1860

Bangor Daily Union Report of the Grand Union Meeting in Norombega Hall, Bangor

Bangor Daily Union

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BANGOR DAILY UNION REPORT

OF THE

GRAND UNION MEETING

IN

NOROMBEGA HALL, BANGOR,

Wednesday Evening, January 11, 1860;

CONTAINING THE

SPEECHES OF JUDGE HATHAWAY AND HON. GEORGE EVANS,

AND THE LETTERS FROM

Ex-PRESIDENT PIERCE, Ex-GOVERNOR WELLS,
HON. EDWARD EVERETT, HON. M. H. SMITH,
HON. CALEB CUSHING, HON. JAMES W. BRADBURY.

The Call and Signatures, Officers of the Meeting, Prayer of Dr. Tefft,

THE RESOLUTIONS, AND THE PATRIOTIC LETTER OF

MRS. ANN S. STEPHENS TO VICTOR HUGO.

[PHONOGRAPHIC REPORT.]

BANGOR:
PRINTED AT THE OFFICE OF THE DAILY UNION.
1860.
Bangor, January 21, 1860.

This account of the proceedings at Norombeaga Hall, on the evening of January 11th, is published under the sanction of the Committee of Arrangements.

A. SANBORN,
G. L. BOYNTON,
A.P. BRADBURY,
A. M. ROBERTS,
D. B. HINCKLEY,
WM. T. HILLIARD,
F. A. WILSON,

Committee of Arrangements.
UNION MEETING IN NOROMBEGA HALL.

CALL.

The undersigned, citizens of Bangor and vicinity, desirous of expressing our abhorrence of the recent assault upon the peace, safety, lives and property of our fellow-citizens of the State of Virginia, at Harper's Ferry, and of publicly rebuking expressions of sympathy for the murderous and treasonable acts of John Brown and his followers, and in favor of renewing our pledge of fidelity to the principles upon which the Union of these States was formed, and declaring our determination to maintain the Constitution of the United States and to carry out all its requirements and obligations, cordially invite the friends of the Union to meet with us at Norombega Hall, at an early day.

A M Roberts
D W Bradley
W M Howard
Abram Woodard
Menander Pearson
D B Hinckley
F F French
Samuel R Yeaton
James Norris,
Joseph M Moor
C D Jameson
Towne Roach
Geo H Bartlett
P D Harthorn
E B Blunt
Benj Godfrey
L D Andrews
Theodore Paine
Thos N Egery
Greenleaf Elder
Alfred Stetson
J S Rowe
Geo W Ladd

Benj Wiggin
P A Strickland
L Murch
Lysander Strickland
A P Atwood
Otis Bills
W P Hubbard
John S Ricker
S Larrabee
James P Lansil
Patrick Landers
John L Hodsdon
Noyes Ames
Lyman Tyler
George G Hathaway
Chas H Hathaway
Joseph Pease
A W Daggett
Patrick Golden
Jno E Reynolds
E B Patten
Ira D Glover
Patrick Duffy

Timothy Call
G W Larrabee
Jona Young
J Haskell
James Thissell
Sam'l Dealing
E A Green
Geo Savage, Jr
Francis H Duffy
Geo Savage
Martin Bowes
John Hennessy
John Murkland, Jr
Silas Alden
Levi L Alden
J E Alden
S C Hatch
Jefferson Crocker
G G Cushman
E G Rawson
A P Bradbury
O F Millett
J Wingate Carr
Thomas Jenness
T F Boynton
Thos A Pickering
James Deering
James Walker
Franklin A Wilson
Geo C Pickering
W Rounds
A Dunning
H B Dunning
Daniel Nickerson
Amasa Bartlett
F H Smith
J A Brown
Cornelius Brown, Jr
Edmund Pierce
Andrew Steel
A S Harding
Daniel Smith
Frederick B Smith
Raymond Smith
Robert M Smith
John Smith
Eben Thissell
W H Stickney

Frank W Collins
John Hockins
Wm E Hewes
W F Doe
Elijah Gordon
Hugh Russ, Jr
S Bills
Joseph C Stevens
Frederick A Stevens
E F Dillingham
C A Page
Jonathan Cochrane
Spencer A Pratt
B G Shaw
Simon Hill
S B Brown
Edw Nutter
J Goodhue
S B Pike
J W Hathaway
J W Hathaway
W T Hilliard
D Bugbee
J Downs
W Lowell
Chas A Sanborn
H Rich
A F Perkins
N S Harlow
Joseph Bither
C V Ramsdell
Wm A Neal
A D Atwood
J H Payne
G H Atwood
N Pierce
D Pierce
H R Pierce
Samuel Trask
Wm Y Loud
A F Fowler
E S Linnett
E C Loud
E P S Loud
A P Loud
H W Loud
E Boynton
H R Smith
UNION MEETING IN NOROMBEGBA HALL.
J S Swett
B Noble
Robert Burnham
Aaron Haynes
J F Berry
John Morrill
Nathaniel Hoyt
Luther M Williams
Freeborn Edgerly
Patrick Mehan
Daniel H Williams
Wm P Huntington
Warren E Jordan
Moses Gowen
William Woodard
A O Stevens
Chas Williams
Wm H Gibbs
Daniel Strout
Rice King
Thomas Davis
Elihu Hoxie
Charles Deering
E H Burr
W Holbrook
C Hutchinson
Ira Wardwell
Theodore Gerry
B Atwood Jr
John Hiftory
Samuel Given
Iverty Harlow Jr
James Harlow
Wm Robinson
T P Kent
E W Sargent
J D French
Nahum F North
SA Burr
Chas Boden
F Higgins
Chas Wiswell
J A Snow
James H Erskine
J D Joselyn
H Flanders
F Bachelder
J W Osgood
R G Libbey
W Prescott
T Littlefield
J Gammon
J Buell
P A Dalton
J D Prescott
C H Ingalls
Wm B Jones
J B Butler

J Cotton
S Whittemore Jr
Ramon Libby
Jesse Ross
Lorenzo D Hobbs
C F Chadbourne
Joseph L Ross
Simon A Woodard
Abner Milliken
A S Mansell
C H McLaughlin
George Averill
Ambrose Finson Jr
Thomas J Brown
Columbus Drake
Abner Drake
Alvin Moor
John Brown
Paul Neddo
James Rand
Elisha W Kent
Samuel Deering
S L Phelps
Charles N Sawyer
C Bakeman
L Given
W H Field
A H Field
Richard Kent
Robert P Ewer
E Hatch
Samuel Vezzie
James St. range
R A Hall
S C Davis
E Hall
D S Kingsbury
N A Hopkins
J H Foss
A P Lunt
C W Mitchell
F W Hill
J H Prescott
Nathaniel Russell
D M Beckwith
John W Grant
L A Davis
Purlay Tuck
S G Ramsdell
D H Nevens
Samuel R King
I Avery
Wm O Colbath
J T Avery
T Mansfield
C Blanchard
Axel Woodbury
A D Hill

A G Butters
A J Wake
J Chamberlain
J M Small
D Hooker
Simon Leighton
John Smith
Elizah Naton
A Leighton
W L Quinby
David Crowell
Hero Jobs
D M Beckwith
John W Grant
Lorrin A Davis
Purlay Tuck
Solomon N Ramsdell
Samuel R King
Hazen Eastman
Stephen W Garland
Jacob Eastman
N E Brown
H B Eastman
W Lougee
W H H Eastman
E Leighton
C J Buswell
D N Bond
E R Weston
Daniel B Chase

Thomas R Kingsbury
P G Townsend
Samuel Eastman
H S Wilson
John W Bailey
Daniel Washburn
Miles Wilson
R H Kingsbury
J B Chase
J M Weymouth
Samuel Libbey
James Webster
Samuel Bigelow
S M Inman
John Perkins
Moses Young
T W Dexter
John Tulley
E W Gibbs
N Treat
James McNeal
J B Treat
John A Merrill
Thomas J Drew
D Shay
J Hill
W Morey Jr

Hammon Eastman Jr
H E Brown
Chas Brown
N Eastman
Geo A Bacheldor
Wm R Dodge
Edward Lothrop
Albert Grinnell
James Robbins
B Walker
John C Sweet
J Bailey
E K Clark
Horace Lord
John Turner
Addison Turner
Seth Spaulding
James Turner
J C Haskell
John Lord
J Harding
C Garland
Isaac Harding
S Haskell
Jonas Weston
Joseph G Roberts
O B Jaqeth
James Dufin
Stephen Garland
Aha Harlow
Sylivers Hersey
P M Jeffords
J C Clark
Ira L Gould
George Brown
Seth Brown
Danvill Brown
Milton Crockett
Bath Nathan Brown
J D Coy
J P Jollison
R Mc Pheters
H B Lawrence
E Estes
J W Perry
B M Kelley
D Jameson
A Waterhouse
A W Hewey
T Mann
S Pingree
A W Weymouth
W B Whittier
S P Nash
John Conly
J F Johnson
J W Phipps
N Emery
UNION MEETING IN NOROMBEA HALL.

R Stubbs Jr
H Sylvester
Charles Emery
W Doane
A Colson
W Rogers
D Stone
E Wardwell
D Emery
L D Stevens
J Hopkins
J R Holt
T R Wasgatt
J Orne
Z Sparrow
J Wardwell
W H Sanger
S Emerson
G W Hopkins
J M Crowell
R Furbush
G Blake
A Rogers Jr
A P Emery
N Emery
O H Hinckley
J Emery
C Jarvis
J Armstrong
A Wiswell
S Greely
H Whiting
M Joy
C H Haynes
T Carter
L Friend
J Friend
L Friend
M Young
G Parcer
W A Jordan
H Joy
J S Rice
E Redman
L Smith
S Buckman
J B Osgood
C Brown
J C Murch
E Bowden
J W Osgood
N Moore
C F Bellatty
P McGown
L Hooper
N Rollins
E Holden
F Frye
P H Phipps
C L Phipps
R Annis
H Brown
E Dudley
R Patten
T Stanley
H S Higgins
M Leman
S Baker
A Naso
J M Dean
S S Garland
E J Dudley
R K Stetson Jr
G A Curtis
J G Damond
D Nye
W J F Nye
B Miller
D Ryan
A Rogers
J Ryan
T P Batchelder
E F Nason
M K Weeks
A W Leavitt
G F Dunn
S K Whiting
A Otis
M H Woodard
R Forsaith
S B Woodward
J W Remick
P Remick
Z Jordan
S G Woodard
W H Rice
J R Jarvis
J D Richards
J P Langdon
M J Adams
B C Woodard
G Stackpole
R H Brigham
J W Dennett
C J Whiting
J B Wilson
D Moore
R A Brigham
P Mullin
F A Hooke
J R Redman
C K Tilden
J Christian
J Dresser
M Gardner
J Snowman
J Graves
W W Smith
B C Clark
J Gilmore
E G Leavens
F R Leavens
L M Kingsbury
N L Kidder
C J Kidder
O P Pond
Charles Pond
C A Cate
J H Noyes
S J Whiting
I W Dresser
G S Vose
B S Wilson
P J Hook
B W Darling
W W Hatch
G H Webb
C Blaisdell
A Brown
S W Webster
B Robbins
O Morey
J S Trott
E D Perkins
R Clark
W Linton
J S Norton
H B Robbins
J McLaughlin
C Foster
L Hurd
H Hurd
G Copeland
J Stockbridge
J Boyd
C Keyser
T Eddy
W Doe
J Bailey
R Bailey
C Hodgdon
I Hodgdon
J C Sweet
J Johnson
J Junkins
W G Smith
D Duran
B Duran
I Dinsmore
S Young
T Rand
C Rand
T Rand Jr
J Simmons
W W Weeks
S S Noyes
C W Tilden
N Mead
G F Stetson
W T Stevens
D L Steven
Z H Webber
J A Coombs
M P Perkins
O Hatch
C F Ellis
M Jordan
R McCluskey
W Eaton
B B Foster
J B Woods
O Little
H E Hodsdon
F A Long
J Hatch
J S Bryant
S Redman Jr
S Redman
W T Hooper
E Richardson
D Stockbridge
B Eddy
G Purrington
S Roby
C Hersey
L H Rogers
R Houston
E Houston
A P Hatch
H Hatch
E Strout
M Strout
I P Richards
W G Richards
T Richards
E S Richards
M Scribner Jr
J Duren
H P Scibner
M Scribner
J Duran 2
B Strout
S N Duran
R Scribner
S W Drew
H Stanchfield
O Gregory
J Paine
W Pinkham
J G Morse
B J Morse
G Spencer
| Bickmore | G H Spencer | Watson | A J W S Lane |
| Bickmore | J Porter | S Bradman | S Whitehouse |
| Bickmore | M Wood | J C Crockett | T G Curtis |
| Bickmore | A Smyth | T B Watson | J Nutting |
| Bickmore | R Ambrose | S Macomber | W Curtis |
| Bickmore | M Obrien | C B Merrill | T Rowe |
| Bickmore | M Collins | E F Harvey | M Ritchie |
| J Sweat | C Labree | M H French | J Howe |
| Young | J P Parker | J C Blanchard | D Dumpee |
| Page | I Smart | J Bradon | P Brown |
| W Frees | F Hamblen | B Savage | A Tate |
| H Stewart | L Hamblen | J Bickmore | E Gurney |
| Tomlinson | R S Garland | D Duran | C Duren |
| White | T Field | I Bickmore | H Richards |
| Colburn | S Page | F Brooks | E Bradgon |
| McPheters | W H Folsom | H Scribner | D C Tozier |
| Fields | C F Hamblen | H Hatch | O Gregory |
| Wilson | T McLoon | N Hatch | O C Tozier |
| Colburn | F Saunders | C Rowe | J Tozier |
| Bennoch | J Dutton Jr | J Knowles | C Bennett |
| J Dutton | H Dunton | J Lovejoy | G Tyler |
| Ambrose | T S Dunton | B Robinson | D Blanchard |
| Gallegher | J L B Nichols | H Nichols | S Cressey |
| Dunn | A Patterson | A J Comstock | E T Nichols |
| Lewis | T Stetson | D Bailey | J Emerton |
| Buzzell | J H Hillard | E Brown | R Miles |
| Libby | I H Bailey | T Woodsum | T D Mitchell |
| Tufts | N Cushman | S Aikens | J W Shepard |
| Andrews | A Graffam | A Bennett | W Wilson |
| McDonald | J Buffum | W Hinks | C F Ware |
| Colburn | A G Anlaine | A Smith | J T Smith |
| Jones | J T Inman Jr | S Tewksbury | J McCarty |
| Tuck | Alden Bean | B Washburn | M Ball |
| Chamberlain | Timothy Call | R Bennett | D Harriman |
| Morgan | S Leonard | A Fishon | J Hall |
| Inman | J B Tucker | J Greeley | T Bowden |
| Haynes | A V Vantine | G U Leavitt | A Briggs |
| Bailey | S D Stratton | L Hasey | C C Caswell |
| Berry | P Murphy | E Bills | R Caswell |
| Scott | J Fogg | W F Mayo | R S Caswell |
| Stratton | E O Dunifer | S B McCorryson | J Sampson |
| Lelon | A Haynes | S Patterson | A J Fisher |
| T Dearing | Chas Dudley | A J W Stevens | J J Merrill |
| Davis | H Dill | A W Clark | D Mc Canill |
| Scott | O Webb | John S Thompson | S Larribee |
| Dolbin | C A Havnes | M Thompson | D O Crene |
| Davis | E Nathan | W Thompson | P Martin |
| Stratton | G Kose | J H Shepley | R Farris |
| L F Stratton | R Hathorn | J S Dwelley | C Desmond 2d |
| Harmon | J E Bennoch | E M Me Phetres | J Bueky |
| Cobb | M Foley | G Mc Carline | T Buckley |
| McHugh | S O Bailey | A L Douglass | S L Morris |
| Douglas | A Wardwell | J Prouty | E Parkhurst |
| Sprague | S Wardwell | W Hathorn | T Stapleton |
| Blackwell | T S Clay | S Hurd | J Turner |
UOTION MEETING IN NOBORBEGA HALL.

M. Davis
M. O. Sullivan
E. O. Flatty
T. Calleeanan
D. Spencer
R. McPhetres
W. Spurr
B. Brown
I. H. Spencer
C. H. Folsom
H. N. Ames
W. W. Whatham
T. J. Hopkins
E. Dix
J. Abbott, Jr.
J. Abbott
W. Swett
P. Abbott 2d
R. Trim
W. Lee
J. Wood
S. H. Coombs
J. W. Stone
C. Barnard
R. Kerrigan
P. Mulligan
F. Wood
H. P. Turner
W. Crocker
R. Rich
Upton Treat
A. B. Treat
H. A. Tibbitts
E. P. Treat
George W. Parker
H. Treat
D. N. Ewell
Webster Treat
T. P. Perkins
John Woodman
Thomas Morton
James Waldron
L. Philbrook
J. C. Norton
N. Seavey
G. M. Burleigh
Geo. Hamilton
B. Jenkings
L. D. Hayes
Benjamin Lord
John H. Hilliard
O. Pearson
Charles Griggs
L. R. Gray
Thomas Stinson
Dana Wedgewood
Benj. Rideout
Horatio Morgan
J. E. Parsons
A. J. Spencer
J. M. Thompson
E. W. Smith
A. J. Hathorn
C. Rose
S. Sanborn
Sanphier
E. G. Colby Jr.
D. Snow
H. S. Soule
J. Smith
W. Varney
J. G. Leach
J. W. Patterson
A. Colby
D. Robinson
A. Mason
D. Kerrigan
J. H. Snowman
J. P. Ames
T. Wardwell
R. Leighton
W. Ross
J. S. Eldridge
W. Claridge
R. Abbott
Fitz H. A. Boods
Geo. R. Sullivan
Geo. Treat
M. A. Merrill
James Treat
A. B. Mayo
James Emery
A. F. Emery
James Beal
H. M. Perkins
Joseph Sprague
John A. Durgain
Wm. Kingsbury
George Thompson
Samuel McClellan
L. Williams
T. E. Rogers
W. R. Hamilton
J. Springall
John B. Springall
Isaac M. Russ
Wm. A. Soper
H. R. Soper
R. H. Douglas
D. Springer
John Hutchings
Frederick Stuart
Geo. Wallace
Oren Clark
H. G. Wadleigh
Dr. Charles Fortier
Jesse Wadleigh
James McCormick
Jas A. Thibodean
James Given
J. G. Percival
Sam'l W. Dudley
F. E. Carleton
Moses Woodman
Jos. Carlton
N. H. Hunt
John Kelley
John McSorley
John Rice
Hugh Gibbons
H. B. Martin
Henry French
Abner Nichols
Chas A. Nichols
Edward Mehegan
Samuel Roby
M. H. French
Richard Ambrose
Samuel L. Morris
S. S. Torrance
Chas Jennings
A. Cooper
Lemuel Buresly
Simeon Peak
A. Trask
B. Holman
Stephen Rowell
Hiram Clark
Phillip Snow
Ambrose Finson
George S. Head
Geo. A. Bachelder
George D. Staples
Caleb A. Gray
Stephen Gray
Marion Peaslee
R. H. Gray
S. H. Gray
Abner Lowell
Benj Grace
John Chase
Joseph Lewis
Wm. S. Dorr
R. S. Dorr
S. B. Rich
Moses B. Rich
Wm. Lane
Israil Doyle
W. P. Lowell
Enoch Collins
N. Rider
Richard Rich
Jacob Billings
Benjamin Dyer
J. G. Hunt
Henry Morgan
H. W. Wallis
George Garland
Benson Baker
Ira Wadleigh
J. P. Hillsgrove
John Young
James Welch
Eli Hoskins
David Elkins
J. Burnham
C. Stinson
Benj Mitchell
A. R. Mann
Noah Whitcomb
Levi B. Patten
Chas Shaw
Harvey Jameson
Joseph Fowler Jr.
Thos K. Caswell
Wm. Bartlett
Samuel Dow Jr.
A. Long
Richard Persons
Galen Gates
J. R. Sawyer
A. M. Buzzell
H. Dyer
Horton Dyer Jr.
Chas E. Prentiss
Hollis Bond
John S. Comins
Paul Jameson
Salmon G. Sawtelle
Jona N. Brown
Thomas B. Brown
C. S. Rowe
S. Williams
Adams Treat
Rufus West
John Wiswell
John Wiswell Jr.
Svlavus Gray
Abel Stubbs
Abel Stubbs Jr.
Henry Feltch
James H. Feltch
R. Stubbs 2d
T. Freeman
R. Freeman
W. H. Freeman
S. W. Freeman
A. J. Freeman
Wm. Eldridge
P. Scribner
D. Gould
C. Snow
THE MEETING.

In response to the Call, above published in our columns, Norombega Hall, on Wednesday night last, was densely crowded at an early hour, notwithstanding the darkness of the evening, and the unfavorable state of the weather. What added much to the interest of the occasion, was the fact that the galleries were graced with a large assemblage of ladies. At 7 o'clock the Committee of Arrangements, accompanied by the officers of the meeting, the chaplain, and the speakers, entered the Hall, Round's Serenade and the Citizens' Cornet Bands playing "Hail Columbia." They were received by the immense audience with a tremendous round of applause. After the applause had subsided, Abram Sanborn, Esq., Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, stepped forward, and read the following list of officers:

FOR PRESIDENT.

HON. JOSHUA W. HATHAWAY.

FOR VICE PRESIDENTS,

Daniel W. Bradley, Bangor.

Abram Woodard, "

George W. Savage, "

Thomas N. Egery, "

Silas C. Hatch, "

Phineas Batchelder, "

J. Wingate Carr, "

Daniel Green, "

P. A. Strickland, "

James Walker, "

Cyrus Goss, "

Israel B. Norcross, "

John H. Wilson, "

James Dunning, "

Moses Saunders, "

Michael Boyce, "

John S. Ricker, "

John L. Hodsdon, "

Spencer A. Pratt, "

Hosea Rich, "

Arvida Hayford, "

J. H. Payne, "

Isaac W. Patten, "

Nathan Weston, Jr., "

George C. Pickering, "

Abner Knowles, "

Calvin Seavey, "

Patrick Golden, "

Lysander Strickland, "

Samuel B. Brown, "

George W. Larrabee, "

Isaac Hodsdon, "

W Hinks  
G H Day  
A H Bicknell  

Reuben H Gray  
N A Gray  
Porter Gray  
Chelcias Gray  
Leander Gray  
James Gray  
Josiah Gray  
Reuben Gray  
S Gray  
Perry Gray  
Joseph Steel  
B Gray  
J Gray  
Leobard J Gray  
O P Gray  
John Carter  
John Staples  
John E Staples  
S Staples  
Edward Staples  
Jotham Staples  
John A Staples  
Elliot Gray  
Samuel H Gray  
Story S Gray  
James E Gray  
Horace Mixer  
Andrew Grindle  
Burnam Gray  
Washing on Gray  
Caldwell Gray  
George Grindle  
Dexter Monroe  
Jackson Gray  
Asa H Gray  
John Gray  
Robert Gray  
Reuben Grindle  
Elison Grindle  
David Black  
G S Staples  
C B Rubert  
Alven Rubert  
Benj Sweet  

J Hopkins  
M Sanders  
F B Warren  
W H Palmer  
J C Gray  
Solomon Gray  
Isaac Dunning  
Amasa Holden  
Jeremiah Page  
A Bickford  
Ansel Dunning  
John Roundy  
Reuben Dunning  
Albert H Norcross  
D E Carpenter  
Solomon Sias  
Duston Page  
Harvey J Snow  
Benj Talton  
Milton B Bragg  
C T Dunning  
Wm Hall  
Wm C Noble  
D Stockman Jr  
Wm Parker  
Moses E Bunker  
D H Patten  
H Bagley  
S H Sprague  
M Dunning  
P McIntire  
J S Sanborn  
Ira Legrow  
Samuel W Drew  
F M Libby  
J Buwell  
E Libby  
J F Libby  
S N Libby  
C P Snow  
Harrison Snow  
A A Mann  
J F Grindall  
S L Dodge  
J Wall Jr  
Simeon Pease  
H A Rubert  
M S Rubert  
Geo W Savage
UNION MEETING IN NOROMBEAGA HALL.

Wm. D. McLaughlin, "
John Godfrey, "
Charles Snell, "
George W. Cummings, "
Porter Wiley, "
Levi B. Patten, "
Benj. G. Shaw, "
George Palmer, "
Joshua Chamberlain, Brewer,
Hollis Bond, "
A. D. Atwood, Orrington,
Daniel Emery, Hampden,
Theophilus Stanley, "
Wm. J. Comins, Eddington,
Samuel L. Morris, Vezzie,
Nathaniel Wilson, Orono,
J. H. Hilliard, Oldtown,
Noyes Ames, Hermon,
Abner Milliken, Alton.
Wm. R. Miller, Howland,
Alvin Trask, Bradford,
S. S. Torrance, Holden.
Wm. L. Frees, Argyle.
Wm. Douglas, Greenbush.
Moess Knapp, Bradley.
Sam'l J. Emery, Glenburn.
A. Libby, Burlington.
Daniel Lord, Lowell,
Stephen D. Jennings, Garland.
Isaiah Avery, Exeter.
Geo. W. Chamberlain, Carmel.
Rufus Jones, Carmel.
Elis Friend, Etna.
Lemuel Clark, Stetson.
Elhanon Garland, Kenduskeag.
George H. Haynes, Winn.
Joseph W. Eaton, Plymouth.
Ira Fish, Patten.
C. S. Rowe, Hudson.
Galen Gates, Carroll.
Smith Gilman, Jr., Enfield.
Gilman M. Burleigh, Dexter.
Thomas H. Norcross, Charleston.
George Gould, Dixmont.
C. A. Cushman, Lee.
Waldo Davis, Clifton.
Alanson Austin, Milford.
S. D. Roberts, Cornna.

Wm. R. Ayer, Lincoln.
J. R. Sawyer, Levant.
Matthew H. Frerch, Corinth.
Asa Smith, Mattawamkeag.
Adams Treat, Frankfort.
John Lee, Bucksport.
Charles Jarvis, Ellsworth.
R. H. Bridgman, Castine.
Joseph Chase, Dover.
James S. Wiley, Dover.
James M. Weymouth, Foxcroft.
Joseph F. Gray, Sedgwick.
E. G. Flanders, Sangerville.
A. G. Houston, Monson.
Arno Wiswell, Ellsworth.
J. P. Moore, Abbott.
J. H. Noyes, Castine.
A. J. Chase, Atkinson.
Frederic Frye, Dedham.
S. S. Heagen, Prospect.
James Emery, Frankfort.
FOR SECRETARIES.
F. A. Hatch, Bangor.
H. B. Chamberlain, Brewer.
T. P. Batchelder, Kenduskeag.
Samuel McClellan, Dexter.
Chas. D. Jameson, Oldtown.
H. P. Haynes, Bangor.

Judge Hathaway being conducted to the Chair, said that, in view of the importance and solemnity of the occasion, it was proper that the blessing of Heaven should be invoked; he then called upon the Rev. Dr. Tefft, who addressed the throne of Grace as follows:

DR. B. F. TEFFT'S PRAYER.

O THOU! the Almighty Father of the universal family of men, who hast made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth; and who carest equally for all:

THOU! who hast taught the world that thy name is Love, and whose great Commandments are, that the people of every land shall love Thee with all the heart, mind and strength, and their neighbors as themselves. THOU! who, in Thy latest revelation, hast given us a New Commandment, that the members of a common brotherhood may of right, and ought especially, to love one another.

THOU! who didst, by thy Providential Pow-
er, so cover this fair land of ours with darkness, and so surround it with watery walls, that no permanent occupation of it could be made, till a civilization meet for a new era was prepared, and a new people was raised up and educated to possess it, whose ancestry, whose genius, whose ideas were such as to insure the founding of a free Nation, whose institutions should be the glory of the world—look Thou from heaven, Thy dwelling-place, and help us, thy weak and erring creatures, to behold our high rank in the designs of Providence, and to rise to the dignity and grandeur of our position!

We, the people of this Thy chosen country, have not put our trust in chariots or in horses,—we depend not on armies or on navies—but our dependence has ever been, and now is, on the practice of even-handed justice toward other countries, and on an enlightened and virtuous sense of a common brotherhood among ourselves. It was by these principles that we became a Nation; by these we have been carried safely through many perils; and by these, and these only, can it be our hope to remain a united, prosperous and happy people!

Teach us, O Lord our God, that the government of this country took its origin from this fraternal feeling; that it has been preserved by mutual concessions and forbearance; and that it will stand only so long as its Liberties are seen to be possible only in obedience to Law!

Every nation, O Lord, has its periods of danger, and this is our moment of alarm, and perhaps of peril. Our sins have called for the chastening rod of Providence; and a cloud surcharged with evil, hangs gloomily over the land. Raise thy right hand, O God, in our behalf. Dissipate the impending darkness and pierce it with the rays of returning light. Show unto us the smiles of thy glorious countenance, and let love, and confidence, and tranquility, and universal joy and peace return. As Thou hast promised in thy Word, speak from above the cloud and 'say unto the North, arise, and to the South, keep not back.' Let each fulfil the obligations of the great National Covenant, contracted in thy presence, and sealed by the blood of our revolutionary fathers.

In the midst of the rising and falling of nations, and of the fluctuations of the affairs of men, we forget not the solemn inquiry propounded by thyself: "Who shall abide in thy Tabernacle; who shall dwell in thy holy hill?" And it is our prayer, O Lord God, that thou wouldst impress upon the people of this vast country, North and South, East and West, the response given by thyself: "He that washeth to his own hurt and changeth not." Let this principle of unflinching integrity and honor sink deeply into the heart and conscience of this country, and thus save it from further trouble!

We invoke thy blessing upon this assembly. Grant unto those, who shall undertake to represent the fraternal sentiment of this community towards every part of our great confederacy, wisdom and a kindly spirit—Command thy blessings upon all our fellow citizens, upon our State, upon our common country, and the world, and make every citizen the minister of peace—of peace on earth and good will towards men—through Jesus Christ, our Lord, Amen!

The deepest silence pervaded the hall during the above fervent and heartfelt address to the throne of Grace. At its conclusion Judge Hathaway rose and said:

**Speech of Hon. J. W. Hathaway.**

*My Fellow Citizens:*

I am grateful to you, for the manifestation of your kindness to me, and of your confidence in my fidelity to the laws and the Constitution of our country, in appointing me to preside over your deliberations this evening; and the more especially, when I consider the grave and weighty matters which have called forth this gathering of the people, and the solemn consideration with which those matters should be regarded.

It is an occasion which, in every view of it, should exclude all prejudice and passion, and which calls for the exercise of patriotic devotion and Christian firmness—an occasion which demands of us a calm, careful, faithful, earnest and wise deliberation concerning the causes which have brought us together, and an unalterable resolution, by the help of Almighty God, to do our whole duty to our whole country, in sustaining its Constitutional laws, and in guarding and protecting all our fellow citizens of the United States, from insurrectionary murder and treasonable war.

If, there is nothing for us to do, at this present time, there is something for us to say. We are imperatively called upon, by high obligations of duty, to send forth to our fellow citizens, everywhere, our views and opinions concerning what has been done, and
what has been published, among us, touching the subject matter of the call of this meeting; that they may know that we, of the North, are true to our own Constitutional obligations, and have no fellowship or sympathy with murderers or traitors, who excite servile insurrections in our sister States, or with those who would, in any way, interfere with, or abridge, their Constitutional rights. Such fellowship and sympathy is equally abhorrent to our sense of our legal and moral obligations, and our Christian duty.

By preconcert and conspiracy, among citizens of the United States, who were not inhabitants of the State of Virginia, a plan was formed and matured for seizing the armory at Harper's Ferry in Virginia, and exciting an insurrection among the slaves in that Commonwealth, and furnishing them with arms, with the object and purpose of liberating them from their servitude—a servitude which, by the laws of that Commonwealth, under the Constitution of the United States, was lawful there, and with which the people of no other State had any legal right to interfere.

The insurrection was attempted in the night, and citizens of Virginia were murdered. The attempt was defeated, and the leader of the conspirators, and some of his associates, were duly and lawfully arrested, tried, condemned, and executed, for their crimes.

Such an event occurring, thus early, in our country's history, was startling indeed to us, who have been taught from our childhood, that our government was a glorious government, established under, and by the special favor of Heaven, to be a light and a blessing to the nations; and it would have been very strange if we, who have been reared under the influence of such teachings, from our fathers—and our mothers too, had not, with indignant surprise and alarm, at once, have cried out, as with one heart and one voice, against the traitors who had sought, with a religious hand, to seize the Ark of our Covenant, and rob it of its priceless treasure, and with treacherous design, to strip from the fair brow of "the great republic" her glorious tiara, studded with the stars of her Union and her empire, and in its place to plant a hideous blister there—and to disgrace her hitherto untarnished shield, by trailing the flag of our Union through the lambskin, bloody, and almost unimaginable horrors of a servile war—who have attempted to crush this glorious fabric which, at the cost of so much blood of noble freemen, has been reared, and has thus far been the shield and the protection of our fathers, and of their children, and which we have expected, with the holiness and confidence of a patriotic and Christian faith, to transmit to our children and our children's children, forever, unbroken and entire, in its increased and still increasing perfections, as a model of government—the most perfect which had ever been devised by man—the traitors—who, in the attempted execution of their treasonable purpose, and with the red right hand of insurrectionary war, have stained themselves with their brothers' blood. And how much more appalling was it to learn that multitudes of men, in this, our own New England, glorified the traitors, and approved the treason, and mourned only, that it was not successful in its final consummation.

It was almost impossible to believe that such could be the truth, and yet the conviction was forced upon us, by the eager and enthusiastic voices of assembled multitudes in different parts of the country—by the manifestation of sympathy with the traitors—by the tone of no inconsiderable portion of the public press—and by the extraordinary annunciations from the pulpits, by some who profess to be the ministers of Christ.

It has often been said, by some that the public press of no party has approved the traitors or their treason. Is this true? I make no charge against any individual party or persons, nor against any particular portion of the public press, except what they, themselves, have made open and manifest to the public eye and the public ear.

The authors of good books, and their works have been often condemned with faint praise, and it is equally true that the authors of evil deeds and their works are often praised, by faint condemnation. The language of disapproval is often used when its tone and manner indicates the highest praise, both of the actor and his conduct. The Governor of Virginia acted in this frightful emergency (as I believe) with promptness and prudence and wisdom. And yet, the public press in many places in New England has been fruitful in ridicule of his conduct in the matter and what they term his unnecessary alarm, recklessly or intentionally, regardless of the facts that the attack was commenced suddenly in the night and by seizing the Armory and the arms, that it was in the midst of a population, a large proportion of whom were slaves,
and that the agitation of the subject of slavery in the South has been for years past, as was well known to him, apparently the daily occupation of many Northern politicians, who seem to have labored in their vocation in season and out of season. It would have been very strange if Governor Wise had not been alarmed and taken every precaution in his power to guard the people of his State against rapine and murder, the awful and inevitable consequences of a servile insurrection. Well did the result justify his precautions and vigilance. He would have been recreant to his duty if he had not done all he could do for the safety of his State.

It is true that the numbers of the conspirators discovered and arrested were small, but how could he have known their numbers; and what was the difference whether their numbers were large or small, if the slaves had obtained possession of the arms and were disposed to use them as the conspirators desired and intended.

The slave population was there; the object of the conspirators was their insurrection and liberation, and a spark of fire in such a magazine of gun-powder would have been as effectual and fatal as a thousand fire-brands.

Does this heartless ridicule of the conduct of the Executive of Virginia for doing his duty, show any love for the Constitution or the laws, or for our fellow citizens of that State, or does it not rather show sympathy with the traitors and the treason, and an ill-concealed, but intense and deadly hatred of our fellow citizens of that Commonwealth and her Southern sisters, existing without provocation or reasonable cause, ranking in the heart, unavowed, secret, or attempted to be concealed, and therefore the more dangerous? To use the mildest possible language, it was the manifestation of a spirit far removed from that kindly fraternal regard which fellow citizens of the same Republic should entertain towards each other.

That the union of these, now, United States can exist under the domination of a Sectional party, is plainly impossible. Washington, in his Farewell Address, warned us against the danger of it. Oh, that we were here, to speak what he wrote upon that subject, so that the inspiration of his voice might stamp it on our hearts. There is no despotism like that of a sectional party; its numbers fortify and fearfully increase and intensify individual tyranny; the consciousness of individual responsibility is merged and lost in the assumed exclusive accountability of such a party, to which the individuals belong.

But such tyranny hath its bounds. It is true that there is a spell in despotism that sometimes wraps, in fatal lethargy, the powers of freedom and mars the vigor of the soul—but it is also true, that too large an opiate counteracts itself and arouses more than Nature’s energy. The great heart of the people of New England is sound and true to their constitutional obligations and duties, and, although many of them may have been bewildered by the ravings of political maniacs, or gasconading politicians, who love the people as wolves love lambs, yet the calm and considered reflection of the people upon the sad truths already developed as the inevitable result of past agitation and unfriendly intermeddling with our neighbor’s affairs, will set all things right, in due time, and whoever among us may have treason in their hearts to the Government which protects them, and may attempt to commit it, by fratricidal war against our sister States, and their institutions, will find, that in the language of a distinguished orator and statesman of Massachusetts, “that war will not be upon Mason and Dixon’s line, but will be here, upon the soil of New England,” and in such a contest the true men of New England would easily take care of those, if any, who should be found false, and in treason’s tents, warring against their country, her lawful institutions and her honor.

The different States which originally constituted this Union had different interests, and in the formation of the Constitution there must necessarily have been, as we all know there were, concessions and compromises by the several States, in order to unite them all in the common bond, but when the Constitution was formed and adopted by all the States, the day of compromises between the several States had passed, and all the States existing had equal rights secured to them by their organic law, and every State, since that time admitted, or which shall ever be admitted into this Union, must have entire and perfect equality of rights, with her older sisters, as guaranteed by the Constitution.

Those who think that the union of the States forming such a Republic can exist without a perfect equality of rights among those States concerning their own State institutions, have observed, and read, and reflected, in vain. If there is an irresistible conflict between the institutions of some of the States and the determined public sentiment of other States,
who are resolved, practically, to enforce their own peculiar views and sentiments, in all the States, surely, if the conflict be irrepressible, it must result in civil war.

In such a conflict where would be found the few scattering remnants of the armies of the revolution—those venerable patriarchs who have devoted the labors of a long life, in aiding to lay strong and firm the foundations of our government and in rearing its magnificent fabric. Where would they be found in a conflict in which treasurables men were striving to destroy the fruits of their life-long labors? and who would dare to raise his fratricidal arm against them?—In the decrepitude of old age, trembling on the outer verge of life,—in such a conflict they must indeed feel how sharper than a serpent's tooth it is to have a thankless child; and with the true, instinctive love of devoted soldiery to a venerated chief, their united voices would ascend trumpet tongues to Heaven, and invoke the spirit of Washington, their great commander, to save the traitors into peace.

Those unscrupulous politicians, who live in the States which have no slaves, and who, for their own sinister purposes of gain, or ambition, or notoriety, have, for years past been most insidiously employed in agitating the question of slavery in other States, with the zeal of martyrs, and an apparent malice, which has no limitation, either in its intensity or its scope, qualities quite characteristic of busybodies, meddling with other men's matters, with which they have no lawful or pliable right to interfere—who have, with impracticable theories, and fallacious reasoning, and ceaseless declamation, agitated and inflamed the public mind—who have deceived the ignorant and the simple, and led astray the unwary, and excited a spirit of fanaticism as absurd as that of Peter the Hermit, who preached up the crusades—those unscrupulous men have a fearful accountability resting upon them for the natural and legitimate results of the doctrines which they have preached, and the counsels which they have given—an accountability to their country and government which has protected and blessed them, and which they have most unnaturally and seditiously abused and insulted. To the true and intelligent philanthropists of the civilized world, whose hopes they have shaken, and whose sympathies they have outraged—and to their own consciences also, if perchance, such persons may be supposed to possess the consciences of reasonable men—they have won for themselves the odious notoriety of having been, or having sought to be, the successful incendiaries of our glorious temple of Constitutional Liberty.

Judge Hathaway's speech was received with marked favor and applause.

Abraham Savorn, Esq., then submitted for the consideration of the meeting the following resolves:

THE RESOLUTIONS

Resolved, That the Constitution of the United States is the great National Compact and fundamental law on which the Union is founded and by which it is upheld.

Resolved, That obedience to its sacred provisions and the laws passed in pursuance thereof, as expounded by the Supreme Court of the United States, is the test and condition of fidelity to the Union.

Resolved, That all professions of loyalty to the Union, accompanied, by words or acts, violative of the Constitution and laws so passed and expounded, and of the rights of States or individuals thereby established, are palpably absurd, false and hypocritical.

Resolved, That the rights of property in their slaves, guaranteed by this Constitution and these laws, to our brethren of the Southern States, are clearly entitled to receive equal protection with any other Constitutional right.

Resolved, That while here to night, we renewedly pledge ourselves, our fortunes and our sacred honors to protect and defend the Constitution and the Union, we give the same pledges to aid and assist in the protection of these and all other Constitutional rights, against all attacks, whenever, wherefoever, or howsoever made.

Resolved, That the recent invasion by John Brown and his followers, of the soil of Virginia, at Harper's Ferry, was not only an assault upon the property and lives of her citizens, whom they robbed and murdered, but upon the Constitution and Union also: And that while those who took active part in it, have deservedly suffered the severest punishment of the law, those who were participants with them, either by encouragement before, or sympathy after, the criminal acts were committed, should share with them in the infamy with which their memory is branded.

Each resolution was received by tremendous applause, and all were adopted by a prolonged and thundering AYE!

The President then introduced the Hon. GEORGE EVANS who was received with most enthusiastic applause, and who spoke as follows:

SPEECH OF HON. GEORGE EVANS.

Hon. George Evans, on rising from the
chair, was greeted with three hearty cheers—when he said:

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Citizens:

I share in the deep regret which I am sure you all must feel, that a distinguished citizen of a neighboring State, of much experience in public affairs, and recently holding a high position in the administration of the government of this country, whose burning eloquence would have so delighted and instructed us, has been unable to accept the invitation extended to him to address you this evening. I regret it the more, for I fear it may be expected of me to take a larger share in the proceedings of this meeting, than was in my anticipation, or than I am in any degree prepared to do. I must, therefore, throw myself upon your indulgence, but I fear I shall fail to reward you for any attention with which you honor me, or for the kind greeting with which you have received me.

We have come together, at what, I think, all must consider a momentous exigency in the condition of this country. And for what have we come together? The call, which has been so numerously signed by the citizens of this place and vicinity, the eloquent remarks of the honorable chairman which you have listened to with so much gratification—the resolutions which you have so enthusiastically adopted—all declare that the objects had in view, are to express the sentiments of this community upon a recent occurrence in a neighboring state, one of the states of this Union, foremost among the foremost, in "the days which tried men's souls," an occurrence which has imperiled, in no ordinary degree, the peace and prosperity and even the continuance of the Union of this glorious country; to express our determination to adhere to and abide by all the obligations which the Constitution of our country lays upon us; to increase our patriotism and swear new fidelity to our country. These are the objects for which we have come together.

Assembled for such purposes, at such a crisis in public affairs, was it to have been expected that the objects, thus viewed should be exposed to contumely and ridicule? Similar meetings have been held in different parts of the country, by large numbers of citizens of the most elevated patriotism and moral worth, and distinguished by every virtue that can elevate any community, and yet, in almost every instance there have been those who have endeavored to cover them with reproach and ridicule as wholly useless and uncalled for. One would suppose that the sanctity of the object might protect it from such gratuitous insult:—but no. There are those, who do not seem willing to understand the position in which the country is placed, but are moved by other motives than a just regard for the safety of the Union and of our own homes and firesides.

I noticed, within a day or two, in a very respectable newspaper published in this city, reference to an occurrence which has just happened in our own state.

It was stated that the recent financial difficulties which have occurred in our treasury, and by which the State may become somewhat embarrassed, are matters altogether too grave to be made subject of party controversy, —of too great importance to be treated with ridicule, and we were admonished so to regard it.

I do not find fault with this at all. But when we consider that this irruption into Virginia was attended with the loss of many lives, and might have been the cause of extensive and wide spread slaughter and desolation—that it threatened so seriously the peace and welfare of the whole country,—when the evils which it tended so directly to produce and which it had actually produced, are compared with those resulting from the fraudulent robbery of a few thousand dollars from the Treasury, one is somewhat at a loss to know by what scale for the graduation of crimes, one act is held a fit subject for derision and contumely, and the other altogether too grave and sacred to be mingled in party politics, or made the subject of ridicule or a jest. But so it is. In my judgment, no more grave or serious a matter than that now before us, was ever submitted to the consideration of the American people.

The call for this meeting, the action of it, and the resolutions which have been adopted suggest the topics which are to be considered this evening. We know, that at the present moment, our country is agitated in no common degree, and in a manner in which it was never agitated before, that dangers appear to be thickening, that there is a division between the great sections of the country; and we are met together to do what we can to allay these waves, and to pour oil again upon the troubled waters, so that calm and tranquility and peace may reign in all our borders.

What has given cause for all this increase of bitterness. Is it the invasion of one of our peaceful sister States, as has been maintained? The circumstances are all
known to you,—that a few misguided individuals,—for misguided they were,—heated up by this agitation of slavery, a few individuals repaired with all the munitions of war, armed with revolvers and muskets and pikes, and all the munitions necessary for their use, and invaded this peaceful State—for what purpose? To put arms into the hands of all the slaves, and of all the whites who might join them, and to set on foot a servile insurrection—to carry out by force and bloodshed some wild schemes for giving liberty to those who are enslaved. What was it reasonable to expect from such an attempt, if it met with any degree of success? If any number of the slaves and whites, who were engaged in the enterprise, should have commenced operations on any considerable scale, can any body compute what an amount of suffering and misery would have taken place.

Our ears were startled this morning, and our guest sympathies were aroused, by intelligence of a most appalling calamity which took place yesterday in one of the principal cities in the old mother commonwealth! We read with dismay of the destruction of a large manufacturing building occupied by hundreds of human beings in their daily employments, and that at least from two hundred to two hundred and fifty were buried beneath its walls, and, in the midst of the most excruciating tortures which the imagination can conceive, perished. The strong man in his strength, upon whom a family of children depended for their daily bread, the young woman, the stay and hope of aged parents, went suddenly, amid horrors indescribable to an untimely end. There is no heart so hard that it is not moved with anguish at the story. None. But what was all this, intense as it was, to the carnage and suffering what might have been, nay, would probably have been the result of a successful servile insurrection? Has any body attempted to imagine what terrible disaster such an event must have given rise? Who can read at this day, though after a lapse of much more than half a century, of the horrors of French Revolution without being moved in his inmost feeling? When a people rise in their wrath and take arms to redress the real or imaginary wrongs for years, conscience and humanity desert them and demonic passions take possession of and control all their actions.

The recent rebellion in India, when the English race of every age and of either sex were subjected to the most inconceivable torture, is but another admonition and illustration of what may be expected in a servile insurrection, if in any degree it make head way. And so it must have been in this case, if success, however partial, had attended the efforts of those conspirators and traitors who set the expedition on foot. And yet, there are those, who, as apparently contemplate such a state of thing unmoved, and can calmly look forward to the day when this shall become of frequent occurrence, for, we have heard it avowed that there is no way to terminate slavery, but by the rising of the slaves, and that such a mode of recovering their freedom is just and laudable. In recent discussions in Congress, great notoriety has been given to a book, which has received the endorsement of many distinguished men of our country, that explicitness and earnestly urges the propriety of this greatest of all crimes and villainies which can be conceived of.

Now, Sir, is it not a matter of great alarm that sentiments like these should be promulgated? Is it, then, a matter of wonder, that the South de not have peace in the Union, they must seek for it out of the Union? Surely not.

But does there really exist any danger of such disruption? Is the Union in peril? Will the South or any State of the South secede? He, who does not see the peril that we are in and that it is real, is woefully blind. Unless earnest measures be taken to resist or check the alienation of feeling and the bitter animosities which now exist, to what can it lead but to open dissension and to the breaking up of the most glorious confederacy that the sun ever shone upon or ever will shine upon.—(Great Applause.)

We have met together, my friends, to take counsel in this exigency. And what counsel shall we take? What can we do to calm the agitation and to protect our institutions? The southern states threaten to withdraw from the Union, and a great many say, "If they choose to go out of the Union, let them go: we are not going out." We may say so, but is our duty all fulfilled when we conclude to remain in the Union? Are we not to conduct so as not to drive anybody out of the Union? Have we, "states of the North, the free states of the Union, have we so fulfilled our obligations to the Union as to furnish no reason for them to find fault?

I am aware that there are complaints on both sides. Each party attributes to the other unjust aggression on its rights.

I am not going to compare the conduct of two great sections of the country and show
which is the most to blame. If I were speaking to a southern audience, I might expose to them wherein they had been the aggressors. I might point out, with great propriety, the greater errors which they have committed, if, in my opinion, they had committed any. But I shall not attempt it here. There it might do some good, and tend to calm the excited waves—here it could only excite passion. But I am speaking to northern people, and my purpose is to show wherein we have erred, if at all. I wish to know what has been the conduct of the free States and whether they have met the just expectations of their brethren in other parts of the Union. If we have come short, we have the power to change our course, and to adopt measures consistent with our obligations to our whole country. This brings us to the question whether or no, we have given any occasion to the southern section of the Union to distrust our attachment to the Constitution, and whether, if this Union be broken up, it be attributable to our neglect.

What is the ground of complaint against us? We live together under the Constitution which is equally obligatory upon all and which, when broken in one particular, is weakened in its whole construction. Have we lived up to the Constitution? You know, everybody knows, who has paid much attention to the things which have gone on for a few years past, that the accusation against us is that we have violated some of its most solemn provisions. We guaranteed, when the Constitution was formed, that we would not meddle with their institutions, and that, if their slaves should leave, and come among us, they should be delivered back to them again.

When slavery, which once existed in almost all the States, disappeared from the now free States, the sentiment adverse to the existence of the institution began to grow up and has continued to strengthen ever since, so that now various devices are got up to get rid of our obligations to respect it in the States where it still exists. In the Northern States, for a series of years, efforts have been persistently made to prejudice the public mind against slavery and slaveholders.—The evils of slavery have been portrayed from the pulpit and the rostrum, in the deepest colors. Processes have been established for the same object. For what is all this? We have no slaves to be released. We need no inducements to abolish it among ourselves. We can abolish it nowhere else. What, then, the object of these movements? What, but to incite hatred and hostility between these two sections of the country.

So long as they were confined to talk and lectures and pictures distributed among the people, it did not harm, beyond creating a feeling of bitterness and alienation between the North and the South. Soon, however, the Governors began to introduce the subject into their messages. Legislatures acted upon it. Reports and resolutions were adopted and transmitted to other States, deeply insulting to the States, and exciting both sections to mutual hostility.

How was this brought about? Was it not this interference by the North which has been at the bottom of it all? Then petitions were sent to Congress in vast numbers, praying for the intervention of the United States in this matter. The bonds of our Union were still further loosened, but the efforts were persisted in.

What was the next step in this process of interference in the domestic concerns of the South? Bear it in mind that the Constitution requires that fugitive slaves shall be delivered up on the claim of the owners. In the early periods of our history, this had been done, through the agency of state officers, without obstruction by the States. But after public sentiment at the North had, by the means already spoken of, become so perverted and so excited on the subject of slavery, many of the States enacted laws forbidding their magistrates to aid in the performance of this Constitutional requirement. Our own State, at a later day than most of the others, passed a law making it higher penal for any person holding office to perform this service.

What was then to be done? The law of Congress of 1793, for the recovery of fugitives, was thus practically nullified, and the South left without any remedy for the evils it complained of. Congress interposed, and enacted the law of 1850, transferring to officers appointed by the United States, the duties which had before been devolved upon the magistrates of the States. This was met with fresh and sterner resistance on the part of the Northern States. The laws of several of the States are in plain and direct contradiction to the Constitution and laws of the United States; and in fact, the Constitutional right of the South to have its fugitives delivered up, has become a dead letter. Is it then to be wondered at that they feel aggrieved, and thus they say to us, that if they cannot have
their rights under the Constitution in the Union, they will not remain in it?"

Is this state of things to continue? Where is it to stop? We are told that "men do not gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles," and can we expect fraternal feelings where we have sown the seeds of discord? Can we expect regard for our rights from those whose rights we have disregarded? If we do, we expect that which the history of mankind has never yet shown.

The question fo us to consider is, have we lived up to our obligations? Have the Free States fulfilled their Constitutional duties?

If we have not—wherein? and how, is peace to be restored? The answer is, by retracing our step; by going back to the earlier days of the Republic, when these difficulties were unknown; by discountenancing all attempts at creating sectional, and hostile, and bitter animosity towards any portion of the country. I know we cannot, by law, suppress opinion or speech, and that is the great thing complained of here at the North—that there was an attempt to suppress opinion. A portion of the citizens of the Free States say, "In our opinion slavery is a great and bitter evil"—well, what then? nobody will controvert it—what then? "We wish to say so; and if we cannot say so, and declare our sentiments, we are deprived of the liberty of speech." Now I value this liberty highly; but it is not the liberty of speech of which they are deprived, it is the abuse of speech; it is when sentiment and speech lead to action, and that to crime and violence,—it is then, that opinion and speech become subjects of reprobation.

We are required to change no opinion or sentiment—we may indulge our own to the utmost—and to suppress no speech that does not incite to crime and violence.

What induced this irruption into Virginia, fatal, as it was, to many lives, and dangerous to many more—what led to it? Why, it is this same "liberty of speech."—Who believes that Brown and his confederates would have ever ventured upon that undertaking if they had not been stimulated, by listening, year after year, to this same speech—holding up the South as an object of hostility—creating in their minds the idea that it was an event to be desired, that the South should be bathed in its length and breadth with the blood of its citizens. Who believes that it was not the exaggeration and misrepresentation of Southern feeling and purpose that led them into the dark and dangerous paths that brought them to an un­timely end? No doubt—no doubt that it was these exaggerated, false statements—the innumerable lectures and discourses which have been dinned into all our ears for the few years past, of the horrors of the institution of slavery, and of the danger of our own institutions by its continuance—it made them believe—if they did so believe—that it was a meritorious and upright action on their part to excite a servile insurrection at whatever cost. Shall we wonder, then, that the South self aggrieved, followed up as all these things have been, by an overt act of treason, under circumstances that can leave no reasonable doubt that it had extensive accessories and aids to the Free States?—Where did all the money come from which was necessary to fit out this expedition, to obtain implements, arms and ammunition sufficient to arm twenty-five hundred men or more? And when the Southern States see, following up these "sentiments," these actual and practical results—the fruits of so much false philosophy and teaching, is it to be wondered at, if they should call upon us, in tones strong and earnest, to refrain from intermeddling in their affairs, or they cannot stay in the Union,—and this especially when they see what followed this invasion. And what was it? any regrets expressed? was there any such general uprising of the public sentiment of the North in condemnation of the acts of the conspirators as we might reason­ably expect if they disapproved of the proceeding? No; the voices which came back, if not those of approval, were certainly not those of condemnation, except of the most faint and feeble tone; on the contrary, the language was that of splendid eulogism on the character of the great invader—of warmest apology for his conduct—of praise for his indomitable will and personal daring, which undoubtedly were great—these were the topics upon which those who called meetings, and addressed meetings at the North upon the subject, chiefly dwelt.

I do not recollect to have seen an instance where pious and reverend gentlemen who deemed it their duty to introduce the matter to their congregations, failed to exalt the blood-stained murderer to the level, if not of the Saviour of mankind, at least of the Father of our country—to put him on a level with Washington, or above him—I do not recollect a single service in which his achievement was commemorated,—where there was a single prayer of thanksgiving to Almighty God, that he had stayed the visitation which such
an achievement threatened to bring upon us, not one,—no expression of joy and gratitude that the crime was not consummated.—And in all the meetings which are still held, though the tone is somewhat modified and subdued, do we see any stern reprobation such as a true, genuine patriotism would dictate,—any one word to soothe the feelings of a sister State thus insulted,—any one cheering word held out that this offense shall not be repeated. No, but on the contrary, every encomium and every laudation made upon the motives and the chivalry exhibited by the great offender, is but fresh incentive, fresh incitement to others to imitate his example. Every dollar contributed (for that is the form for getting up the meetings now—to raise money for his destitute family) is but fresh incentive for others to follow his bloody example. God forbid that I should say one word against bewailing charity upon that bereaved family who shed their tears over a felon's grave; but I do object to the ostentatious parade. Those who desire to mitigate their grief and relieve their wants, may do so as all charity should be done, and give quietly, secretly. No, it is not any consideration for the distress of that wife and those children,—those children remain—whether he led them all to a bloody grave with himself, I do not at this moment recollect—that prompts these contribution, for they can be bestowed in a way that shall not lead others to follow in his footsteps; it is not commiseration, but it is the influence which is to be gained, the encouragement to be given,—it is the insulting aspect which it is to wear in the eyes of Virginia and he slave states.—What I think, therefore, is this: We are call ed upon in justice to ourselves and in justice to the great State which was foremost in the days of the Revolution; the land of Washington and of Madison and Jefferson and Henry and Marshall and Mason, down through a long catalogue of warriors and sages, whose valor and wisdom founded our institutions—who bequeathed to us the richest in entrench which a people ever enjoyed, to express our abhorrence of his outrage, attempted to be perpetrated upon them, and our determination that these acts shall not be repeated; and to that end we are, so far as possible, to dissuade from this perpetual controversy and agitation, violence of language leading to violence of conduct, and both having so disfigured, and I may say disgraced, the sentiment and action of the free States, for several years past. This is the duty incumbent upon us. And it seems to me that if there be this wholesome public sentiment in the free States, as it is averred there is—for I set our worthy Executive Magistrate of this State says that the sentiment of the State is entirely adverse to these movements, and I hope it is so—I think it is so—I will not yet believe that a majority of the people of Maine are so deluded as to desire to see the continuance of those unfriendly feelings which have lasted so long a period—I cannot believe that they desire to go forward in these acts of aggressive violence; that they desire that a course should be persevered in which by any possibility, however remote, may lead to the breaking up of our institutions. I say, if all these things be so that Giveff or is right—let it be manifested; let this feeling show itself. How will it be show it? will he advise the Legislature to pass resolves unsaying what they have been saying for the past few years—to repeal the law now upon the Statute book in plain contravention of the laws of the United States? will he advise the people of the nation, when a fugitive slave is demanded by his owner, to read the law a-aside by the law! Not he. (Applause.)

What faith then can be put in these feeble and faint assurances that we disapprove the act—oh! we do not approve it—we are sorry it was done—but that is all—we take no steps to guard against similar occurrences in the future. Sir; if we would prove our faith by our works—if our actions, which our Southern brethren look at, indicate peace and good feeling and a desire to live in harmony, our words may be entitled to belief. But if we go on as we have gone on for years past, the rupture we depurate must come, sooner or later, and I think at no very late day; and what we may do to prevent it I have already attended to—he resolutions you have so unanimously adopted have told us—the question now is will we do it? will we put an end to that perpetual abuse and insult, to this spirit of perversion and misrepresentation so constantly manifested towards us?

You and sir may see the storm which now lowers over our heads pass away—a temporary calm may succeed: but if the Northern States persevere in the sectional agitation—if they found political parties upon it,—if they are determined to carry out the schemes openly proposed by some of them,—if the remedies to which I have adverted are scoffed, and servile insurrection is held to be the only efficient remedy for the evils of Southern talk—where is the breaking up of our confederacy must inevitably follow.

But they say, 'oh, no—no danger!' But why not? 'Oh, the South are too weak—they dare not go!' But is that any reason why they should be oppressed and insulted? But let us not advance too far on such dangerous ground as that. Weak nations will turn when their rights are invaded; they resent and resent at the cannon's mouth and the bayonet's point, insults from those far superior in power and ability to themselves. 'We will not let them go out of the Union,' you say: 'we will march at the head of hostile battalions and return them!' Do you think they can be held as a conquered province? Is that the way that the Union, formed in harmony and brotherly love, is to be maintained? Can you make the Southern States participate in the government of the country—is there any way you can compel them to send senators and representatives to Congress—or to perform any duties for ever joined upon them by the laws of the nation? You may possibly keep them down by violence, but is that the Union the Constitution contemplates and will vide for? No—this Union will never be preserved by force of arms: the North will, I trust, never be so crazy as to keep them at all, if that proves to be the only mode by which they can be held, but go, in God's name, let them go in peace. Let them
go, if it must be so, let them go in quietness, and not attempt by the display of hostile banners to bring them back into subjection; let no such delusion be indulged.

But there is another topic to which I must advert. We are told that very high dignitaries—and it seems to be now a settled political dogma—that this conflict is inevitable; that the North and the South cannot live together in harmony—that there is an irreconcilable difference between the two sections—that one or the other must prevail—that either the Slave States must become free, or the Free States become the domain of slavery—that there is a conflict between the labor of slavery and that of freedom—

What is the object of all this? Why, it is to alarm the Northern people with the apprehension that their country, now so free and prosperous, is to become the abode of slaveholders, and that we ourselves will be driven from our employments to give place to the servile race. What is their language? "Either the plantations of the South are to be cultivated by free men, or the fields of the North by slaves." Now let us not be intimidated by such fallacy. In my judgment, and that of my friends, I think there was never a greater absurdity, in theory, uttered; never a greater falsehood in fact; and the history of the country, at the present time, and of other countries, where slavery prevails, demonstrates the fallacy of it.

Why did slavery leave the Northern States? Why, everybody knows that it was plainly for the reason that slave labor was not adapted to their agriculture—one would think, of course, that something which was not profitable, but expensive and injurious, and slavery naturally sought the region of country and climate where it might be productive.

What is going on at the present day? Every body knows that slavery is leaving the more northern of the slave holding States—going farther South, where the productions and labor are more congenial—where the climate admits of the labor of slavery, but not of freedom, and where they remunerate accordingly. Now experience shows that it is only in the cultivation of cotton, sugar and rice and tobacco to some extent, that slave labor is profitable, and that in these it is more so than any other kind of labor; we know that a large amount of land susceptible of this cultivation is not yet occupied; and on this account the demand for slaves and the number of them is increasing. Slavery cannot exist at the North because it cannot support itself in the productions and culture of the North; the great law of interest designates where it should be employed.

What absurdity, in the face of these considerations to hold that there is danger that slavery will spread itself over the North! Pray, where is slavery coming from? There are probably less than four millions of slaves in the United States at the present moment—not nearly enough to answer the call at the South for them; if they were not so, the prices of slaves, instead of rising as it does, would continually diminish—more labor is wanted to be devoted to the production of the staple of the land, and yet it is supposed that if we do not exterminate slavery at the South, the great body of the slaves will be leaving the fields where their labor is congenial and remunerative, and inundating the Northern States, where it cannot exist. This is put forth as the reason why they join in this crusade against that section of the country where this institution already exists. Nothing, in my judgment, is more absurd and fallacious—nothing.

But, by what, is it to become—a very grave question, I know, what is it to become of this colored race? The white man and the best philanthropists have done to it, time and thought and attention, but have been unable to solve it; they have looked forward with apprehension to what it is to become. Some do in the matter is look to the Almighty Father, who has so long sustained us without serious disturbance; in His own time we hope that the evils which this element of discord produces, both social and moral, will be removed.

But what would those who have excited this hostility do with the slaves if they had their own way? Some rash ones say, "Emancipate them at once—strike off their shackles." What greater act of wrong, toward the slave himself, could be perpetrated? "What if we should turn out four millions of men unaccustomed to take care of themselves,—turn them out to wander about? No—they would fill all your almshouses, and penitentiaries from one extremity of the country to the other. No greater calamity could befall them than by one indiscriminate manumission to set them all free. (Applause.)

In these appeals to our interest, it seems to me that it is entirely forgotten, that in spite of all this apparent conflict between the different sections of the country, there is still this to be observed, a substantial harmony—So it was foreseen and strongly enunciated in the farewell address of our venerable Washington, that it was a matter of congratulation that we had a surplus of interests, occupations, and industries. The South could supply materials for the manufactures of the North, and reciprocally the North could contribute to the abode of cotton, flax and rice—nay, strike out cotton alone which is produced solely by slave labor, and in the production of which very little free labor has been used, and it will be engaged—strike out this alone, which would be the value of the navigation of the North? How long would our ships go to the ports which are the great marts of this production of slave labor? On the other hand, if this hour by a word the cotton crop of this year, could be doubled, how every ship yard of Maine would ring again with the sound of the hammer—who does not see how fresh an impetus would be given to the manufactures of the free States? Away then with this delusive idea that there is a conflict and contrary of interests which will inevitably lead to a separation which we are admonished must sooner or later come. Away with such a fallacy—let us not be misled by any false phalanx of copy or morality which has calcified that the welfare of the country or of the colored race itself demands an immediate emancipation.

What is to become of the colored race? By those who profess such ardor, desire for their 'benefit and comfort' it should be employed. By those who mourn over the wrongs which they suffer—how are they treated? We know with what indignation a sentiment unjustly and falsely attributed to our venerable Chief Justice, in giving an opinion in reference to the celebrated Dred Scott case, was assailed; we know the perversion and misrepresentation of his language and meaning which were then spread over the country, and still continue to be—in which he was made to say that the colored man had no rights which the white man was bound to respect—words which he never uttered as his sentiments, and which carry a very different meaning from that which has been put into his mouth by the writers of the history's face—that for a period of nearly a hundred years before the Declaration of Independence, such was the treatment of the colored man in all the civilized nations of the
world—that he then "had no rights, etc."—
a historical truth which cannot be denied; but it has been misrepresented as a declaration
by the Justice that at the present day—now
—the colored man has no rights, etc. Who
have given the strongest evidence that they
believe in that declaration?

We are told that great injustice has been
done because the descendant of an African is
not admitted to citizenship in the United
States, and great abuse has been heaped upon
the Supreme Court for having promulgated
that opinion.

Who acts upon that opinion? Now if a
colored man has any right of a citizen in the
United States it is the right to reside where-
er he sees fit—he may select his residence—but
these persons who claim to be his friends
and who resent indignities done him—these
men who are ready to obliter ate from the Con-
stitution the ob ligations which devolve upon
them—how do they act?—Why, in several of
the free States where this party is dominant—
In Kansas at this moment—which has been
the subject of so much discussion and mis-
representation—laws are in existence forbid-
ing a colored person to reside in the State;
and if admitted either under the old Topeka
Constitution or under that lately formed, she
comes in with an interdict in her constitu-
ion against free colored persons being permitted
inhabitancy within their limits.

Can there be a stronger declaration that the
colored man "has no rights, etc." for I
have demonstrated to you that one of the
first rights is to select his residence, and if he
is expelled from Kansas, it is because that
State does not regard him as a citizen of the
United States. And any member of Con-
gress who votes to admit Kansas under that
Constitution, will have declared his conviction
of the colored man's destitution of rights,
etc., and yet they make the welkin ring with
their grievous lamentations over the wrongs
of the poor colored man!

Time would fail me to rehearse the incon-
sistencies into which those who set them-
elves about the work of meddlin' with the
colored inhabitants of the slave States, have
fallen. I will detain you no longer; but I
imploy you to consider well the great peril
in which we are placed, to think each for him-
self, and I do hope this whole community may
wake up to the dangers which stare us in the
face; for assuredly, if this state of things con-
tinues, the disruption of this Union cannot
be avoided; and if this great temple of hu-
man liberty must fall, it will fall forever. No
hand of man can restore it agai n. Beam and
arbitracy, column and dome, lofty and
grand as they are, will fall together, burying
beneath their broken fragments the hopes of
liberty for all time. Its ruins, in silent and
solemn grandeur, may endure for ages, but
only as monuments of the wisdom and val-
or of our fathers who framed it, and of the
imbecility of a generation unworthy to sus-
tain it.

The Chairman of the Committee of Ar-
rangements then read the following letters
each of which was received with hearty ap-
plause:

Letter from Ex-President Pierce.

CLARENDON HOTEL.

City of New York, December 31st, 1859.

GENTLEMEN: I have just received your letter of the 21st inst., inviting me to be present at a Union Meet-
ing to be held at the City of Bangor, on Wednesday,
January 11th, and regret that the nearness of the day
of my departure for one of the Bahama Islands
makes it impossible for me to return to the North be-
fore our embarkation.

I need not say that no cause less imperative than
that which exists could induce me to leave New Eng-
l and at a period of so much danger to our country,
and at a moment when considerate and patriotic men
of different political organizations, are apparently
concerting their strength for one great struggle
against fanatical sectionalism whenever it mani-
sests itself in antagonism with the Constitution and
the Union, which that Constitution alone upholds.

There is in this hour of intense excitement not a lit-
tle said and done in every part of the confederacy
which is reprehensible in sentiment and action. It
would be strange, indeed, if amid the words of ri-
lutious and reproach, the deeds of insolence and crime
endured by our fellow citizens of the slave labor
States, expressions were not heard there which calm
and just men must condemn and deplore. But when
we are reminded of extravagant and intemperate
language used at the South, we must remember that
it is the language of defense and not of aggression.

We ought in a spirit of fraternity to place ourselves
in their condition, and then say whether we are quite
correct in the supposition that it would be possible to
measure the phrases in which we should utter our
sense of wrong or our determination to resist it.

Would the men of Maine, with the men of Massa-
cusetts clustering around their hearth stones, if the war
of fanatical aggression were directed against institu-
tions, which existed among them when the Constitu-
tion was formed and which were sanctioned and
held by that Constitution, than are now the men of
Virginia? Could you bear with more composure than
they, unjust and offensive, intermeddling with your
affairs? With what degree of aunanimity would you
have submitted to the irritating, fretting assaults
which have been directed against them and their do-
minic institutions for those last twenty years? Could
you look with more complacency than they at laws
enacted by the Legislatures of other States in flant
ing defiance of the common civilization, to which
each is to the same extent amenable and by which
each should be alike bound,—laws enacted with the
awarded purpose to make or effect a positive in-
junction, in your behalf, of that sacred instrument
Fate and calamitous as the disruption of this Union
would be to all as parts, can we not see how men of
the south may be driven out to the last dire calamity that may, by possibility, befall them?

If we of New England were in their position, might
we not well say that if the brand of this insurrection is
lighted the pathway of treason, and the seed of the
assassin is to commence the work of death at our homes, we prefer that that brand and that price shall be in the hands of avowed enemies, against whom we can erect barriers of protection, rather than in those of pretended friends, bound to us by a bond, the obligations of which we have strained in peace and in war faithfully to fulfill. While we hope for a calmer spirit and temperate counsels in the South, it will be well not to forget, that bigger language, harsh epithets, criminations and recriminations, between us at the North, satisfy no man's judgment, reach no man's heart, and can be productive only of evil.

What and where is now the remedy for grievances—the existence of which we cannot deny and which at this moment are exciting in one great portion of the country; not merely just alarm, but intense exasperation? The evil has sprung from among us, and here must the remedy be found in an improved tone of public sentiment, based upon a firm purpose of obedience to law, and especially of fidelity to all requirements of the fundamental law of the land, which is the cornerstone upon which rests the security of public liberty and of personal reputation, property and life.

It is well known that social and commercial intercourse between the North and the South has already been seriously disturbed. Shall this interruption cease, or shall it become more general and pervading? If the latter, then mere pecuniary loss, in the prospect of material interests, will constitute but one of the most inconsiderable elements of the devastation which threatens, and which the North alone can avert.

I thank you for remembering me; and with earnest prayer for the complete triumph of this Constitution at Union over all enemies, in all places, I am

Your Friend and servant.

FRANKLIN PIERCE.

To Messrs. A. Sanborn, G. L. Boynton, A. M. Rob-

Letter from Hon. Edward Everett.

Boston, Jan. 3, 1860.

GENTLEMEN: Your favor of the 22d of December did not reach me for some days after its date. Having declined several similar invitations, it will not be in my power to attend the Union Meeting to be held at Bangor the 11th inst.

I have too lately had a public opportunity to express my views on the subject which now so painfully occupies the minds of the whole country,—to make it unnecessary to repeat them. Public demonstrations at the South, confirmed by several private letters from the most reliable sources, satisfy me that the dangerous irritation caused by the attempt to commence a servile war at Harper's Ferry—the most direful form in which the curse of war can be visited upon a country that has been greatly imbibed by the expressions of sympathy at the North. I know of no adequate method by which the fatal tendency of this state of things can be counteracted and that good will between the different sections of the country be restored, with-out which it is impossible that a separation of the States can be more longer avorted, but to give em-

phatic utterance to the feelings, with which such an attempt must be regarded by every right thinking and right feeling man.

I remain, gentlemen,

Very respectfully yours,

EDWARD EVERETT.

To Messrs. A. Sanborn, A. M. Roberts, A. P. Brad-
by, W. T. Hilliard, Dan'l B. Hinkley; Gorham L.
Boynton, Com. of Arrangements.

Letter from Hon. Caleb Cushing.

New York, Jan. 9, 1860.

GENTLEMEN: I received a few days since, your letter of the 24th ult., setting forth that "the citi-
sens of Bangor and vicinity, believing that the teachings of fanatical Abolitionists and their co-

adjuors in the Northern States—through the press, by popular harangue, and alas! in the pulpit, against the Constitution, and the rights secured by its sacred provisions to our brethren of the Southern States, have brought forth, at last, their natural fruit, in the flagrant invasion of Virginia by armed men led on by John Brown, rob-
ing some of her citizens and murdering others, and precipitated the Union to the very brink of dismemberment and ruin, propose to meet together in Noromega Hall, in Bangor, for the patri-

otic purpose of unitedly proclaiming their intense disapprobation and abhorrence of these treason-

able teachings, and all kinded sentiments—their unalterable determination to oppose and over-
come them by all lawful means—and their renewed consecration of themselves, their fortunes and their sacred honors, to the defence of the Union, the maintenance of the Constitution, the performance of every duty which it imposes, and the enforcement of every right which it ordains;" and inviting me, in terms of cogent appeal, to ad-

dress the proposed meeting.

It would have afforded me sincere satisfaction to comply with your wishes; but professional en-
gagements have detained me beyond expecta-
tion, and rendered that impossible.

Meanwhile, permit me to sympathize with you most heartily in the expression of ardent desire at least, and humbly pray for God for the averting of the calamities which now threaten the integri,
y, the prosperity and the peace of the United States.

God alone may do this; for many, too many, of the people of the United States appear to be fatally bent on throwing away, with malice pro-
pense, all the rich blessings of our lot; on demol-
ishing the glorious Constitutional work of our Fathers; on sweeping away the one only great Republic on earth, yet remaining to rear her head "unconquered and unshaken," and plunging our dear country, and all it contains of great and good, deep down into that unsoundable abyss of national imbecility, chronic anarchy, and sanguinary civil and servile warfare, to which the emancipation of the subject inferior races has already reduced Spanish America, and the French and British West Indies.

We have, in the first place, the Abolitionists proper—monomaniacs of fervidous philanthropy, teach-
ers and preachers of assassination and trea-

son. They possess the merit of dir-ceness and

frankness at least, when they set up in govern-
ment some black Desartines or Toussaint L'Ou-
verture as their model hero in the place of Wash-
ington, and in religion deify the trenculent mur-
derer, John Brown, to the side of our Blessed Sa-
viour. These persons are professed enemies of the Union, and of course act avowedly outside of the Constitution.

In the second place we have in the Northern States the more numerous class of persons, who profess fealty to the Union, and who operate politically within the forms of the Constitution, but who have allowed their minds to be poisoned with the treasonable teachings and preach-
ings of the Abolitionists, as to have entered into a path of systematic assault on the chartered rights of the Southern States, which has no poss-
ible issue save the complete overthrow of the Con-
stition, and the violent disruption of the Un-
ion.

This line of political action at the North began
with hostile declamation and popular agitation
and invasion of the Federal territory, in the South
States. All such agitation is contrary, of course,
either to the letter and spirit of the Constitution—
which assures to each State absolute independ-
ence in the regulation of its domestic relations,
without interference on the part of the other
States.

The next step was by acts of legislation in the
Northern States to deprive sojourning or tran-
sitory citizens of the Southern States of the rights
of property and of domestic authority guaranteed
to them by the emphatic terms of an express pro-
vision of the Constitution.

Then came acts of legislation in the Northern
States to nullify the clause of the Constitution,
and the acts of Congress in execution of it, for
the extradition of fugitives from service, and oth-
er legislative acts to protect the stealing or ab-
duction of the slave property of the Southern
States.

After this followed the enactment, or the at-
tempts to enact, acts of Congress in derogation of
the equal rights of the Southern States, under
the Constitution, to colonize and occupy Federal
territory.

Finally, the persons, who in the Northern
States, under various names or combinations
of party, had perpetrated these wrongs, at
length organized themselves into a mere sec-
tional party, assembled a sectional convention,
from which by its very terms the Southern States
were excluded, framed a sectional platform of
mere hostility to the South, and made a sectional
nomination for the Presidency, the successful ac-
complishment of which plans would have been
the paroxysm of the South in the hands of the
Northern States.

And, all this long series of acts, at or by the
North, violative in spirit or fact, of the Constitu-
tion, have at length culminated in hostile milita-
ry invasion of the State of Virginia by an armed
host of men, recruited, subsidized and equipped
in the Northern States.

It is true that the sectional organization in
question alleges that its sole object is to exclude
the Southern States from all participation in the
colonization of the Federal territory. If that
were all, still that would be sufficient to violate
the Constitution. But the conspicuous orators
and writers of this organization do in fact go far-
ther that this; for they do not hesitate to pro-
claim purposes of settled hostility to the local in-
stitutions of the South, that is to the solemnly
 guaranted Constitutional interests and rights of
nearly one-half of the States of the Union.

These things are said or done at the North—
these violent breaches of the compact of the Un-
on are committed and justified—on the assump-
tion that negro servitude is a sin and a moral
wrong. If it were so, that would be no justifica-
tion. We have sins enough, and moral wrongs
enough, of our own to look after, without under-
taking to run a quixote tilt against those, of
all the rest of the world. And if we are too good
to observe the compacts of the Constitution, we
should proceed to seek in good faith and honor
the modification or dissolution of those compacts.

But the assumption that negro servitude is a
sin is of course either an extravagant rhetorical
exaggeration, or, if asserted as literal truth, is a
mere untruth. The holy scriptures have never
mentioned any such view. The contrary appears in
a multitude of texts of the Old and New Testa-
ments; nay, the relative duties of master and slave
are unequivocally recognized by express words
of our Saviour. Conscious of this, the apostles
of Abolitionism still in the same breath the Con-
stitution and the Bible.

So also the assumption that to hold a slave is to
commit a moral wrong, is either an extravagant
exaggeration, or, if asserted as a literal truth, is
a mere untruth. Personal rights, the question
of the greater or less extension of personal liber-
ity, like the question of public rights, as whether
republic or monarchy be the better form of gov-
ernment, is of the domain of politics, not of eth-
ics.

And the current suggestion that slave property
exists but by the local law, is no more true of
this than it is of all other property. In part, the
European Socialists who in wild radicalism (in-
cluding the assassination doctrine) are the cor.
respondents of the American Abolitionists, main-
tain the same doctrine as to all property, that
the Abolitionists do as to slave property, he
who has property, they argue is the robber of him
who has not "La propriete c'est le vol"—is the
famous theme of the socialist Proudhon. And
the same precise theories of attack at the North
on the slave property of the South would if carried
out to their legitimate and necessary logical con-
sequences and will, if successful in this their first
stage of action, superinduce attacks on all property,
North and South.

The simple truth is plain, and cannot be de-
by any person in the calm and candid exercise of
reason. It is a question of political institutions.
We at the North, as was our constitutive right,
have for ourselves decided the question one way,
on the premise of the nature of our population and
of our soil and climate; they at the South, in
the equal exercise of their constitutive right,
have for themselves decided it in another way,
on the premise of the nature of their population
and of their soil and climate.

Unfortunately, we at the North, and especially
in New England, with many of the noblest and
highest qualities of mental character, yet have the
vice of magnifying, exaggerating, distorting and
perverting every question of political expediency
into a question of ethics or theology, and then of
rushing blindly into a fanatical crusade to convert
every body else, par fas et nefas, to our own pecu-
liar notions. And this tendency has exhibited it-
self in New England with intensity exactly pro-
portioned to the declension and decay of true re-
ligious faith among us, and the substitution there-
of for such extravagations of the New England
mind as Rationalism, Spiritism, Millrism, Me-
nerism, and Abolitionism.

We of New England imported negro slaves in-
to the South; we agreed by the Constitution to
the existence and security of slave-property there;
we remain to this day in the continued and full
enjoyment of the profits derived from the slave la-
bor equally with the South. We being being sin-
ful and morally wrong, then our voluntary partici-
pation in its support is a particular and altogether su-
perfidious sin and wrong on our part, we spontaneously, and for mere lucre of gain, manufacture clothing, tobacco, and other wares to be sold under the guise of necessaries; for it; we subdivide the corn and rice, and we luxuriate in the sugar, coffee and tobacco, which slave-labor produces; we purchase cotton as the base of our local industry and foreign commerce; we provide ships and the transportation of Southern slave-grown commodities, and willingly receive the freight thereon as our share of the sweat of slave-labor; and after all this, forsooth, we in pharisaical self-righteousness hold up our hands with holy horror at the sinfulness and immorality of the slave institutions of the Southern States!

The North knows full well, that, but for the profitable interest we thus have in the slave-labor of the South, our ships would not be employed at the wharves; our railways would not pay for their own making; our mechanical and handicraft arts would shrink from national into local interests; grass would grow in the streets of our seaports; our manufacturing cities would degenerate into centres of squallid pauperism; all men in the Eastern States of hopeful and rigorous natures have to fly to the fertile fields and arduous sands and silver sierras of the South and West, and the deadly struggle of the desperate poverty of the Many against the trembling wealth of the Few would soon come to desolate and incarnadine the now fair fields and happy homes of New England.

And yet, in the face of all this, and with clear perception of its truth, we have been going on, year after year, in the perpetration of acts of unconstitutional and fanatical crusade against the South, the property and the peace of the Southern States.

Meantime, what has been the attitude of the people of the Southern States? They have, individually, done or said many unwise things; not content with being resentful towards enemies they have been occasionally unkind towards friends; and they have uttered much prejudice, and talk of dissolution of the Union in this, an imagined, contingency. But has not all this been the natural result of their burning sense of the injustice of the unconstitutional acts of their fellow citizens of the Northern States? And do they thrust themselves with angry propaganda, into our domestic affairs? Do they maintain stipendiary organizations of attack on them? Do they syste-matically steal our property, as we do theirs? Do they confiscate our property when it finds its way among them, as we do theirs, in correspondent circumstances? Do they invade the soil of our States with armed bands to convert us, at the point of the sword, to their religion or ethical tenets, as we have done to them? No, never. We have constantly attacked, they have acted in defense. No man at the North pretends that the South has invaded and attacked the North, and thus wronged us, except in the presence set up by so many among us,—and oh! most ridiculous and post-posterously unjust that is,—that it is a wrong to us for the South to demand that, in legislation and legal theory at least, they shall not be despised of their just and equal right of fair competition in the colonization of the federal territory. Their right in the federal territory is just as ours. And yet, what speeches after speeches have been made in Congress, what volumes of popular harangues have been uttered, what myriad of editorial leaders have been written, what plenum of gutter messages has been heaped up, what resolutions of Legislatures have been passed, coolly assuming it as our incontestable privilege to monopolize all the federal territory, and characterizing the Southern States for its slave-grown property, and all its inhabitants, as a part of the territory, if they venture to ask, for some small lot in the division of the common patrimony of all the States.

The late murderous foray of Northern Abolitionists into Virginia, and the endorsement, the canvassing, the demonstration, the horribleness, the apothecaries, of their head murderers by so many of both clergy and laity at the North, have at length brought all these questions to a practical issue. The Southern states cannot meekly lie down to be trodden upon by the northern. They cannot patiently sit still under the Constitution perverted by the North, nor under a misconstruction of the South. They cannot passively accept at the hands of the North a civil and servile insurrection; the dissolution of their country, the slaughter of their wives and children, the unspeakable horrors of another San Domingo. If they should, if they should thus meekly lie prostrate, it may be patiently sit still, if they should thus passively submit, to whatever assassin Abolitionism shall please to do, they would be unworthy of the name of American men. If they, they would be fit objects of the contempt of the world; they would merit their doom. But we know well that they are brave and high spirited men, and they will of course make a strong and active resistance to the further progress of unconstitutional assaults on their domestic rights and their national peace. They may do this, it avails not to argue, so many short-sighted persons at the North do, that, in resisting the aggressions of Abolitionism, the South will suffer as well as inflict inconveniences, will undergo pecuniary sacrifices, will take part in the formation of separate nationality. This may be. But what then? The question for the South is not one of profit and loss, but of life and death; and the South must in this extremity, and of course will, defend itself at all hazards, within the Union if it may, and, if not so, then outside of the Union.

In view of all this, what if the North, what if, in reply, it would yet be foolish not to be deeply solicitous. I hope much from the awakening good sense of the more intelligent and conservative portion of the people of the North. I hope much from the patriotic or the keen self interest even of those who have rode into power on the turbrid waves of Abolitionism. I hope much from the citizens of the Southern States and from their public men, who, instead of running mad like their brethren of the East with subsequential devotion to the black men as benefit the white one, regard the free blacks with salutary watchfulness who have no desire to be over-run with a disposition to make pets of them, and who put forth, not criminally mischievous ideas of the de-mobilized emancipation of the blacks at the South, but innocently impracticable ones of their expulsion from the United States. I hope much from the abolition meetings like yours in the populous communities of the Northern States; but not much; for unless this right speaking be followed by right voting, unless there be consequent change in the legislative policy of the Northern States, such meetings will have only served to show that the bad influences at the North predominate over the good; and that the South has nothing left to rely upon but the courage of its own high heart and the strength of its own right hand.

The State of Virginia, which took the initiative in proposing a convention to substitute the present Union for the previous Confederation, has again generously taken the initiative of another constituent convention for the purpose of endeavoring to heal the
UNION MEETING IN NOROBEGA HALL.

exciting differences between the Northern and Southern States. The South is a conciliatory one, and may be deceived for good or evil. If met by the North in the same spirit of candor and good faith as the similar propositions were in the time of the Confederation, it may result in giving a new lease of life to the Union, but if met otherwise at the North,—if in the illusory expectation of subjugating the South in the annihilation of its constitution,—if that proposition be repelled by the North, then it will most assuredly result in the dissolution of the Union.

Independently of this, if the struggle which is now going on to form the Speechmakers of the House, that is, into the office of contingent President of the United States, an endorser of Helper's 'impending Crisis of the South,' should succeed,—and it may, by reasons of the honest incompatibilities of opinion of the adverse actual majority of the House,—that incident would be in itself the arrival of the impending crisis of the Union. If, after that the two New England States which are soon to hold their annual elections,—New Hampshire and Connecticut,—shall not redeem themselves,—shall not back square out of the cul-de-sac into which they have entered,—if in fear of recent occurrences they shall prove to be persistent in their policy of anti-constitutional anti-slavery agitation and legislation, which they in common with other Northern States are engaged, it will become all persons in the Eastern States to look after the condition of their property, to wind up all great local enterprises, to sell out their bank, railway and factory stocks, and to betake themselves to hoarding gold against the day of disaster, as men were accustomed to do in the troubled countries of India and China. And then? Why, all history is there to tell us what then: social convulsions, hostile combats in the same purple hue which witnessed the bloody hands roving up and down the country, shootings and hangings,—in a word, that which we have not yet had, but which all other nations have,—cruel war, war, war; and, in the perspective distance, a man on horseback with a drawn sword in his hand, some Atlantic Caesar, or Cromwell, or Napoleon, to secure to the weary world a respite from the dissonant din of the raving ideologies of the hour, and the patricidal rage they engender; the reason of force to replace the impotent force of reason, and all of epauletted Emperors to close up the truncated series of the honored Presidents of the United States.

I remain,

Very respectfully,

C. CUSHING.

Messrs. A. Sanborn, A. M. Roberts and others, committee, &c.

Letter from Hon. Manassah H. Smith.

PORTLAND, Jan. 6, 1860.

Gentlemen:

Your favor of the 4th instant, inviting me, "in behalf of the citizens of Danger," to attend a Union Meeting on Wednesday next, is received.

I regret exceedingly that professional engagements will probably prevent me from attending the proposed meeting.

I rejoice that the citizens of Maine, and of other Northern States, are beginning to see the dangerous tendency of the doctrines promulgated by many of the leaders of the political party now in power at the North.

While it is an ungrateful task to criticise the opinions of political opponents, some of whom we respect, both for their talents and for their honesty, yet, when it is true that many (I am happy to say not all) of the leaders of the Republican party have announced principles subversive of the Constitution, it is the duty of all good citizens to denounce such principles, and to exert themselves to the utmost in convincing the people of their pernicious tendency.

A vast majority of the people of all parties are honest and true to the Union, and it is only because they have been deceived, that persons of them have, throughout New England, lent their aid to support measures and men, whose doctrines, if reduced to practice, would ruin our beloved country.

Recent events must open the eyes of this class of our citizens, and show them what false gods they have been worshiping.

That there is a "Divinity that shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we will," is as true of nations as of individuals. That beneficent, all-wise and inscrutable Providence, that watches over and cares for nations, often brings good out of evil; and I can but think that the late murderous outrages upon the innocent citizens of a sister State, had something providential in the time, as well as manner of their occurrence: may they not have been permitted to take place and at the time that they did, for the very purpose of proving to the people of the North, what was the legitimate tendency and reasonable design of the doctrines of those political leaders who had preached the necessity of an "irrepressible conflict" between the North and the South? and may not their occurrence be the means of awakening us to the dangers to which our country is exposed, and thus result in preserving our institutions, and in crushing the hopes of those wickedly ambitious men who would ride into power over the ruins of the Constitution? These men have endeavored to conceal the evil tendency of their doctrines, by laughing at any intimation of danger to the Union. The recent events at Harper's Ferry have demonstrated the danger, and their continual scoffing at, and ridicule of patriotic men who, seeing the danger, are willing to proclaim it, have been well characterized as the "laugh of the inebriate at the bed of death."

While many of the leaders of the party now dominant in New England, with modest assurance, claim all the morality, patriotism and religion in the land, they, claiming to be honest, pzculate from the public purse when in power—claiming to be patriotic, promulgate principles, the legitimate fruit of which is treason—claiming to be Christians, elevate a murderer into a martyr, and deify John Brown as a second Saviour.

And too many of our clergy, it is to be feared, forgetting the new commandment given to men by the founder of our holy religion, "that ye love one another," have been guided in their bitter denunciations of our brethren at the South by an unchristian hatred of the slaveholder, unmitigated by any true or beneficial love for the slave; and let me, in all kindness, and with much respect, suggest to those of our Northern clergy who are thus influenced by a zeal "not according to knowledge," that if they will carefully examine and analyze the doctrines of that party to which most of them belong, they will find that not only do these doctrines tend to treason, but also to irreligion and infidelity—and that the day
may not be far distant when these very clergymen may be oblied to call on the conservatism of the Democratic party to protect them in their religious rights.

I have always believed that the principles of the great Democratic party are founded upon the principles of the Christian religion, as announced by him who spake as never man spake, and that by this party, and by this party alone, can our Union be preserved.

I cannot see our country as now passing through the most important crisis that has occurred since the Hartford Convention, and I cannot permit myself for a moment to doubt that this party will be equal to the emergency, and that our country will be safe.

And let our brethren at the South be assured, that with however much of froth, and foam, and fury the shallow surface wave of disunion may beat against the adamantine foundations of the Constitution, that below all is a deep and unfathomable ocean of calm conservatism, in whose embrace this glorious Union will ever rest secure.

I have the honor to be yours very truly,

MANASSAH H. SMITH.

Messrs. Sanborn and others,
Committee, &c.

Letter from Ex-Governor Samuel Wells.

BOSTON, Jan. 5, 1860.

GENTLEMEN,—Your kind invitation, to attend a Union Meeting of the citizens of Bangor and vicinity, has been received. It would afford me great pleasure not only to meet old and warm-hearted friends, but to participate with you in expressing my sincere and devoted attachment to the union of the States. But it would not be convenient for me to comply with your request.

No one can regret more than I do the necessity of declaring anew our devotion to the Constitution of our country—a country whose prosperity and elements of happiness surpass that of any other, which has existed in ancient or modern times. But still the necessity does exist, and every lover of our institutions, should gladly embrace whatever opportunity may be offered to avow his fidelity to the Constitution—to the whole Constitution—not to parts and fractions of it, but to the entire and unbroken contract. We must manifest a fixed and determined resolution, that under no circumstances will we consent or submit to a dissolution of the Union, until it becomes impossible to carry on the Government, and to afford a proper protection to life and property. Not that we can expect to escape from national troubles; all nations have had them; civil wars and commotions, and garments rolled in blood; and what has been will probably be again. But we must meet them like men, and oppose them with a stern resistance.

It is very certain to my mind, that our liberties and free government will never be overthrown, until the people become dissatisfied with a republic, and in their folly prefer a monarchy. And if we number the people to-day, I believe there are but few, who would make such an election. But those few are to be carefully watched, and constantly opposed, for in their madness and delusion, they would burn up the world, to free it from some real or imaginary evil.

Our form of government sheds its blessings upon every class and condition much more abundantly than that of any other, and the people know and revere it. When they become aroused and perceive a determination to destroy it, their manifestations of power and energy would be like the raging of the sea and the upturning of mountains; a certain and swift destruction would await the enemies of freedom. In defense of the Constitution, Maine could bring into the field fifty thousand armed men, ready and willing to fight for their country; New Hampshire, true to the blood of her Revolutionary soldiers, would furnish an equal number; Massachusetts, with the memories of Lexington, Concord and Bunker Hill, notwithstanding her errors and wanderings, the call of her country, could muster a hundred thousand men. In defense of the Constitution and the Union, just as it was handed down from their fathers, just as it now is.

Similar statements might with truth be made of the other New England States, and indeed of all the free States. In the day of trial prophets have arisen, and treacherous and noisy fanatics would call upon the rocks and the mountains to hide them from the vengeance of an incensed people. When the emergency requires it, our citizens will stand by and maintain the rights of the South to the full extent of the Constitution, and refuse to permit an interference with their domestic institutions, they will defend the slave States against invasion, and justify them in punishing those who go into them from the free States, and commit murder and treason. Congress ought to pass a law punishing those who commit overt acts in the free States, by paying money to hire men to enter the slave States for unlawful purposes, and furnishing them with arms and munitions of war. Give the courts of the United States jurisdiction over such cases, and crimes like these would rarely be committed. We cannot expect to put an end entirely to gross acts of wickedness committed under the delusion of a sense of religious duty.—Such delusion will prevail more or less, as it has done in times past. It is a terrible and randish madness, and when unrestrained impels its votaries to the most horrid barbarities. The wild beasts of the forest are merciful in comparison with them, for they sometimes spare their victims, but fanatics who delight in blood, never, so long as they have the power to act. How many suffering martyrs have withied in agony at the stake, whose persecutors and murderers believed they were doing the will of Heaven! Such consciences hung the quakers, and unfortunate women who were thought to be witches. It was believed the agonies of death were justifiable to reform the soul, and prevent the propagation of religious error. The same unholy sentiment, under the plea of philanthropy, would place arms in the hands of the half savage negroes, and incite them onward to shedding the blood of their masters, with their wives and children. Would it not be better heard, more heart rending than that in Rama, Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted because they were not. The authors of the bloody work would hear it with approbation. We cannot believe there are many so lost
to the common feelings of humanity and true Christianity. It is our duty to resist the efforts of all such men, and as far as the law will justify to coerce them into obedience to it. We should also oppose all disunion sentiments, purposes and acts, whether in individuals or States. The Constitution makes no provision for secession of any State, and no one has a right to secede except upon the ground of revolution for intolerable oppression, and such a contingency could hardly fall within the range of possibility. Nothing can be gained by any State going out of the Union, or by a dissolution of it. There is not a single difficulty or evil that we now have, or can have, that cannot be surmounted more easily in the Union than out of it.

Let us therefore, whether living or dying, in prosperity or adversity, maintain the integrity, freedom, and glory of the Union. I have the honor to be,

very respectfully and truly,
your obedient servant,
SAMUEL WELLS.


Letter from Hon. James W. Bradbury.

AUGUSTA, January 9th, 1860.

GENTLEMEN: I regret my inability to accept your kind invitation to be present at the meeting to be held by the citizens of the Union at Bangor, on the 11th instant; but while I am unable to be with you, I beg you to be assured I sympathize most cordially in the objects of the meeting.

It is a fit occasion to express our sentiments respecting the recent attempt to excite a servile insurrection within a sister State; and as the fanatical advocates of that reasonable plot are sending forth their shout of approval, professing, some of them, to speak for others besides themselves, it becomes necessary, lest silence should be mistaken for assent, to give voice to the general feeling of condemnation and abhorrence with which this conspiracy is regarded by the great mass of our citizens.

It would be strange indeed if such were not the feeling inspired by such an outrage, throughout a community having respect for law and morality, after the experience for nearly three fourths of a century, of the inestimable blessings secured by the Union established by our fathers.

We cannot fail to perceive that the invasion of any one of the States, is an assault upon the Union itself. The Constitution secures to each State the regulation of its own domestic concerns, free from external interference. The citizens of other States have no more right to meddle with slavery in Virginia, than they have in the Island of Cuba. The Constitution protects her against such interference. And whatever we have no right to do directly, we have no moral right to do, or to incite others to do, by indirectness.

No honorable man can live under the Constitution and claim the benefit of its provisions, and refuse to live up to its requirements. The Union rests upon the Constitution: and its strength depends upon the respect and affection of the people for each other, and their fidelity to the Constitution. Let us then, at this period of excitement and wild, revolutionary theories, calmly and emphatically reaffirm and proclaim our attachment to the Constitution as well as the Union; and our unfaltering determination to maintain and carry out in good faith, each and all of its requirements. The great mass of the people are with us. It is the few, who have become monomaniacs by dwelling upon a single idea, and lost their moral perceptions, that take their position as the advocates on apologists of the traitor and the murderer. Their number is so insignificant they would be powerless, if they were not criminally courted by designing leaders and presses for the sake of their influence and votes.

It is nothing to them that the experience of more than a quarter of a century has proved that the slavery agitation has been productive of no good, but of incalculable evil; that it has not improved the condition of the slave, nor advanced the prospects of his emancipation; that it has excited distrust, dissension and alienation between the North and the South; that it has wasted the energies of many who might otherwise have been useful citizens, by converting them into the ministers of passion and hate: that it has disturbed the current of business, weakened or severed the cords of affection and influence that bound together the people of the different sections of the country and finally endangered the Union itself.

There is no ground to expect that this agitation can produce in the future, any better results; and if continued, it is inevitable, that it must ultimately excite such alienation between the different sections, as to end in separation and the disorganization of the Government,—a catastrophe so disastrous, it cannot be contemplated without horror.

In view of the past and the future, it becomes a question of morals whether any sane man can honestly continue to countenance, engage in, or foment this agitation.

Is it not time for the true friends of humanity and free Government, whose fate is involved in that of the Union, to arise in their strength in every part of the confederacy, and put an end to an agitation so useless, and full of danger?

With much respect,
I am yours &c.
JAMES W. BRADBURY.


After the reading of the above letters, the President introduced to the audience Hon. Charles Jarvis, of Ellsworth, more than three score years and ten, who spoke with an energy and ability worthy of his younger and most palmy days. We regret that we are unable to present a full report of his speech, our phonographic reporters being absent at the time, and engaged in writing out their notes of Mr. Evan's speech for the composers. Mr. Jarvis was listened to with great attention, and his clear and pointed periods were greeted with loud and frequent applause.

The meeting was very appropriately closed by the reading of Mr. Everett's letter which we have given above.

Letter from Hon. Charles Jarvis.

ELLSWORTH, Jan. 17, 1860.

MARCELLUS EMERY, ESQ.,

Dear Sir:—The account of the proceedings at the Union Meeting, at Bangor, on the
evening of the 11th inst., has been read with pleasure. The accuracy of the report of Evans's speech reflects great credit on Messrs. Blood and Bourne. To my knowledge, it was delivered without notes. I could not have believed it possible, that the words of the speaker, as they fell from his lips, could have been taken down by them phonographically, reduced to writing, the types set up, printed, and, in less than ten hours, were speeding their way to the different parts of the State and Union, bearing healing on their wings.

The Prayer of Dr. B. F. Tefft—the Address of the President, Hon. J. W. Hathaway, and the Speech of the Hon. George Evans, were worthy their high standing in the State, and may challenge comparison with any delivered on the same vital subject throughout the Union. The Resolutions do credit to the Committee who drafted them—short, pithy and to the point. The Letters of Ex-President Pierce, on Elw and Everett, on Caleb Cushing, on Manasseh H. Smith, Ex-Governor Samuel Wells, and Hon. James W. Bradbury, evince that there is a spirit abroad on the land, that will dispel the hallucinations of Abolitionism, and hurl from their high places those who have attained power by encouraging a delusion comparable only to that of the days of witchcraft in Massachusetts, which burnt men, women and maidens at the stake in the name of the Living God, or to the kindred fanaticism of the Thugs of India, who deemed robbery and murder worthy of canonization, and the most direct road to Heaven.

On the morning of the 12th, you asked me to write out my remarks on the preceding evening—as in the unavoidable absence of the reporters, who were engaged in reducing Evans's speech to writing, they had not been taken down. The request, though flattering to me personally, was respectfully declined. I addressed the meeting at its close. I attended, because my name was appended to the invitation extended to our fellow citizens to meet us at Bangor. I was courteously invited to take my place on the platform, but no intimation was given me until after I was seated, that I should be called upon for a speech. When my name was called, I could not decline, urging that I was not prepared, for my whole life had been a state of preparation for such an occasion. My response was not only without notes, but without premeditation; my attention having been engrossed by the previous exercises of the evening. Able men had preceded me; they had anticipated me in describing the cause of the intense feeling which pervaded the North and South, and threatened a dissolution of the Confederacy; but they had not prescribed the appropriate, immediate and effectual remedy. I spoke under the excitement of the moment, kindled by the sight of the thronged area, by the view of those who decorated the galleries on either hand, by the eloquence of those who had spoken, by the letters I had heard read, and further stimulated by that grand national tune, played by the band at my request, of "Hail Columbia," which ever thrilled through my heart! I prescribed the Ballot Box, not the Sword or the Cartridge Box. I summoned the Ban and the Arriere Ban of the State, the absentees from the polls, to the rescue. Our country would then be saved, and the rich, the invaluable inheritance received from our sires, would be transmitted to our children! A quiet night's rest and the cool of the morning had allayed that excitement—yet slumbering like the volcano's fire, ready to be roused again into action under similar concurren circumstances; but then I could not write out what I had said.

Enthusiasm excites enthusiasm. I knew at the time the right chord had been struck. My auditors honored me with their attention; they sympathized with my feelings. The effect produced would be lessened, but could not be increased, by committing my
crude and unstudied remarks to writing. I could not report my speech; and would not impose a pretended report on the public.

This is not said with the view to apologize for any deficiency, to extenuate any undue warmth of manner; my tongue obeyed the dictates of my mind and heart. Utterance was given only to words indicating sentiments—the result of investigation and thought—now interwoven with my existence.

a d time permitted, I should have gone more fully into the subject. I might have argued—I might have illustrated; as it was, I only exhorted to that constitutional action, the great remedy in our glorious country for all public grievances, superseding the necessity of those bloody revolutions which have desolated the states of Europe; and the storm-clouds of yet another are even now gathering, darkening the political atmosphere of that charnel-house of the human race.

It is now repeated—if we, the free citizens of the Dirigo State, would rescue Maine from the harpies who have obtained the direction of her councils by pandering to a fanatical spirit, devoid of reason or argument, threatening the subversion of the noblest monument of human wisdom ever erected by man, we must rally at the polls, and the work is accomplished!

Respectfully, your ob't servant,
CHARLES JARVIS.

TO VICTOR HUGO.

Sir:—Your letter to the London Star has found its way into American press, for which it was doubtless intended. If ardent enthusiasm could win justice from her strict course, yours might have had some effect upon the destiny of John Brown. But all the eloquence of genius cannot take the blackness from treason, or the crimson stain from murder. It requires something more than an outburst of fine poetry to turn crime into patriotism—something more than impetuous denunciations to check the solemn footsteps of justice.

Before this time you will have learned that Virginia has vindicated the majesty of her laws; and that John Brown and his unhappy confederates have passed to a higher tribunal for judgment. You will learn, also, that out of nearly thirty millions of people, spreading over a great continent, there is but a hundred of men and women, who have received the news of this execution with disapproval.—North and South, the great body of our people acquiesce in the fate of John Brown, as an inevitable necessity—a solemn obligation to the laws. Like you, we may feel compassion for the man who was brave even in his crimes; but he was a great criminal, and so perished. God have mercy upon his soul.

The impulses of humanity which prompted your letter, meet with sympathy from every true heart. But no outburst of compassion, no denunciation from abroad, is likely to influence a people who have learned to govern their passions while they protect their rights.

When, in the ardor of their fancy, Washington stood before you—immortal with heavenly greatness, your intelect should have gone a step farther, and informed itself more correctly regarding the Constitution, to establish which he gave the best years of a glorious life. You would have learned that each State of this Union is sovereign in itself—in its laws and in its power to punish crimes committed on its soil.

To establish the distinct sovereignty of those States, and to link them in one beautiful confederation, concessions were made, and obligations of forbearance were entered upon, to which the sacred honor of our Revolutionary Fathers who pledged their children and children's children. These obligations make slavery with us a forbidding thing.

Washington himself was born in a slave-holding State—lived and died the master of slaves. Neither on the battle field, the floor of Congress, nor in the Presidential chair, did he suggest the possibility of revolt against the solemn compact made in the Constitution.

Had treason, like that of O. of John Brown, broken out in his time, he would undoubtedly have done what James Buchanan is doing now. Maintaining his august position as the chief of a great confederation, our President respects the rights of a sovereign State, over whose internal laws he has no authority, and leaves to her Courts the punishment or pardon of the treason which broke out on her territory.

Washington could have done no more than this, crown him with the halo of poetry as you will.

Virginia, a sovereign State, has maintained her authority. John Brown is dead. Proven guilty of treason—condemned for atrocious
murders—he has atoned for these crimes on the scaffold. It is impossible for a man to stand upon the verge of eternity, into which he must be launched by a violent death, without filling every good heart with grief and compassion. But when he is brave—when his path of blood has been lighted by the lurid torch of fanaticism or insanity—such a mind as yours, affluent, earnest, and poetic, may be expected to clothe his crimes in white garments, and forgetting the murderer in the brave man, sing panegyrics to the martyr of a vivid imagination only.

I am of a sex, and of a nature to whom these feelings are kindred. I cannot think of Old John Brown upon the scaffold without a shudder through all my being. I cannot think of a man made in the image of God, suffering an ignominious death without thrills of pain. But I find it impossible to fix my mind on the scaffold of this old man. It goes back to his victims at Harper's Ferry—to the women made widows by the outbreak of a single morning—to the orphans, who had never wronged him, so cruelly bereaved by his crime. I see the two sons, who blindly followed his lead, fall martyrs to his rebellious spirits.

I look beyond this, far away into the beautiful South, and instead of an old man on the gallows, I see thousands of my own countrywomen, gentle, good, and lovely, given up a prey to wild insurrection—I see those murderous pikes, manufactured with such cruel forethought, piercing their bosoms—I hear the cries of children calling for the mothers that will never answer them again. I see proud, strong men struggling against the brute strength of their own household servants. This picture strikes my compassion dumb, and I can only cover my face and pray God to have mercy on the old man's soul!

John Brown was tried, condemned, and executed as a traitor—a guard of American citizens stood around the scaffold, sad at heart, but steady in their devotion to the laws. The Legislature of a great Commonwealth sat, deliberating, after his sentence, and pronounced it just. The Federal Union, in which thirty millions of souls throb, stood in solemn silence while the treason of this man was expiated.

Out of these thirty millions of intelligent, educated men, who make their own laws and abide by them, not one hundred thousand can be found to join with you in condemning the execution of John Brown, while every good heart among them must sympathize in the pity for his fate, which mingles so eloquently with your denunciations.

Some there may be—may, certainly are,—who would add bitterness to your words, and wring them, like poisoned arrows, far and wide if they had the power. But these are the men and women who instigated his crime, who urged him on to revolt, and shrunk away in safe places when the gloom of his deeds settled around him—men and women who make money by incendiarism, books, sermons and lectures, and while they incite crimes which coin gold for themselves, have no courage to meet the danger when it arises. But thousands and tens of thousands share your pity for the old man,—guilty as he was, while they put your denunciations aside with calm forbearance, feeling how little knowledge you possess on a subject which agitates you so deeply.

But if the great mass of my countrymen join in your pity for the unhappy man, it is not because they condemn his execution or sympathise with his revolt. Probably twenty nine million and nine hundred thousand of our people look upon this execution as a full and solemn atonement for crimes in which they have no sympathy. Our country is now divided into three political parties, none of which will endorse this rebellion or condemn the course justice has taken. When you call upon the Federals to interpose its authority against the laws of Virginia, there is not a school-boy throughout the land—for to all such our Constitution is a text-book—who would not smile at your idea that the General Government has any right to interfere with the legal acts of an independent Commonwealth, or that majority of a single State would so interfere, if it had the power.

Your picture of John Brown's trial is a painful one. It must be a hard heart which does not swell with compassion as it presents itself. "Upon a wretched pallet, with six hanging wounds—scarcey conscious of surrounding sounds—bathing his matted with blood, and with the ghastly presence of his two dead sons forever before him." Thus you place the unhappy man before the world, forgetting that those ghastly wounds are but the evidence of a more ghastly crime, the fearful witnesses by which his guilt was confirmed.

It is, indeed, a terrible picture you have drawn;—but the streets of Harper's Ferry had one more terrible still. There, innocent men, all unconscious of danger, were shot down like wild animals. Three, widows, newly bereaved kneel mourning over their dead and orphan children, cried aloud for the parents that John Brown had so ruthlessly murdered. This picture you have forgotten to place side by side with the other; but we who love our countrymen have sympathy for the innocent as well as pity for the guilty.

You complain that his trial was hurried, that the jury sat only forty minutes, and that all the proceedings were indecorously urged
forward; but were they so swift as the rifle balls that shot down unarmed men in the streets at Harper's Ferry? Were they so ruthless as John Brown's midnight descent upon a sleeping village in Kansas, where husbands and sons were dragged out of their beds, and shot down within hearing of their wives and mothers? Is this the man whom you speak of as "pious, austere, animated with the old puritan spirit, inspired by the spirit of the Gospel?" while you call his companions "sacred martyrs?"

This sir, is the blasphemy of a highly-wrought imagination—excuse me for saying—not original with you; for wilder and more irreligious men than I trust you are have gone to greater lengths, and blasphemed more eoequently than this. They have pronounced John Brown's gallows holier than the cross, and held up his rebellion as a rebuke to the unfinished mission of our Lord the Saviour.

"At this moment," you say, "America attracts the attention of the whole world." Not at the moment only but ever since she became a free nation this has been the truth. To all the Kingly governments of Europe she has always been a contrast and irritation—a subject for criticism, and whenever an opportunity for blame arose, of denunciation. It is not strange then that a rebellion, in part fostered in Europe, should call forth bitter remarks there.

"Let the Judges of Charleston and the slaveholding Jurors, and the whole population of Virginia ponder on it well—they are watched—they are not alone in the world."

They have pondered on it well, and the execution of John Brown has taken place. If the whole American Republic were responsible for his death, as you say it is—it would simply be responsible for a most painful duty solemnly performed; and received with mournful resignation even by the most merciful, because of its imperative necessity. —Justice demanded the life of this man, for he had taken human life—necessity demanded it, for he was the spirit and soul of a treason that threatened the foundations of our nationalit y—that would forever have been plotting more bloodshed so long as he lived on ear h.

You call the execution of Brown "a brotherhood of blood"—you say that "the faces of our splendid Republic will be bound together by the running noose that hangs from his gibbet."

If this is true—if any brotherhood of blood is connected with this painful event, it rests neither with the "whole" American Republic nor with the State of Virginia; but its red track may be found across the foam of the Atlantic, linking Exeter Hall with the sensa-
met with the whole force of our laws. Were
they permitted to obtain a foothold in the land
our R·public might indeed become sis or to
those of France, and pe·ish as they did.
Had the insurrection at Harper's Ferry suc-
cceeded, the scenes of anarchy which left
France lying like an unnatural monster sati-
ated with the blood of her own children,
might have been repeated there. But we are
not yet prepared to see innocent babes shot
down in battalions, or fair girls compelled to
drink blood frothing from a yet warm human
heart, in order to redeem their fa·her from the
ha·cher. We are not prepared to see our pas-
tors slaughtered at the foot of their own altars,
or hear coarse songs thundering through the
solemn arches of our temples. It is to save
our country from consanguinity with Repub-
lies founded on atrocities like these, that our
laws crush rebellion when it first cre·ts it-
self.
Rest, Sir, upon your knees before the star-
sangled banner. While our pulpits are
turned into political for·ums, and their Minis-
ters preach rapine and bloodshed, the foot of
our flagstaff is, perhaps, the most sacred place
for devotion that we have to offer you. There,
certainly, a pure spirit should inspire your
prayers. Yes, kneel reverently, and plead
that the great country protected by its fol·ds
may fling off the poison so in·sidiously circu-
lated in her bosom by foreign nations. The spirit
of our immortal statesmen will be around you
when that prayer is uttered; and, if you are in
truth a patriot, one heavenly voice will whis-
per, in tones that must be changed if they do
not penetrate to the deeps of your soul—"I
know no North, no South, no East, no West!
nothing but my country!"
Kneel, Kneel, I beseech you, sir, and let this
pa·iotic sentiment be the burden of your pray-
er. Millions of souls on this side of the atlan-
tic will swell the b·eth, as it passes your lips,
into a cloud of sacred incense, which the spir-
it of Washington, and the mighty ones who
have joined him, shall waft to the feet of Je·ro-
v an and grow holier from the work.

ANN S. STEPHENS.
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