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## Select Poetry.

"ONWARD." BY HEBRON BELL. Unfurl the standard to the breeze; Raise the glorious ensign high; Shout! shout aloud for victory, Onward! is the battle cry-Onward! though the deep'ning gloom Gathers thickly on our way, Soon will vanish all the darkness, At the breaking of the day.

Slander's flood around us dashing. Seeks to overwhelm the soul-Sorrow's deep and chafing billows At our feet they madly roll. But regardless of our danger, Fix on FAITH the quivering eye, Gazing only in the future, Quward! shout the battle cry.

If the storms, in future raging, Dash our bark upon the shore, Smiling oft, but ne'er despairing, We will brave the flood once nibre, Knowing nought but PERSEVERANCE. Like the eagle soaring high, Far above the raging tempest-Onward! shouts the battle cry.

Onward passing, turning never From the path that leads to fame-Onward! upward! never tiring, We will gain ourselves a name; And as clouds around us gather, Let us raise the shout on high, While the distant hills re-echo, Onward! 'tis our battle cry.

USE OF FLOWERS. BY MARY HOWITT

God might have made the earth bring forth Enough for great and small-The oak tree and the cedar tree, With not a flower at all. He might have made enough, enough, For every want of ours-For luxury, medicine, and toil,

And yet have made no flowers. The ore within the mountain mine Requireth none to grow; Nor doth it need the lotus-flower To make the river flow. The clouds might give abundant rain, The mighty dews might fall, And the herb that keepeth life in man, Might have drunk them all.

Then wherefore, wherefore were they made, - All dyed with rainbow light-All fashioned with supremest grace, Up-springing day and night: Springing in valleys green and low, And on the mounting high, And in the silent wilderness.

Where no man passeth by? Our outward life requires them not, Then wherefore had they birth? To minister delight in man, To beautify the earth. To comfort man-to whisper hope Whene'er his faith is dim. For whose careth for the flowers, Will care much more for him!

SEEMING.

All live by seeming. The beggar begs with it, and the gay courtier Gains land and title, rank and rule, by seeming: The clergy scorn it not, and the bold soldier Will eke with it his service. All admit it, All practice it; and he who is content With showing what he is, shall have small credit In church, in camp; or state. So wags the world.

DOUGLAS JERROLD.

Harper's Weekly contains an excellent article on this celebrated author and satirist. presenting facts an anecdotes not heretofore published. We give a few extracts: At the Cafe de l'Europe there was a famous dish made of calles tail, which waconsidered as a greater dainty than ox tail. soun. Albert Smith was reveling on the dish one day when Jerrold took a seat near

Lim. The gourmand said: " Are you not surprised, Jerrold, to see m eating such a dish as calves' tail !" "Not at all," replied the other; "extremes

One evening, at the Museum Club, apon

cannot account for it. "except they ate it up stairs !"-n eaol inti mation that Smith had dined with the flun-

kers in the kitchen. It was Smith who boasted that he and Lamartine were so intimate that they might | rold and the Humanitarins bitterly opposed. be said to row in the same boat; on which

Jerrold retorted-"That may be, but with different skulls!" poining significantly to his head.

An author, who compared himself to Vic-No go, since his works did not sell !"

you read my "Descent in Hell," Jerrold ?"in- has a meaning deep andphilosophical enough quired Heraud, alluding to an enormously for an essay. dull poem he had lately published with that

" No." said the satirist, " but I should like

"His joke on Alderman Moon ordering some boys to be whipped at the cart's tail is not very good, but may be cited as an instance of one of his failures:

Moon's influence on the tied !" quoth Jer- Jerrold's vein.

Sometimes he forgot his manners, as when he said of a very tall, thin young lady, who particular friend of mine, Mrs. ---!" This bored him for an hour with an Italian bravura Mrs. - being a lady more remarkable for that "she was linked sweetness long drawn beauty and talents than for some more wo-

Mrs. Colonel Latter, a bigoted believer in the limited liability of human happiness, and said Jerrold cooly; "but she cannot be the the certain damnation of all, except some and the capacity and the choice of a good mother.

"Pardon me, it is the same person.

"Pardon me, it the certain damnation of all, except some fif- very particular friend you allude to."

When she came to that of Reprobation, she said it meant, in a few words, the doctrine that every man was born to be damned;" on er relieved itself by saving: "Then, had I known it, I'd be damned if I would have been born / The fair theologian always considered Jerrold as decidedly in for a warm berth.

His criticism on Browning was equally characteristic. When recovering from a vi-olent fit of sickness. Jerrold had been ordered to refrain from all reading and writing which he had obeyed wonderfully well, although he have him sent to jail." found the monotony of a sen side life very trying to his active mind. One morning he had been left by Mrs. Jerrold alone, while she had gone shopping, and during her at soace a parcel of books from London arrived,-Among them was Browning's "Sordello," which he commenced to read. Line after line, and page after page, was devoured by the convalescent wit, but not a consecutive idea could be get from that mystic production. The thought then struck him that be had lost his teason during his illness, and that he was so imbecile that he did not know it. A persperation berst from his trow, and he sat silent and thoughtful. When his wife returned, he thrust the mysterious volume into her hands, crying out, " read this, my dear !" After many attempts to make any sense out of the first page or so, she returned- it, say-

Bother the gibberish! I don't under stand a word of it!" "Thank Heaven," cried the delighted, with

then I am not an idiot!" His winding up a review of Woodworth's poems was equally good. "He reminds me," said Je: rold, of the Beadle of Pardassus, struting about in a cocked hat; or, to be more po-etical, of a modern Moses, who sits on Pis gah with his back obstinately turned to that promised hand, the future. He is only fit for those old maid tabbies, the Muses! His Pegasus is a broken-winded back, with a grammatical bridle, and a monnosyllabic bit beween his teeth!"

When introduced to a fat little fellow Sher iff Wire,he cried, " Wire! did you say! Why you are more like the chunk-end of a crow-

He once cold a lawyer he was happy to see six-and-eight pence in any shape in such good old man hurried on his clothes, and bad times! And meeting Madame Vestris started to the relief and punishment of his in a company during the run of Giovanni in p isoner. London, told her, " that it was quite a treat to see her without her breeches!"

One evening, at a friend's house, he asked Mr. Macready if it was true that he had taken Drury Lane Theatre. Upon that actor's at swering in the affirmative, and going on to to release him. state that he took it more for th making any money himself, and that it would not have been so." afford him very great pleasure to produce his plays, Jerrold broke out, " Oh, come, Mr. Macready, none of your d-d grim patronage

Dining at Serjeant Tulford's table one day the guests were amusing themselves by pro-Why is our worthy host's face like a druggist's sign?" After several guesses Jerrold gave his solution: "Because it is generally red, and always lit up after dark"-an ill nacountenance after a few glasses of wine .-Some of Jerrold's retorts have, however, a poetical instice which secured to them the sym- his chagrined and mortified victim. pathy of the company. Once at the Museum Club he administered, in the sugared shape of a pretended apology, a gentle dose of physic to a most arrogant and conceited member, who had annoyed many by his supercilloumanners. Jerrold, one day mi-taking him for an acquaintance, to whom he bore considrable resemblance, patted him good-temperedly on the shoulder, saving, " Well, my box how are you?" The dignity of the sprig was somuch hart that he complained to several of Mr. Jerrold's unauthorized familiarity .-This getting to the "savage" author's ears. the next time he met the offe ded dignitary, In vain he pleaded to be released from what

he apologised in the following terms: "I von for my friend Brown, but a nearer inspection convinces me that you are a devilish leal uglier than he. I sincerely ask both your

paidons for my mistake A young author, somewhat conceited, on account of having persuaded one of those generous hearted nondescrips, called publish-Schism and Rependance," wrote to Je rold: regard him desalisable for a conv. The gentle Jerrold" wrote back that he might out him down for " Schiem" by all meinion he would advise him to keep " Repen tence" for the publishers and readers!

It was really Jerrold, and not Stine Smith's estentationally saving "went at Smith, who, when told by the Rev. Mr. Her strange-we had no fish at the Marque's last very corter of Hornsey, "that the real evil of night! That has happened twice in ely I modern times was the surplus population. replied. "I agree with you that the real evil "Nor I." replied Jerrold, with a serious air, of our times does spring from the surplus

> population !" Mr. Hervey, atthough a very prayerful and pious man, was exce-sively proud, and a great admirer of the new poor law, which Jer

The faculty in which Jerrold peculiarly excelled was a combination of terse thoughtful ness and the most brilliant and penchant wit. Of true humor he had little. Even his nuns have a deeper significance than the mere tor. Hu go, was told that "he meant Victor word-jingle which first tickles the funcy of the listener. Thus his definition-" Dogma-Jerrold was especially relentless to authors | t'am; dogmatism? Why, bless you, dogmawho talked of their own writings, "Have tism is puppyism come to its full growth!

> His definition of religion was equally good: Religion is an insurance against fire in the next world-whereto honesty is the best poli-

The exquisite confusion of the tiper gentle man, who, after scaping for half an hout at the door, with his latch key, leans back and exclaims: "By Jove! some scoundrel has "That's a very convincing proof of the stolen-stolen the keyhole!" is something in

> Said an individual to bim one evening in the greet-room: "I believe you know a very manly qualities.

"I have met with an actress of hat name,

THE QUAKER'S CORN URIB.

A man had been in the habit of stealing which the outraged Christianity of the listen. Every night he would go softly to the crib, and fill his bag with ears which the good old Quaker's toil had placed there. Every morning the old gentleman observed a diminution of his corn pile. This was very annoying, and must be stopped—but how? Many an one would have said, "Take a gun, conceal yourself, wait till he comes, and fire." Others would have said, "Catch the villain, and

But the Quaker was not prepared to enter into any such measures. He wanted to punish the offender and at the same time bring about his reformation, if possible. Se he fixed a sort of trap close to the hole through which the man would thrust his arm in getting the corn.

The wicked neighbor proceeded on his unholy errand at the hour of midnight, with bag in hand. Unsuspectingly he thrust his hand into the crib to seize an ear, when lo! he was unable to withdraw it! In vain he tugged and pulled, and sweated, and alternately cried and curred. His hand was fast, and every effort to relieve it only made it the more secure. After a time the tumult in his breast mersurably subsided. He gave over his useless struggles, and began to look around hith All was silence and repose. Good men were comfortably sleeping in their bods, while he was compelled to keep a dreary, disgraceful watch through the remainder of that long and tedious night; his hand in constant pain from the pressure of the cramp which held it. His tired limbs, compelled to sustain his wea ry body, would have fain sunk beneath him. and his heavy eyes would have closed in slumber, but no ! there was no rest, no slum ber for him. There he must stand, watch the progress of the night, and at once desire and dread the return of the morning. Morning came at last, and the Quaker looked out of his window and found that he had 'caught

What was to be done? Some would say, Go out and give him a cowhiding just as he stands, and then release him: that'll cure him." But no said the Quaker. Such a course would have sent the man away embittered, and muttering curses of revenge The

"Good morning friend," said he, as he same in speaking distance. How does thee do? The poor culprit made no answer, but burst "O fie!" said the Quaker as he proceeded

thee hast got thy hand fast the dramatic art than in the expectation of Thee put it in the wrong place, or it would

The man looked crest-fallen, and begging forgiveness, hastily turned to make his retreat. "Stay," said his persecutor, for he was now uch to the offender, who could have received a blow with a much better grace than the kind words that were falling from the Quapounding conundrum-Jerrold gave this: ker's lips "Stay, friend, thy bag is not filled. Thee nee is corn, or thee-would not have taken so much pains to get it. Come, 'e' us fill it." And the por fellow was obliged to stand and hold the bag while the tured allusion to to the Sergent's glowing old man filled it, interspersing the exercises with the pleasantest conversation imaginable. all of which were like daggers in the heart of

> The bag was filled and the string tied and the sufferer hoped soon to be out of the presonce of his tormentor, but again his purpose waw thwarted. "Stay," said the Quaker, as the man was

about to hurry off, having uttered once more his apologies and thanks. "Stay, Ruth has reaktast ere this; thee must not think of going without breakfast; come, Ruth is call-

This was almost unendurable. This was heaping coals" with a vengeance. In vain the mortified neighbor begged to be excused. would be to him ten times more severe than have to ask your pardon, Mr. Jones, for my stripes and imprisonment. The Quaker was familiarity the other day. I am somewhat inexorable, and he was obliged to yield. near sighted, and at the moment I mistook Breakfast over, "Now," said the old Quaker, as he selped the victim to shoulder the bag, " If thee need- any more corn, come in the day one and thee shall have it."

With what shame and remorse did that guit. mon tuen from the quiet dwelling of the ardness and responsible duties of the he piou- Quaker! Everybody is ready to say that he never again troubled the Quakee's corn crib. I have something still better amon that to tell you. He at once reper ed and reformed, and my informant tells me that he afterwards heard him relate, in an experience meeting, the substance of the sto-I have related, and he attributed his conet-ton, under God's blessing, to the course by Quaker had pursued, to arrest him in his ownward course.

HOW TO AVOID A BAD HUSBAND. life consistent not in the thing she possesseth, tion of Independence it has had a distinguish 2. Never marry a fop, or one who struts ed history, has ordinarily given direction to about daudy-like, in his silk gloves and rufties, with liver cane, and rings on his fingers, ling itself early, and throughout its whole Bewate! there is a trap.

olds it grudingly. Take care lest be stint system from degeneracy and failure. sou to death. 4. Never marry a stranger, or one whose

character is not known or tested. Some females of historical facts it cannot well be questioned jump right into the fire, with their eyes wide | that they are incident to free governments,-5. Never marry a mope or drone, one who | An inquiry, however, into the nature of nolit-

6. Never marry a man who treats his nother or sister unkindly or indifferently.

7. Never on any account marry a gambler. profane person, one who in the least speaks | Doubtless our constitutions exhibit the wis lightly of God. Such a man can never make | dom of those who framed them, and amenda good husband.

8. Never marry a sloven, a man who totthe beart.

9. Shun the rake as a snake, a viper a

10. Never marry a man who is adicted to ities for the time being may choose. It is a the use of aident spirits. Depend upon it, chart given to direct the vessel of state, which you are better off alone, than you would be can have little effect upon the voyage unless were you tied to a man whose breath is pol- those in command choose to faithfully interluted, whose vitals are being gnawed out by | pret and observe its counsel. A party organ-

In the choice of a wife take the obedient ples of constitutional construction and power-

ADDRESS

DEMOCRATIC STATE COMMITTE.

TO THE CITIZENS OF PENNSYLAANIA :-- I has been usual for the State Committee, representing the Democratic party of Pennsylvania, to address the people of the State pending important elections. In conformity with this usage, which may be regarded as settled and salutary, we submit the following ad-

The Democratic State Convention, upon the second day of March last, and at its reassembling in June, made nominations for the
offices of Governor, Canal Commissioner, and Judges of the Supreme Court.

For Governor, Gen. Packer, of Lycoming, was named, after a spirited contest, and his nomination was then unanimously and rightfully confirmed. He has been long well known throughout the State; has filled a number of responsible and important positions in the State government, and has established a public character which strongly recommends him to the popular confidence. We onceive it to be a material analification for his high office, that the incumbent shall be well acquainted with the practical workings of the government-with the course and character of legislation-the details of business in the several executive departmentsand with the public men of the Common-wealth, who have filled or may fill, the various positions created by the Constitution and daws. The contrast in this respect, between our candidate and the candidates of the opposition, is too strongly marked to escape general notice, and it is but necessary to al lude to it to show the vantage ground held by our party in the present canvass. It may be asserted that the Convention have named 'the right man for the right place," and that their nomination deserves popular endorsement if regard is had to qualifications and experience. It is agreeable to add that our candidate

has a solid and reputable character in private life, and that his estimable qualities have endeared him to a large circle of friends who can enter upon his support with feelings of enthusiusm as well as with convictions of du tv. We do not desire to draw too strongly the contrast that it is possible to draw, be tween our candidate and his leading opponent. Judge Wilmot has had a career as a public man which has given him notoriety without inspiring confidence. Imperfectly acquainted with the practical action of the State government; without experience either in the legislative or executive departments; with but a limited knowledge of public men and State affairs beyond his immediate local ity—he is presented upon a comparatively remote national issue, as the candidate of a bitter sectional party which received a merited defeat at the recent Presidential election. It is not believed that his career in Congress exhibited any high capacity to promote the interests of the people of Pennsylvania, and it is certain that his recent course in the office he now holds, has been calculated to lower the judicial character by connecting it with extreme and violent partisan dispute.

Nimrod Strickland, of Chester county, was named by the Convention for Canal Commissioner. He needs no recommendation at our hands, for his integrity, firmness and capacity are not disputed and are widely recognized It will be a pleasure to those who belong to our party, and for all who desire to consult fitness and merit in bestowing their suffrages, to give him their cordial support.

By reason of the declination, by Chief Justice Lewis, of the re-nomination tendered him by the Convention, and the calling of Judge Black to the post of Attorney General in the National Administration, the Convention, upon its re-assembling in June, found the duty devolved upon it of naming two candidates for the Supreme Bench. Wm. Strong, of Berks county, a distinguished member of the bar, and formerly a Member of Congress,, and James Thompson, of Erie, also a former Member of Congress, once a President Judge of the Common Pleas, an ex-Member of the Legislature, and a profound and successful lawyer, were selected by the Convention. Their locations are suitable. giving both the East and the West a representation upon the ticket, and their learning and integrity well qualify them to discharge highest judicial position under our Constitu-

Such is the ti ket formed by the delegates representing the Democratic party, and support of it is confidently asked in view of the character of the nominations. But confidence and support is also invited upon the general grounds of policy and principle upon which our party stand. Ours is no new, un tried, vindictive, sectional, or suspicious orization. It has been tried; it is bold and open in conduct; it is magnanimous, patriotic and national. Founded more than half I. Never marry for wealth. A woman's a century ago by the author of the Declaracareer, upon a strict construction of the Con-3. Never marry a niggard, close fisted, mean stitution, and a sparing use of the powers of oraid wretch, who saves every penny or government, has preserved our American

The usefulness of organized parties is sometimes denied, and often doubted. But in view and arise of necessity under their operation. drawls and draggles through life, one foot ical parties and the causes which produce after another, and lets things take their own them, can scarcely be expected to constitute the subject of a fugitive address. It will be sufficient for present purposes to assert the necessity of our party to check the evil and Such treatment is a sure indication of a mean dangerous influences to which our political system is liable, and against which it is impossible that written constitutions can guard. ments to which they have been subjected have rendered them more complete and pernegligent of his dress, and is filthy in his feet than they were at first. But a constituhabits. The external appearance is a index tion can only be an outline for the action of government, (besides providing for its establishment) and by construction it may be made to mean almost anything the political authorization, therefore, founded upon right princi-

absolutely required to give a just and con-

constitution and in cases where the constitu- the future. tion is silent. Besides, the instability of political action in republics is a reproach to which they have been often subjected, and is the objection to them which has had greatest corruption and the accumulation of public weight with profound and independent think- debts. The proposition now before the people ers in the old world and the new. But this for the amendment of the Constitution to instability which arises principally from individual ambition, the selfishness of classes, and

principles of public policy, and acting constantly with reference to them. Now, the Democratic party is simply the representative of a school of opinion, and its creed is given it by those who founded and have subsequently supported it. The great whose names will remain stamped priminentupon which its administration should proceed Our party is the product of their efforts; the nstrument for accomplishing the ends they proposed, and it remains a monument of their food, drink, equipage, or other like concern agacity, foresight, and patriotism.

agacity, foresight, and patriotism. They held that over-action in government was a great evil-the most difficult to be guarded against, and therefore the most dangerous-and that both within and without the Constitution powerful guards against were required. Proverbial language conveys the idea in declaring that " the world is governed too much," and that " that governbest which governs least;" and philosoph cal reasoning attains the same result in concluding, that government, being the creature f necessity, is limited by the necessities which reate it, and is not to be extended beyond hem. The Democratic party has therefore held, and holds that Constitutions shall receive a strict construction; that government subject further, this view of the fundamental shall exercise no powers not clearly delegated ground of difference between public men and shall exercise no powers not clearly delegated to it, and that in cases of doubt as to the poliy of a particular measure, he conclusion shall be against it. In short, that public power shall not be exerted except where a clear warrant and manifest utility authorize and

the history of the National and State governments, and the occasional departure from it tand as beacons to warn, and not as exam-

ples to follow. To illustrate our remarks, we will refer policy heretofore proposed to the general or of opinion have existed among public men and parties. They will afford data for judging the value of the Democratic doctrine on the subject of Government powers and policy of which we have spoken.

stated. Second-Internal Improvements to be constructed at the charge of the national treasury, to facilitate internal trade, and assist in developing the material resources of particuof this description appearing, and the manifest dangers to which they lead being apparent, the action of our Federal Government on this subject has been rightfully and wisely arrested.

Third-Excessive duties upon imports, to extent of prohibition upon their importation or to the production of revenue beyond the legitimate wants of the government. The federal power of imposing duties being for the expressed object of Government support and the liquidation of public indebtedness its exercise for an entirely different object would eem unwarranted, and would be unjust to nterests or individuals against whom a discrimination is thus produced. Therefore it is against much misconception and the oppos tion of powerful interests, the doctrine of limited and reasonable duties has been sternly opposed, and, upon the whole, successfully

Fourth-The distribution of moneys from he national treasury among the States, believed to be equally unwarranted with the preceding measures, and inevitably tending to the production of speculation and extravagance in the States, has also been resisted. and except upon a single occasion, prevented, Fifth-A bankrupt act, dissolving the relations of debtor and creditor in a manner and to an extent unauthorized by the Constitution, disastrous to private rights, injurious to morals, and to the encouragement, mainly, of one of the least meritorious classes of society -the speculator and the spendthrift. With hot haste under the lash of public opinion, the very authors of such an act in 1842 were coerced into its repeal.

Sixth--Appropriations of public money or anda, to objects of doubtful constitutionality or utility; connected with which, may be mentioned the allowance of claims, iusuffi ently established or unjust. The Democratic principle strikes as decisively at all projects for assailing the treasury, for an individual; a class, or a section, in the absence of clear right to justify the demand, as it does at other unwarranted or doubtful measures.

Seventh-The exercise of jurisdiction by the General Government over slavery in the territories, to the exclusion of local decision therein. Legislation by Congress upon slavery beyond the express requirement as to re-turn of fugitives, is to be doubted, and if regard is had to high judicial decision, expressy denied, as a valid exercise of power. And its inxpediency is yet more plainly manifest, in view of the dangerous disputes which such action invariably produces. Most clearly, therefore, is it to be deprecated and opposed, upon the general doctrine of non-action by government in doubtful cases. Eighth—The establishment of corporations

either excessive as to number or vested with inordinate powers or privileges; and especially for pursuits or business within the reach of individual means and skill. Under which head is to be particularly noted the chartering of banks beyond the business wants of ternity of party. But the coincidence of a thing of arrant folly as well as of real evil, the community, locating them at points with marked principle, moral and political, with a There stands the facts I no longer to be out adequate commerce or exchange to afford geographical line, once conceived, I feared perverted or denied, and they exhibit the ization, therefore, founded upon right principles of constitutional construction and powerful and constantly influencing official action,

may be regarded as necessary. It is, in short, fraud as are demanded by experience. The occasion, and receiving irritations until it recent resolution on this subject by our State sistent direction to the government, both in Convention, but indicates the well considercases dependent upon construction of the ed position of our party and its policy for

Ninth-The authorizing of municipal subscriptions to railroads and other corporate bodies to the encouragement of speculation, prevent this in future, is but in affirmance of pressed with the sacred principles of the Holy the principle we have been considering; for Alliance of Restrictionist?" And to Gen. powerful objections, to the system, upon grounds of expediency, untouched and irre-

sistable. Tenth-The sale or surrender by Government, in whole or in part, of any constitutional powers confided to it by the people men who have spoken and acted for it, and The attempt to do this in the late act for the sale of the Main Line of the public works; an ly up on the history of the country, have attempt which was denounced by the State of our sons imbibing opinions and principles been men of strong, clear and sound views of | Convention, and has since been pronounced our system of government, and of the rules unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, may be cited under this head, and deserved that reprobation which it has generally received. Eleventh-Sumptuary laws, by which dress

> terference of law in such cases would seem to be unuseful, and is of doubtful authority. Twelfth-Finally, measures directed against a class or sect, and intended to degrade them or limit their civil privileges. It is affirmed that neither religious belief nor birth place taining power \* have changed their will furnish ground for ostracism or a denial

of common right. Such are some of the leading measures upon which political divisions have taken place, and on their careful examination it will be seen, that they can all be resolved into the general question whether the powers and action of government shall be extensive or limited. And if we should pursue the parties would but be confirmed and strength-

We are left then to choose sides in the struggle between power and liberty-between a government that meddles and one that abstains, between political New Englandism The powerful (and we think salutary) op-eration of this doctrine appears throughout ity is not possible, for almost every public not its extinction, its leaders got up the Mis-

our party to claim that they retained their riefly to a number of measures of public principles unchanged, and even opposing State government, and upon which divisions the the faith and doctrines of Jefferson. How their leaders for a while with a zeal truly unfounded such pretensions are, whether ad- moral and laudible, until they became sensivanced by apostate or party, will appear from ble that they were injuring instead of aiding considering the measures of public policy they propose and support. If we find them f which we have spoken.

favoring new projects of doubtful right or ex
First—A bank created by the General pediency, contending for extensive jurisdic
HYPOCHISY then fell as quickly as it had Government, owned, in part by it, and inten- tion for government, and scoffing at constitut been got up." ded for the regulation of the currency, and tional scruples as " abstractions," we may be to afford facilities to commerce and business. sure they are no disciples of the philanthro-This measure was resisted, and all recent at- pist, philosopher, and statesman who founded empts to establish such an institution have our party, and who wrote to Edward Livingbeen put down on the very grounds above ston as late as 1824, to endorse the sentiment that "if we have a doubt relative to any power, we ought not to exercise it." Much more may we deny their discipleship, if we Missouri agitation, bears precisely the same find their measures connected with intol- description, and is obnoxious to precisely erance in religion, proscription of adopted the same ceusure. And it is to be relar sections. No clear authority for outlays citizens, or aggressions upon territorial or marked that like its predecessor it invokes ate rights, which is manifestry a true de- the legislation of Congress in a case of rank scription , at this moment, of the parties op- inexpediency and doubtful power, and hence

posed to us. The (so called) Republican party makes principle as to limited action by Government. high pretensions and challenges their exami- which has been a topic of this address. nation-but there can be little diffiuelty in determining their character and value, and be incomplete without some particular notice assigning the party which holds them its true of the features of its career. Without tracing be a work of ease, to explude its pretensions Abolition societies, the circulation of incento sound opinions as held by former Republi- diary matter through the mails, agitation by can Presidents, and to bring it within the petitions to Congress, clamorous opposition condemnation which they directed against the to the annexation of Texas, and to the prosection

similar to the recent conduct of those who pute which accompanied, the organization of misdescribe themselves as Republicans. In the Republican party in its present form. both cases the proposition was that Congress should prohibit slavery in territories (or cause gress in 1846, as an amendment to the war it to be probibited) prior to the admission as bill, and was (briefly described) a proposition States. The argument against this was sta- to prohibit slavery in Mexican territory to be ted by Mr. Madison, in the Walsh letters, under all the high sanctions which his abilities continued some four years. The national harand his position as leading author of the mony was disturbed and the public business Constitution could coufer upon it. And it impeded by it, until it became necessary for s as well established as any historical fact patriotic men, in Congress and out of it, to can be, that Mr. Jefferson was opposed to the unite their utmost efforts to restore peace Missouri agitation throughout, and to the and secure such legislation as was absolutely prohibitions of slavery by Congressional co-necessary for the territory in question. The ercion as then proposed. His celebrated Compromise Measures were therefore passed letter to John Holmes, dated 22d April, 1820, in 1850, and eventually received the general furnishes conclusive proof of this, and confir approval of the people. In fact, in 1852, both furnishes conclusive proof of this, and confirmation of this fact will be found in other the great parties of the country endorsed parts of his published correspondence. In his them in their platforms, and their wisdom letter to John Adams of December 10th, 1819, and propriety are not now a subject of generhe says, that, "from the battle of Bunker al dispute. Hill to the treaty of Paris, we never had so . The territory we acquired from Mexico by ominous a question; it even damps the joy the treaty of peace—the treaty of Gaudaloupe with which I hear of your high health and Hidalgo—was comprised of nearly the whole welcomes to me the want of it. I thank God, now included in the State of California and I shall not live to witness its issue," In a Territories of Utah and New Mexico, and the letter to the same, April 22d, 1821, he says Proviso, if it had been adopted, would there-- What does the Holy Alliance in and out fore been applicable solely to them. But the of Congress intend to do with us on the Mis- Proviso was never adopted or applied by souri question? And this, by the way, is Congress to either. California was admitted

but the name of the case: it is only the into the Union as a State with the Constitu-John Doe or Richard Roe of the ejectment, tion she formed for herself without any de-The real question, as seen in the States af cision by Congress on the subject of slavery flicted with this unfortunate population, is within her limits. That was adjusted by her-are our slaves to be presented with freedom self in her Constitution, and by her own act and a dagger." He says to Mr. Monroe, therefore she entered the Union as a free March 3d, 1820-" the Missouri question is State. In the acts for the organization of the most portentious one which ever yet Utah and New Mexico as Territories, there threatened our Union. In the gloomiest were no provisions probibiting or authorizing moments of the Revolutionary war, I never slavery, but it was expressly provided that had any apprehension equal to that which I they should eventually come into the Union felt from this source." To Mr. Short, April with or without slavery, as the people of each 13th, 1820-he writes-" Although I had should decide, in forming Constitutions prelaid down as a law to myself never to write, paratory to admission. Seven years have talk, or even think of politics; to know noth- elapsed since these Territorial acts were passed, ing of public affeirs; and had therefore ceased and no complaint is heard against them nor to read newspapers; yet the Missouri ques- has slavery been established in either Territo. tion aroused and filled me with alarm. The ry. It is therefore, proved that the Wilmot old schism of Federal and Republican threat: Proviso was wholly unnecessary to the exened nothing, because it existed in every clusion of slavery, and that the agitation from State, and united them together by the fra. 1818 to 1850 to secure its enactment was a

would kindle such mutual and moral hatred.

as to render the separation preferable to eter-nal discord." He says to Joseph C. Catell, January 31st, 1821—"How many of our youth, she (Harvard College) now has learning the lesson of Anti-Missouri ism, I know, not; but a gentleman lately from Princeton told me he saw a list of students at that place, and that more than half were Virginians. These will return home no doubt deeply imsuch as will not soon, I fear, be obliterated; and we are now trusting to those who are against us in position and principle, to fash-ion to their own form the minds and affections of our youth. If, as has been estimated we send three hundred thousand dollars a year to the northern seminaries for the instruction of our sons, then we must have five hundred in discord with those of their own country This canker is eating on the vitals of our existence, and, if not arrested at once, will be beyond remedy." In a letter to Mr. Madison, in reference to the Missouri question, be declared that Rufus King (a distinguished federalist) was "ready to risk the Union for any chance of restoring his party to power, and wiggling himself to the head of it." On another occasion, he declared the question to

be "a mere party trick," that the leaders of

federalism defeated in their schemes of obtact and thrown out another barrel to the whale. They are taking advantage of the virtuous feeling of the people to effect a divis-ion of parties by a geographical line, expecting that this will ensure them, upon local principles the majority they could never obtain on principles of federalism." And, finally, his letter to Gen. La Fayette, dated November 4th, 1823, contains his judgment of the whole movement, expressed with his usual directness and vigor. He says: "The Hartford Convention, the Victory of Orleans, and the Peace of Ghent, prostrated the name of federalism. Its votaries abandoned it through shame and mortification, AND NOW CALL THEM-SELVES REPUBLICANS. But the name alone is changed, the principles are the same." \* \* question that arises compels us to choose between contending parties, and the schools of
opinion which they respectively represent.

It has been fashionable for apostates from

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REAL VIEW OF PRODUCING A GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISION OF PARTIES. WHICH MIGHT ENSURE THEM THE NEXT PRESIDENT. The people of the parties occasionally advanced pretensions to North went blindfold into the snare, followed the real interests of the slaves, that they had BEEN USED MERELY AS TOOLS FOR ELECTION-

This is an admirable description of the Republican party of the present day-of the causes which led to it, and of the object of its founders. The picture is drawn by the hand of a master, and represents the featureof the subject with fidelity and exactness. Republicanism being but a reproduction of falls within the condemnation of the general

But a view of modern Republicanism would position before the public. Especially will it its early movements in the organization of heritical movements of the times in which they lived.

The resistance made about 1820, to the sufficient to notice somewhat the Wilmot admission of Missouri into the Union, was Troviso which preceded, and the Kansas dis-

> The Wilmot Proviso was offered in Conacquired. It created contention which con-