newspapers of that day published his conduct.

Mrs. Carter, widow of T. J. Carter, member of the 26th Congress, told me that while boarding with Mrs. Hersey, of Sumner, Me., an old lady by the name of Elizabeth Rice, said that she had lived "in the neighborhood of Hannibal Hamlin's ancestors, and that his great grandfather was a mulatto. A story traditional, represents the mother of Hannibal's great grandfather as a full blooded African. I am informed by Mrs. Rawson of Paris, Me., that the grandfather of Hannibal Hamlin, (Capt. Eleazer) lived in the town of Groton, Mass., and had eight sons by two wives. Their names were Cyrus, Hannibal, George, Eleazer, Jr., Asia, Africa, Europe and America. Cyrus was the father of Hannibal, and Hannibal was a twin brother to the Vice President's father, Cyrus, the father, was the only one of the brothers I ever knew. He was, during the last war with England, a Federalist of the Hartford Convention stamp.

It is currently reported now in the neighborhood where Hannibal Hamlin was born, say to his father when an uncle of his, that a domestic heard an uncle of his, say to his father when an uncle of his, in the cradle, "For God's sake, how long will this d-d black blood remain in our family?"

I have given you all the facts I am in possession of, and have quoted the exact language used in every case cited to prove the pedigree of the Vice President elect of the United States.

Had I time, I could satisfactorily explain my unwillingness to have my name connected with these facts in the public journals. Whether the Union can survive the humiliating spectacle of his inauguration, is problematical.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

H. M. King, Esq., Bainbridge, Ga.

The Executive Committee of the State Temperance Association have voted unanimously to reappoint Dr. Colby, as State Lecturer, for the ensuing year.

The New York Commercial Advertiser says the following severe animadversion on President Buchanan is an extract from a private letter from an Englishman of the highest political standing, whose views on American affairs have probably more weight and influence than those of any other man in England. The letter is dated London, January 25th:

"My indignation, sufficiently strong from the first, has been carried beyond measure by the President's message to the Senate, which appears in this day's paper. A more cowardly, illogical, and dishonest document never appeared with the name of any man calling himself a statesman. The only parallel is Pontius Pilate—washing his hands of the affair, and leaving both action and responsibility to whoever chose to take it. Conceive a man with almost unlimited powers, for your President is a dictator, with far greater power than any constitutional sovereign, sitting down with his hands before him in the hour of his country's agony and saying, 'it is not my business.' He ought to be whipped down the steps of the great house at Washington."

A division of the Sons of Temperance was established at West Peru, on Thursday 7th inst., by Dr. B. Colby, of which Dr. L. H. Maxim was elected W. P. and O. M. Tucker, R. S. It commenced with seventeen members with a good prospect of rapid increase.

A first rate horse was sold at auction in Hartford, Ct., on Saturday for \$2 50. There's more of the bitter fruits, says the Courant. Thirty years ago that same horse was sold for \$9, and was considered cheap at that.

The Bangor Union copies the "eloquent conclusion of Senator Benjamin's farewell speech in the Senate"—eloquent with treason, and which shows rebellion enough to have hung a dozen better men in the palsy days of Andrew Jackson. [Bath Times.

The Stolen Bonds.

The Special Committee of the House of Representatives, appointed to inquire into the facts relating to the stolen bonds, have made a lengthy report, showing a most extraordinary negligence on the part of the officers having charge of the trust funds. It appears that these bonds have been in the hands of the Indian Department, until 1857, when they were deposited in the Department of the Interior. On the advent of Secretary Thompson, two additional clerks were employed, and one of them, Godard Bailey, a political adventurer, was given in charge of these bonds, amounting in aggregate to over three millions.

Last year Mr. Russell, of the firm of Majors, Russell, & Wadwell, army contractors, was hard pushed for money. The manner in which he had been operating was to obtain the acceptances of Secretary Floyd, which appear to have been given at any time and place desired, and in sums to suit the firm, without regard to the service, or amount due, and which had been thrown on the market for what they would bring. Mr. Russell, ascertaining that this Mr. Bailey had charge of a quantity of bonds, sought him out, and under the plea that these acceptances must be protested, and the Secretary disgraced, took of him, as the first installment \$150,000, in July. In September, \$387,000 were delivered; and in December, \$333,000, amounting in all to \$870,000. In December, it appears that Bailey had issued bonds to the amount of \$135,000 beyond the amount of acceptances in his hands, and on that day Floyd issued another acceptance to that amount, which was placed in the hands of Bailey, if not drawn with the knowledge that it would be so converted. On the first of December, Bailey drew up a statement of facts relating to these transactions, and placed it in the hands of a confidential friend, to be placed in the hands of Mr. Thompson five days before the close of the term. Bailey's stock account was made up to the end of the year, showing all the bonds in hand, and presented to Mr. Fuller, the 21st auditor. Mr. Fuller declined to approve it from the fact that the coupon account did not accompany it. This seems to have made an early exposure necessary. Bailey's bank account was about \$5,000 or \$6,000, an amount large for his salary, but not so large as to show that he received pecuniary rewards for his thefts; and he, with Mr. Russell, declares that there was no consideration for the exchange.

Mr. Russell was not inclined to testify, yet appeared anxious to avail himself of the immunity of a witness to shield him from criminal prosecution. The deepest moral obliquity is shown in the conduct of Floyd. The committee have traced his entirely unauthorized acceptances to the amount of \$6,977,395. Those he admitted were drawn against unearned money, and the only record of them is preserved on loose pieces of paper in the office. Of this paper there has been returned on Godard's bonds the sum of \$870,000, leaving the enormous amount of \$6,107,395 still outstanding in the hands of innocent parties, who must stand the loss. This is a brief outline of the results of the labors of the committee; and a more disgraceful record could not be left by a public officer, or attached to an administration.

The Spring Elections.

In a little more than one week, most of the towns in this State will hold their Annual Meetings, for the transaction of municipal business, and choice of officers for the ensuing year. Of the propriety of selecting men endowed with requisite skill and judgment to manage the general business of the several communities, we have little to say. The shrewdness of taxpayers is generally sufficient to place proper checks upon the finances.

Our Schools are, so far as we have learned, generally well managed; and with few exceptions, all the towns have expended, the past year, the amount required by law. The greatest lack in this respect, is in the school-houses. A glance at the report of the State Superintendent shows that scarce one-third the whole number are in "good order." The towns owe it to their own fair fame, that this evil be corrected.

What is of the utmost importance, at the present time, is that the people be not deluded into the abandonment of the position assumed last September, and renewed in November. Let the people come out, at the ensuing elections, and reiterate the unmistakable language then expressed; and vindicate their right to "manage their own affairs in their own way," without regard to menaces from traitors in other States, or those who aid and abet them in this State.

The rebellion at the South is likely to produce an era of good feeling in our midst. Every true man is for the union, and will sustain our national Government, in its determination to defend the public property, and enforce the laws. But there is danger that in this, the people will fall into the trap, evidently being prepared by partisan leaders, to elect "union" candidates. Remember that Maine has thrown her electoral votes for the President elect, who will be inaugurated on the Fourth day of March; and her votes are expected to sustain his administration. It will be easily discovered how any falling back on that day, by means of these "union" tickets, will become an entering wedge for the next State campaign, to throw the State into the hands of Southern sympathizers, whose present devotion to the union, as manifested in these means, amounts only to disorganizing the Republican party now, that it may be defeated in September.

Let the people of the State of Maine, demonstrate their attachment to the Union, by nobly sustaining the administration, which is to commence the task of producing order from the chaos, into which democratic control has thrown the country. A generous people will sustain the men of their choice in the trying position in which they have been placed.

Mr. Lincoln R. Watson, of North Waterford, raised the past season on one-third of an acre, 160 bushels, or at the rate of 480 bushels to the acre.

Maine Legislature.

We have carefully considered this Legislature's proceedings for the week, but a glance shows that a few items give all the business of importance contained in the report:

Bills have been passed, providing for Normal Schools; to unite Skowhegan and Bloomfield; relating to Grand Jury in Oxford County; incorporating Maine Board of Trustees; to increase compensation of County Commissioners in Cumberland Co.; to incorporate Maine Universalist Convention;

The famous Arletta Brown case has been disposed of by granting her \$50, to be expended under direction of Dr. Nourse, of Bath,—the sum to be deducted from the amount to be paid to St. Kennebec Ag. Society.

Resolve granting aid to Kansas, laid over under the rule.

A bill exempting printing presses and type from attachment has passed to be engrossed.

The inquiry was ordered to be made, whether the State, in case a change is made in Reform School, would lose title to the property; and whether the farm can be purchased of the city of Portland.

On Tuesday, a bill, from the committee on division of towns, setting off certain lands from Norway, and reannexing the same to Paris, was read and assigned for Thursday.

MAGNANIMITY ROAD. On Monday, the Committee on State roads, reported Resolves in favor of the Magnanimité road, in Oxford County; and it was read and assigned. On Tuesday, the resolve was called up by Mr. Harlow, read twice and tabled. Mr. Harlow moved a reconsideration of the vote passed to be engrossed a resolve in favor of a road in Rangley, which motion was negatived. By this action, we understand that our County is to have aid while the Magnanimité road receives none. The Magnanimité and Magalloway roads are now fully laid out; with satisfactory guarantees on the Canadian side, of active co-operation; if built, it not only opens for settlement, the whole upper portion of Oxford County; and forms an outlet for a large tract of county, whose business will naturally come to the Grand Trunk railway, as it brings them a market nearly a hundred miles nearer than they now enjoy. It thus becomes a matter of the highest importance that the road should be constructed. We can see no good reason why the bounty of the State should not be extended to it; or at least, that it should stand an equal chance with other roads.

THE PUBLIC LANDS. The present Legislature seems bent upon disposing of the State of all title to its public lands. Mr. Vinton has introduced a bill granting to each County all the public lands within its limits. On the other hand, the friends of the Aroostook railroad, in spite of the veto of the people, again propose to take possession of the lands in aid of that road. The bill provides that hereafter, the net proceeds of the land sales shall be paid into the Treasury for the benefit of the road. If in four years, the road shall be built to Mattawamkeag, then the corporation receives the State bonus, to be applied, as per act. The verdict of the people when the previous act was submitted to their vote, should bind every member of the Oxford Legislature to oppose in all its stages, such an act.

S. L. Goodale, Esq., desires the Farmer to call the attention of farmers to the fact that the hog cholera is very prevalent in Massachusetts, and has appeared in Maine. In the yard of Mr. Scammon of Saco, he saw some thirty head, lately brought from Brighton, some of which were dead; others just gasping their last breath; while others were reeling and wheezing. The disease is contagious, sweeping off the whole herd, where it appears. It is brought to Massachusetts from the West. Farmers should keep a good look out for hogs brought from a distance.

At New Orleans on Thursday week, the residence of A. Tanboursy was robbed of silverware and other articles valued at \$4000. Not a particle of the clothing of the family, save what they had on their backs, was left behind.

Dr. Colby requests us to say, for the information of those who had made arrangements, for lectures during the past week, that the dangerous illness of his father, who resides in Saco, of which he was informed while at Bethel, rendered it necessary, for him to go immediately to that place and remain until the present time. He will commence upon the fulfillment of the remainder of his appointments as soon as circumstances permit.

SAD ACCIDENT. Mr. Andrew Willard, aged about 24 years, of Waterford, while at work in the woods in that town on Saturday last, was so seriously injured that he died the next day. A tree in falling broke a limb from another, which struck Mr. Willard on the side of the head. He remained insensible until he died. [Argus.

QUICK TRIP. The train which left Farmington on Thursday morning Feb. 7, arrived at Leeds Junction on the following Tuesday evening—having been nearly six days struggling through the drifts. During all that time the Farmington people had no mails except by stage from Augusta.

TEMPERANCE MEETING AT ROCKFELL. The Oxford County Temperance Association will hold a meeting, at Rockfield, next Thursday, the meeting will commence at 2 o'clock, and continue through the evening. Addresses will be given by Hon. Neal Dow, and other distinguished friends of Temperance.

Although there have been many medicinal preparations brought before the public since the first introduction of Perry Davis' Vegetable Pain Killer, and large amounts expended in their introduction, the Pain Killer has continued to steadily advance in the estimation of the world, as the best family medicine ever introduced. Sold by druggists and grocers.

BEAUTIFUL EXTRACT. We are glad to see that Mr. Lincoln comprehends his position in all its fullness; and therefore when he leaves his home for his arduous and dangerous duties, and his old friends crowd around to say "farewell," he does not address them with the jubilation of a conqueror—not with the boastfulness of vanity—not with the emptiness of self-conceit, but he stands at the station house looking upon them with a sad face and a tearful eye, and the whistle sounds and the train almost starts thundering along its track, before he withdraws his gaze from those familiar countenances and familiar loved scenes. Then he opens his mouth with a subdued voice that awakens no boisterous applause, but moves all hearts to sympathy, and speaks like a christian. It is by Divine Providence, he tells them, he has come to the election; it is upon Divine Providence he promises them, he will rely for support and success; and he adds, "I hope you will all pray for me;" and from that vast crowd, and from lips that perhaps had never uttered an audible prayer, there comes the sacred response, "We'll pray for you." What a scene was that! When in the history of man ever occurred one more solemn and impressive! We've no pen to describe it, nor painter's brush to sketch it; but hereafter artists will invoke all their skill to place it on the canvases, and poets will sing it in loftiest strains, as one of the events to go down to the latest posterity.

[Newburyport Herald.

"The amendment will be stronger as the world reads such words as Charles Sumner has just uttered, namely, that he and his party are in favor of the Constitution as administered by Washington. It was so administered for thirty years, and there was content; it is a departure from such administration of the Constitution that makes this discontent. And now if the people of the North could really return to such administration, in letter and in spirit, a great majority of the people of these six States would gladly return to the Old Union."

[Post.

It is a singular confession from the organ of a party which has almost uninterrupted, for the last quarter of a century, controlled the government, that it is a departure from the administration of the Constitution, as Washington administered it, which makes this discontent. We will not dispute the fact, but it should be a matter of congratulation to the country that the young and vigorous party now coming into power proposes to return to the principles of Washington. [Journal.

In a recent leader, the Charleston Mercury thus elegantly expresses its opinion of the Northern members of the National Democratic Convention at Charleston:

"It was in an evil hour that they came to the soil of South Carolina to hold their convention for the consummation of this godly work. The soil is not congenial to the swindler. We saw with disgust the sort of cattle representing States and parties, fourth-rate county Court lawyers—what they call in Georgia jockey lawyers—black-legs would be better; and a more impudent gang of plunderers, wire-pullers and scoundrels, with few exceptions, were never before congregated together, and with such monstrous party pretensions. The claim of the Northern delegates was, in so many words, to have a platform so meaningless as to permit them to lie ad libitum."

DEATH OF AN AIDED PERSON. Mrs. Ab

