

The Republican Compiler.

By HENRY J. STAHL.

"TRUTH IS RIGHT, AND WILL PREVAIL."

TWO DOLLARS A YEAR.

A Family Newspaper—Devoted to Politics, Agriculture, Literature, Arts and Sciences, The Markets, General Domestic and Foreign Intelligence, Advertising, Amusement, &c.

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MESSAGE OF GOVERNOR HIGLER.

(CONCLUDED FROM OUR LAST.)

The administration of Governor Shunk commenced the cancellation of the relief issues; and that of my immediate predecessor arrested the process, leaving \$650,163 00 of this "sinking fund" in circulation. In the spring of 1853, the policy of cancellation was again resumed; and up to this date, \$485,364 98 have been received into the sinking fund, applicable to that purpose, leaving the meagre sum of \$154,778 12, to provide for. The gratifying fact is apparent, therefore, that without any further legislation on this subject, the entire outstanding balance of relief notes can be withdrawn from circulation and destroyed during the current year.—It is true that these issues, have not come into the Treasury as rapidly as the funds for their cancellation, have accumulated, and that, consequently, a portion of the receipts have not been invested; but this difficulty will be obviated in June next, when the law will go into operation which forbids the banks and receiving officers of the Commonwealth to pay out these issues, and requires them to be presented at the Treasury for cancellation. We shall, therefore, soon see the last of a currency which has polluted the channels of circulation for thirteen years past; and I trust that the lesson thus taught has been quite sufficient to warn us against similar errors in all time to come.

My opinions on all questions that concern the currency, have been so often expressed, that they must be well known to the Legislature, and need not be given, at length, in this communication. Without, at any time, as far as the policy of other Commonwealths, to dispense suddenly and entirely with banks of issue, it has been uniformly held that the amount of banking capital as a basis for paper circulation, should be closely limited to the urgent wants of commerce and trade. If the experience of the country is worth anything at all, it has demonstrated the correctness of this policy; and that the use of small bank notes should be discouraged and forbidden.—In accordance with this view of the subject, I have, on past occasions, refused to sanction any extensive increase of banking capital.

Every commercial country is liable to alternate seasons of excitement and depression; to periods of extravagant overtrading, followed by ruinous reversions.—The reaction now felt is the inevitable, if not the natural counterpart of an undue expansion of credit, in the form of bank paper, State and corporation bonds and individual obligations. In those States where the free, or stock-banking system had stimulated the expansion, the workings of the reaction have been disastrous. In our own beloved Commonwealth the shock has been sensibly felt, though far less severe than in other parts of the country.—Her partial escape, it is believed, is mainly owing to her prudent and restrictive policy in the use of bank credit. It is, at least, very clear, that had the free, or stock banking plan, at one time so zealously advocated, been adopted in this State, or had our present system been greatly expanded, the position of affairs in our commercial metropolis would not have been so favorable at present. Had the natural tendency to speculation received this artificial stimulus—the fruits of safety, like the lessons of experience, would have been passed unheeded; as it is, some good men, in the pursuit of useful enterprises, have been prostrated. It is most unfortunate, that under this influence, all must suffer alike; those who profit least by the expansion, are often affected most by the contraction. This is especially the case with labor, which is uniformly the last to be elevated in times of prosperity, and the first to go down in times of depression. The banks, as a general rule, make the most out of these convulsions. It is often their error to flatter the merchant and trader when the tide of prosperity runs high, and to forsake him on the first appearance of its ebbing. Even sound banks and of good repute, it is said, are seeking to make money out of the present crisis, by sharing the capital and its benefits with brokers and jobbers, instead of aiding the business community at legitimate rates. How far these allegations are warranted, it is difficult to decide; but it is to be hoped that few, if any of our banks are justly liable to this charge, for such a practice would be highly improper, and well calculated to excite discontent. Such a departure from legitimate business would demand a prompt remedy at your hands. It may be difficult to confine these institutions to their proper business, with the prospect of better profits in other quarters; but they should be made to feel that they have been created for a higher purpose than merely to enrich the stockholders.

The crisis is a trying one; but there is still reason to hope that the credit and trade of the country will never suffer as much as it has done on similar occasions, in times past.—There is no National Bank to mislead the mercantile class, and to embarrass the commerce which it professes to aid. Still the shock will be great enough to lead the public mind to enquire after a remedy for these periodical convulsions. And, surely, we may be permitted to hope, that the good sense of the people, will never again be imposed upon by these crude experiments which have, on some former occasions, so fearfully aggravated the evils they were intended to remedy.—I respectfully advise the General Assembly against all such experiments. The remedy, to be permanent, must be a natural one; artificial means may add to present derangements; but cannot correct them. An extensive increase of banking capital and other expedients will, doubtless, be pressed upon your attention; but it is hoped that no such folly may find favor.—Nor is there any sufficient reason for the alarm and sensitive manifested in certain quarters; the real wealth of the country still exists, and the natural elements of prosperity are less in an intricate. It is the shadow, not

the substance that is passing away. The business community should look the danger bravely in the face, and by their energy, honesty and enterprise, overcome it. Mutual confidence and forbearance should be cherished by all, as a means of accomplishing this desirable end.

In accordance with the provisions of a law passed in April last, a vote of the people was taken, at the October election, on the policy of prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors; 158,510 votes were cast in favor of the measure, and 163,510 votes against it.

The proper regulation of this subject greatly concerns the moral welfare of the people, and for that reason will claim your anxious consideration. Perhaps no other moral question within the range of your authority, so deeply interests the people of every class, race and condition. Indeed, the immoderate use of intoxicating drinks is an evil that has left its fatal work in every vicinage. Its progress, fortunately, has been steadily resisted by individuals and societies, who have employed the power of truth and reason against it.—These efforts have done much, and may do more hereafter to mitigate the evil. Avoiding all vexatious encroachments upon the rights and privileges of every citizen, there is clearly no reason why the influence of a well designed law, regulating and restraining the sale of intoxicating liquors, should not be brought to the aid of these individual efforts. Although the votes of the people would seem to indicate their aversion to the particular measure of reform proposed, it is not to be inferred, for that reason they are averse to all attempts at reform. Such an inference, I am confident, would not be a true reflection of their sentiments. So far from this, they acknowledge the existence of the evil and the necessity of proper remedies. Our present license laws, to this end, might, in my opinion, be usefully revised—the object of such revision being to lessen the vice of intemperance.—That those laws need such revision, is clearly demonstrated. So far as relates to the city of Philadelphia, they are peculiarly prejudicial to public morals, and seem to have been constructed to promote the convenience of drinking, far more than to restrain its evil consequences.—The subject is worthy of your early and deliberate consideration.

The report of the Superintendent will exhibit to you in detail, the operations of the Common School System for the year just closed; and I respectfully recommend the suggestions of that officer to your careful consideration. The general law of 1849, with amendments and modifications, was re-modeled by the last Legislature. The most material parts of the old law, which were omitted in the new, were the sub-district, the endowment, and sectarian features.—The former was rejected because of the unnecessary multiplication of offices which it authorized, and the conflict which perpetual arose between the committees and directors; and the latter, because in manifest hostility to the true intent of the Common School system. These provisions which seemed to contemplate a separate school establishment, under sectarian patronage, although controlled by the Common School directors, were originally engrafted upon the acts of 1836 and 1838, and were again re-enacted in 1849. They were very properly stricken from the system by the law of last session. Should efforts be made in the future, at similar innovations, come whence they may, it is hoped they may be promptly rejected. The system to be effectual, must be simple and uniform in its operations. Special legislation, inconsistent with the general law, applicable to particular localities or districts, to answer temporary or partial ends, always has, and always will embarrass the administration of the general system, and should for this reason, be carefully avoided. The integrity of its forms, not less than the means to sustain its operations, should be constantly maintained, and sacredly cherished by the government.

A new feature in the system, adopted in the law of last session, creating the office of County Superintendent, has not, as yet, been fully tested; and there evidently exists some diversity of opinion as to the wisdom of the provision. It is already very obvious, at least, that its beneficial workings must depend mainly upon the character of the agents selected to carry it into operation. Competent and faithful Superintendents may produce the happiest results; whilst the agency of the ignorant or inefficient will be attended by the reverse consequences. In order to give this new feature of the law a fair trial, it will be necessary, therefore, for the directors, in the respective counties, to select superintendents with sole reference to their adaptation to the duties of the station.

Of the many obstacles in the way of the complete success of our Common School system, the one most prominent, and most difficult to remove, is the want of competent teachers. In some communities, I regret to say, the system has fallen into comparative inefficiency, because good teachers cannot be found; and in others, the most vexatious consequences have arisen from the employment of the illiterate and incompetent.—Nothing could exercise a more prejudicial influence; indeed, between a very bad teacher and none at all, the latter alternative might, in many instances, be preferred. This deficiency is clearly manifest, and hard to obviate. Some of the best minds of the State have been occupied and perplexed with it; and until recently no general and practicable plan for its removal had been devised.

The plan of granting permanent professional certificates, by officers skilled in the art of teaching, and eminent in literary and scientific attainments, to teachers who, after satisfactory pass a thorough examination, in the several branches of study, which the act of May, 1851, requires to be taught in every district, and also in the art of teaching—is already obviously effecting decided improvement in this regard, and it is believed will do much towards placing the profession upon a high and firm basis.—Normal schools, it is urged, could, in addition, to some extent supply the deficiency, but the expenses of such an institution would be heavy.

The source of this difficulty, it is clear, can be traced, in a great measure, to the want of a proper appreciation in the public mind, of the position and business of a teacher. The profession for this reason, in addition to the absence of fair compensation, has not been attracted. Indeed, it has scarcely been regarded as a profession at all, but rather as a preliminary step to some other pursuit. Well directed efforts have recently been made to

change the general sentiment on this point, and I rejoice in the belief that these have not been in vain; and that the day is not far distant, when the profession of teacher will be equal to the aspirations of the most ambitious of our people; when its distinctions, dignities and pecuniary rewards, will command the time and attention of the most gifted.—I can see no reason why this state of feeling should not prevail; why the profession of teacher should not rank in honor and profit with the other learned professions; why the science of developing the human intellect—of giving scope and force to mind—of elevating the moral faculties of our race—of controlling the passions and tempering the desires, should not be esteemed as highly as those professions and callings, whose ornaments have received all their capacity and polish at the hands of the comparatively humble and illy rewarded teacher.

I earnestly recommend the common school system to your guardian care, as the most sacred of all our institutions. The offspring of a constitutional injunction on the Legislature—its indelibility and perpetuity of its usefulness, is the plain duty of all. Resting at the very foundation of the government, its political workings should be a true reflection of our republican system, and its blessed opportunities made available to all, regardless of rank, or condition, or persuasion. It should aid the poor, advance the rich, and make the ignorant wise.

I confidently anticipate for it, a day of greater perfection and wider influence. No better object can engage the attention of government, or consume its means, than the education of the people in the most comprehensive sense of the term; embracing the use of letters, the cultivation of the moral faculties, and the diffusion of christian truth. In this we have the surest guarantee for the perpetuity of our republican government, and for the enjoyment of civil liberty and religious freedom. Such an education may be safely claimed as the most potent means of preventing crime—of increasing individual happiness and national dignity—of promoting christianity and civilization—of extinguishing moral and political evils—of elevating, dignifying and adorning our social condition.

Our various charitable and reformatory institutions—so creditable to the State, and which, in their practical operations, have done so much for the relief of suffering humanity—will claim the continued care and bounty of the Commonwealth.

The State Lunatic Hospital at Harrisburg, under its present efficient control and management, meets the just anticipations of its wise and benevolent advocates. Its humane and benign agency in ameliorating the condition of the unfortunate class for whose relief it was designed, can be judged by no ordinary standard. The benefits of such an institution rise above all mere pecuniary estimates. Its purposes address themselves to the best and noblest feelings of our nature, and can only be rated at the price of human hope and human reason.

A somewhat dissimilar, though not less meritorious institution has recently been established in Philadelphia, for the mental training of the idiotic and the imbecile. The astonishing results it has already achieved in developing and invigorating the weak and clouded intellect, should secure for it public confidence and patronage. It commends itself to the bounty and care of the State.

The institutions for the education of the Deaf and Dumb, and Blind, will also need, as they justly merit, the usual annuity from the State. They are in a flourishing condition, and continue to bestow numberless blessings upon the unfortunate beings committed to their charge.

As a scheme for correcting and reclaiming wayward and offending youth, the House of Refuge stands pre-eminent; and is every where gaining public confidence. Its general influence upon this class of erring creatures, is far more effectual and humanizing than that of the ordinary modes of punishment. It takes charge of those whose offences are often the results of circumstances rather than criminal intent; who fall by the influence of bad example, of wicked association, of idle habits or animal necessities; or who sin because of the utter want of moral and mental perception; who do wrong, rather than right, because they have not the power to distinguish between them. For such unfortunate beings, the House of Refuge possesses the advantages of restraint and correction—with moral and intellectual training, as well as of instruction in the useful pursuits of life, without the disgrace and chilling influence of prison confinement. The results, therefore, often are, that its inmates go back to society, cured of all moral deflection, and competent to fill the place of correct and useful members of community.

During the past summer, the magnificent structure erected under the supervision of certain benevolent gentlemen of Philadelphia, as a new House of Refuge, was completed and thrown open to public inspection. The capacity, order, and arrangements, in every particular, of this admirable building, are fully equal to the design of its founders. It is an honor to them and an ornament to the beautiful city in which it is situated; and its good effects in future, under the same systematic and wise discipline which so eminently distinguished its past management, will not be readily overrated.

The western House of Refuge, situate on the banks of the Ohio river, a short distance below Pittsburg, I am gratified to say, is also completing ready for inmates. Though less imposing, as to size and capacity, than its lately completed neighbor, it possesses all the order, economy of space, and perfect adaptation to the purposes designed; that characterize the more costly structure at Philadelphia; and it is also believed to be quite adequate, as to size, to present wants, while it is built with express reference to future additions, should they become necessary.

Neither of these buildings have, I presume, been erected without involving their projectors in pecuniary liability, and perhaps loss. The entire State has a deep interest in such truly meritorious institutions; and whatever relief can be given to them by the Legislature, consistently with the condition of the Treasury or our public engagements, should be cheerfully extended.

The interests of Agriculture are ardently commended to your care. Extensive and energetic efforts have been recently made to disseminate correct information concerning this great pursuit, and in this way to confer upon the farmer the advantages of a scientific as well as a greatly refined, practical understanding of the noble pursuit in which he is engaged.

The utility of a College, devoted to the science of agriculture, with a model farm attached, wherein the principles of a scientific cultivation of the soil, and manual labor in that pursuit, would be joined to the usual academic studies—has been strongly pressed upon your attention. It is believed that such an institution can be successfully organized, under the auspices of the State and County agricultural societies.

The practice adopted and maintained by the last General Assembly, in reference to omnibus bills and special legislation, is an improvement of such value as to commend itself as a settled rule; and I confidently trust this salutary precedent may not be disregarded.

Obscurity, confusion and inaccuracy in the construction of our laws, intrude upon private rights, and unguarded corporate privileges, litigation and confusion in the interpretation of our statutes, have been the fruits of a loose and unguarded system of legislation. The evil has been one of the greatest magnitude, and the remedy should be cherished with unyielding tenacity.—Special legislation has so little to recommend or sustain it in principle, it is surprising it has been so long endured. Although much was done by the two preceding legislatures by general laws, to obviate any supposed necessity for special acts, there still is much to be performed in avoiding a return to this unsafe practice.—It is believed that general laws can be so framed as to avoid in most cases the necessity for special acts, and the proposition is most earnestly commended to your favorable consideration.

The omnibus system—a pernicious mode of legislation, by which the most opposite measures, good and bad, are thrown together in one bill and under one title—was, I rejoice to say, entirely broken down and discarded by the last General Assembly.—The volume of laws for 1854 contains no acts of this character. Each law embraces but a single subject, and that indicated by its proper title.

The 55th section of the act providing for the expenses of Government for 1853, authorized and required the Governor to sell the State arsenal at Philadelphia, and apply the proceeds of such sale towards the purchase of another site and the erection of a new building; and restricting the expenditure to the sum received for the old property. The building and lot were readily sold for \$30,000. The selection of a new location, and the erection of another building, presented a far more difficult task. I readily discovered that the sum thus appropriated was entirely inadequate to accomplish the end in view. The price of a similar location would leave but a meagre sum with which to erect the building. Under all the circumstances, I have not felt authorized to attempt to carry out the law, and would respectfully suggest the propriety of increasing the appropriation for this purpose.

The report of the present able and energetic Adjutant General will inform you of the condition of the military affairs of the State. This department of public affairs, I regret to say, has been in a confused and declining condition for several years.

The public Librarian has called my attention to the fact, that the law reports of twenty-two other States have been regularly received by this, and that no provision has ever been made on our part to reciprocate this courtesy and generosity. I respectfully suggest the propriety of authorizing some officers of the Government to procure the necessary copies of the Pennsylvania reports, to supply those States who have so generously added to our library.

The registration act, I respectfully suggest, has essentially failed to accomplish the end designed, and should be repealed or amended. A record so incomplete and imperfect can do no good, but may really do harm. It has already cost the State about \$25,000, to which there must be annual additions. The object is a desirable one, but I am confident it can never be attained by the mode contemplated in this law. It is a subject of constant complaint by registers and physicians, and only such registration is made as is compulsory, in order to legalize letters of Administration.

By the 67th section of the appropriation law of last session, the Secretary of the Commonwealth was authorized to continue the publication of the Archives to the year 1799. Under this authority, the selection of documents, from 1783 to 1790, has been made, and the tenth volume, containing this matter, will be ready for distribution before the close of the session.—Two additional volumes will complete the work as originally designed.

The councils of Philadelphia, by an ordinance passed in October, 1852, dedicated the necessary ground in Independence Square, to the erection of a monument commemorative of the declaration of Independence, and tendered the possession of the premises to the representatives of nine or more of the original States.

Since that time, the States of New York, New Jersey, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Georgia and Pennsylvania, have signified their willingness to accept the proposition on the terms indicated by the councils, and to participate in this patriotic work. Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and the two Carolinas, have taken no action on the subject.

I cannot refrain from again expressing my unabated solicitude for the success of this movement. If American history furnishes a single event worthy of commemoration by a monument, the Declaration of

Independence is that event. In moral grandeur it is without a parallel, and stands above all others for the mighty influence which it has exerted upon the political, religious and social condition of mankind. It has been said, it ushered in a new member into the family of nations, and electrified all Europe. It opened new relations of liberty, and changed the relations of people and government, by teaching the one how to resist and conquer the oppression, and the other the absolute necessity to its own continuance, of recognizing and respecting the rights of humanity.—From that time forth, a new vital and quickening spirit has pervaded the world. Thrones have been shaken, empires have been overthrown, society has been convulsed, blood and carnage have desolated the earth; but still the intelligence and souls of the people of all Christendom has been so vivified, elevated and expanded, to a comprehension of their rights, as will never be obliterated or forgotten, but will advance, enlarge and increase, until that moral and social preparation for the appreciation and enjoyment of liberty shall be effected, which in the divine economy, is so indispensable to the permanence of free institutions.

As the third generation of that posterity for whom the men of the revolution chiefly labored, and suffered and died; it is peculiarly fitting that we should erect such representations of their great and controlling acts as shall speak to our own hearts, to our own children's hearts, and shall testify to God and the world, that we appreciate and reverence, and would cultivate and disseminate, the mighty truths and principles which brought our nation into existence, which constitute its very life, and of which it seems designated by Providence to be the special defender and protector.

I believe we should have a monument to perpetuate the remembrance of the great event, from which such manifold and inestimable blessings have sprung; some imperishable memorial of our gratitude to the authors of the Declaration of Independence—to the heroes who participated in the mighty struggle; an enduring witness of the great things done amongst us and for us; an embodiment of the origin and principles of our government; some distinguishing mark of the place of a nation's birth; a consecrated temple of liberty, about which unborn generations of Americans may meet and renew their assurances of fidelity to the principles of the Declaration and to their natural offspring—the Constitution and the Union. I am for this work most earnestly, and I trust that Pennsylvania will not permit it to fail, but that it may be pressed upon the attention of the original thirteen States, until each and all shall evince a willingness and determination to participate in the erection of this glorious structure. To this end I respectfully suggest to the General Assembly the propriety of again calling the attention of the original States to the subject, by resolution or otherwise.

In closing my last communication to the General Assembly, and terminating my official relations with the people of my native Commonwealth, I may be indulged in a brief and general reference to her present position as a member of the great family of States, and to the patriotism, integrity, and general prosperity of her citizens. The advantageous geographical position of Pennsylvania, with a fine harbor open to the Atlantic, and another connecting her centrally with the magnificent chain of western lake navigation—her long branching rivers, spreading their arms and arteries through every portion of her territory—all added to her fertile soil and exhaustless deposits of valuable minerals—present a combination of the natural elements of greatness, scarcely equalled in our own or any other quarter of the globe. These have made her an attractive field for the science, industry and enterprise of man; and all her natural advantages have been cherished and cultivated, until she has reached a condition of varied wealth and positive prosperity.—Her system of internal improvements will safely compare with those of any sister State, whether in regard to completeness in construction, or the extent of country which they traverse. Nor have the higher hopes of humanity been disregarded by our statesmen, and the people at large, as the liberal provisions for Common Schools, Academies and Colleges, and our numerous crowded Churches attest; while, at the same time, the various Asylums for the insane, and for the unfortunate of all classes and conditions, and Houses of Refuge for the reformation of the wayward and erring, silently, yet surely, bear witness that the cause of benevolence has always found effective advocates within her borders.

In physical improvement and population her progress has been steady and rapid. In the days of Governor Snyder, the erection of a bridge over the Susquehanna river, and the construction of a turnpike road, was the subject of executive exultation, and a matter of congratulation among the people. Now her whole surface is checkerboarded over with railroads, canals, and other highways. The whole revenue of the State amounted to but \$450,000. Now they exceed five millions. Of the four large States, her per centage of increase in population, since 1810, is the greatest; and she has besides, excelled the best of her sisters in the production of wheat, iron and coal. Her population numbers not less than two and a half millions—nearly as large as all the States at

the time of the revolution.—The present value of her real and personal estates, exceeds \$80,000,000. Her annual production of coal is worth, in the market, over twenty millions. Her great increases of agriculture, manufactures and commerce, are rapidly extending.

She has, in addition, a history, of which we may well be proud. Within her limits is found the birth-place of independence—that sacred spot where was first declared those great truths which lie at the foundation of American nationality. In the maintenance of those truths, she bore a glorious part. Her contributions of men to the field, and money to the treasury—of talent and wisdom to the Congress of the Colonies; were not surpassed by those of any other State. It was her sons who crossed the Delaware in the dead of winter, under the lead of Washington, and for a time turned the tide of war. Again, in the struggle of 1812, for the rights of American citizenship, and in that of 1862, for American honor and progress, she contributed with a profuse generosity. The contest amongst her sons was not as to who should have the right to stay at home, but who should have the privilege of going into the field. Bearing this honorable part in matters of foreign war, she has had no less active participation in allaying domestic strife. Whenever the exigency seemed to require it, she has stood firmly by the Constitution and the Union, and ever contended for the rights of all sections of the country, and all classes and denominations of the people.—Such is our State. To live and die within her limits, and to have borne even a very humble part in her civil service and in her history, I shall ever esteem as a proud privilege—one that, as it draws nearer to its close, sweetens my heart with gratitude to her people, at the recollection of the numerous proofs of confidence I have experienced at their hands.

The fullness of my exultation in the character and happy condition of our beloved Commonwealth, and of the gratitude I have expressed, leaves no room in my bosom for even a lingering regret at a decision of my fellow citizens, which as soon to relieve me from the cares and labors of a public life.—Its most excitements have already been forgotten, and its alienations, if any, forgiven.—I shall resume my place in the ranks of the people, with a calm consciousness of having always sought to advance their best interests to the extent of my ability; and never having yielded my convictions of right, either in subservience to any selfish purpose, or any narrow or unworthy prejudice.

Having adverted to various subjects of congratulation, in regard to the public affairs of my own State, I may be indulged in a brief reference, also, to the happy aspect of our common country, and the elevation it has reached among the nations of the earth, in the light of liberty, and through the workings of its benign institutions. Who amongst us, and throughout this broad land, does not experience at this moment, and at every moment, in his own condition, and the condition of those who surround him, the influence and benefit of our happy Union, and the well considered compact by which it is sustained? A basis of calculation, exhibited by past experience, will give our country a population of thirty millions, in less than ten years from the present time—of eighty millions in thirty years to come—and of one hundred millions at the close of the present century.—But more numbers are of no moment, compared with moral elements, in a nation's greatness. The vital strength and stability of the United States, as a people, consists in the substantial interest which each individual has in the pecuniary of those glorious institutions, which were baptized in the blood of our revolutionary struggle, and handed down to us as the sacred legacy of our fathers.—Peril, or destroy these, and we peril or destroy the share of sovereignty and equality which they were designed to secure, alike to the richest and poorest, to the highest and humblest in the land.—The experience of more than three fourths of a century, proves, I am persuaded, that the American people, in the main, truly appreciate the beneficent structure and beautiful operation of our American system. We have been assailed by an insidious and open hostility from abroad, and have at times, before the present, been encountered by both the concealed and palpable spirit of faction at home; yet the constitution still stands as widely and firmly riveted in the affections of the honest masses of American freemen, as at any former period of our history.

The more fruitful sources of our national prosperity undoubtedly consist in the freedom, industry and intelligence of our people; and in the rich natural resources of our country, united to an advantageous commercial intercourse with a warring world. But there is one element which we would cherish as more potent than all these. It is the protection and encouragement afforded by the union of the States, under an adequate and stable government. To this and the virtue of our citizens, under the smiles of Heaven, we are more indebted as a people, than to any other circumstance or relation. No one who has studied our history, and marked the avowal in which our Union was formed, can avoid the conviction that our government so far as concerns the stability of this confederacy, must be of one opinion rather than

(See fourth page.)