THE TELEGRAPH
IS PUBLISHED EVERY DAY,
By GEORGE BERGNER.

TERMS.—SINGLE SUBSCRIPTION.

The DAILY TELEGRAPH is served to subscribers in the City at 5 cents per week. Yearly subscribers will be charged $4 00, in advance

WEEKLY AND SEMI-WEEKLY TELEGRAPH.

The TELEGRAPH is also published twice a week during the session of the Legislature, and weekly during the remainder of the year, and furnished to subscribers at the following cash rates, viz:

Single subscribers per year Semi-Weekly..$1 50
Ten " " " " ..12 00
Twenty " " " " ..22 00
Single subscriber, Weekly..... 1 00

THE LAW OF NEWSPAPERS.

If subscribers order the discontinuance of their newspapers, the publisher may continue to send them until all arrearages are paid

If subscribers neglect or refuse to take their newspapers from the office to which they are directed, they are responsible until they have settled the bills and ordered them discontinued.

Pennsylvania Daily Telegraph.

"INDEPENDENT IN ALL THINGS—NEUTRAL IN NONE."

VOL XVII. HARRISBURG, PA., SATURDAY AFTERNOON, FEBRUARY 22, 1862. NO. 42

BY TELEGRAPH.

From our Morning Edition.

From Washington.

The Reported Proposals of the Rebels to Surrender Nashville.

FROM THE POTOMAC FLOTILLA.

Reconnoissance up the Occoquan Creek.

DEATH OF THE PRESIDENT'S SON.

Postponement Of the Proposed Illumination.

RELEASE OF STATE PRISONERS

WASHINGTON, Feb. 21.

It is believed that notification has been received here other than that brought by the Norfolk steamboat, relative to the reported proposal of the rebels to surrender Nashville.

The steamer Stepping Stone arrived at the Navy Yard this morning from the upper flotilla.

Yesterday morning this steamer, with a launch and boats crew from the Yankee, went on a reconnoissance up the Occaquan creek some four miles.

Lieut. Eastman sent out acting-master Lawrence with the launch, who visited the north and south shores of the creek, penetrating a short distance into the interior, but without finding any signs of the rebels.

Just as the launch was leaving the south side of the creek, a brisk fire was opened on them by the rebels from five or six field pieces, posted in a clumb of wood. Some forty shells were thrown by the enemy, all of which flew uncomfortably near the 'Stepping-Stones," but doing no damage save slightly tearing the flag. The fire was returned from the Stepping-Stones, and a howitzer in the launch plunged a shower of rfled shot into the cover of the rebels, which undoubtedly damaged them, as the fire of the enemy soon slackened.

The following was addressed to the Senate and House of Representatives, but Congress adjourned before it was transmitted to them:

The President of the United States was last evening plunged into affliction by the death of a beloved child. The heads of the departments, in consideration of this distressing event, thought it would be agreeable to Congress and to the American people that the official and private buildings occupied by them should not be illuminated on the evening of the 22d inst.

[Signed] WM. H. SEWARD,
S. P. CHASE,
E. M. STANTON,
GIDEON WELLES,
EDW'D BATES,
M BLAIR.

The Cabinet held their meeting at the State Department. The public buildings will not therefore be illuminated, the arrangements for that purpose being suspended.

The following prisoners of state will be released on the 22d inst., by order of the War Department, on their parole of honor to render no aid or comfort to the enemies in hostility to the government of the United States, in accordance with executive order No. 1 of the War Department, dated Feb. 4, 1862, in reference to political prisoners.

Fort Lafayette—W. S. Caste, Guy S. Hopkins, David N. Waddle, Geo. W. Jones, N. S. Ranran, J. M. Ogden, Theo. Olearv, Robt. Buckly, C. H. Marriott, Thos. Quigley, John Haigens, J. O. Burnett. M. Smith, Robt. M. Kaime, Edward C. Catterell, E. H. M'Cubbin, J. L. Coleman, J. K Runnell, P. O'Brien, A. Thompson, Rutson Maury, E. M. Sones, Geo. Julius, J. Garnett Guthrie, Christopher Lederidge. J. M. Perkiss, Thos. Matthews, Daniel C. Hall, R. Lewis, Isiah Butler, Path Brady, Iho. Brookbank, R. C. Holland, J. P. Juayne, William Grosse, J. H. Weaver, H. Stung, J. Junth, Wm. Perry.

Fort Warren.—J. R. Barbour, B. Barton, R. S. Felshe, R. S. Freeman, J. A. Douglas, P. F. Newton, G Shackleford, F. D. Flanders, Jas. Brown, Edward Barned O'Nell, Wm. St. George, Charles Keene, Wm. H. Gatchal, J. Harrison Thomas, T. F. Raisin, J. R. Flanders, W. W. Barr, A. De Costo, Wm. H. Winder, R. S. Grisons, S. F. Newton, E. Sibin, Parker H. French, G. C. Wyatt, Geo. Van Ameringe, J English, Wm. G. Harrison, Robt. M. Dennison, Wm. T. M'Cune, H. M. Warfield.

FROM NEW YORK.

EXECUTION OF GORDEN THE SLAVE TRADER.

REINFORCEMENTS FOR GEN. BURNSIDE.

HIS FORCE INCREASED TO FORTY THOUSAND.

NEW YORK, Feb. 21.

Nathaniel Gordon, the convicted slaver, was executed at noon to-day, in the Toombs. He made no speech. The unfortunate man attempted to commit suicide last night by smoking cigars which were saturated with strychnine.

The *Post* this evening says reinforcements have been sent to General Burnside, which will increase his force to 40,000.

FROM CHICAGO.

Arrival of Fort Donelson Prisoners.

CHICAGO, Feb. 21.

Twenty-two hundred Fort Donelson prisoners arrived this morning, and more are expected to morrow.

BURNING OF A LAKE STEAMER.

CLEVELAND, Feb. 21.

The steamer North Star was burned at the wharf last night. Loss about seventy-five thousand dollars. Insured one-third of its value.

The Star-Spangled Banner.

Oh! say can you see by the dawn's early light
What so proudly we hail'd at the twilight's last gleaming?
Whose broad stripes and bright stars thro' the perilous fight,
O'er the ramparts we watched were so gallantly streaming;
And the rocket's red glare; the bombs bursting in air.
Gave proof through the night that our flag was still there!
Oh! say does the star-spangled banner yet wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?

On the shore dimly seen thro' the mists of the deep,
Where the foe's haughty host in dread silence reposes,
What is that which the breeze, o'er the towering steep
As it fitfully blows, half conceals, half discloses:
Now it catches the gleam of the morning's first beam,
In full glory reflected now shines on the stream;
'Tis the star-spangled banner! oh long may it wave,
O'er the land of the free, and the home of the brave!

And where is that band who so vauntingly swore,
Mid the havoc of war and the battle's confusion,
A home and a country should greet us no more?
Their blood shall wash out their foul footsteps, pollution;
No refuge can save the hirling and slave,
From the terror of flight, or the gloom of the grave,
And the star-spangled banner! in triumph shall wave,
O'er the land of the free, and the home of the brave!

Oh! thus be it ever, when freemen shall stand
Between their lov'd homes, and the war's desolation.
Blest with victory and peace, may the heav'n rescued land,
Praise the power that hath made and preserved us a nation;
Then conquer we must, for our cause it is just,
Let this be our motto—In God be our trust.
And the star-spangled banner! in triumph shall wave,
O'er the land of the free, and the home of the brave!

My Country, 'tis of Thee.

My country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing;
Land where our father's died,
Land of the pilgrim's pride,
From ev'ry mountain side,
Let freedom ring.

My native country, thee—
Land of the noble, free—
Thy name I love;
I love thy rocks and rills,
Thy woods and templed hills;
My heart with rapture thrills
Like that above.

Let music swell the breeze,
And ring from all the trees
Sweet freedom's song;
Let mortal tongues awake;
Let all that breathe partake;
Let rocks their silence break,
The sound prolong.

Our father's God, to thee,
Author of liberty,
To thee we sing;
Long may our land be bright
With freedom's holy light;
Protect us by thy might,
Great God, our king.

My Own Native Land.

I've roamed o'er the mountain,
I've crossed o'er the flood,
I've traversed the wave-rolling sand;
Tho' the fields were as green,
And the moon shone as bright,
Yet it was not my own native land.
No, no, no, no, no, no.

The right hand of friendship
How oft have I grasped,
And bright eyes have smiled and looked bland,
Yet happier far,
Were the hours that I passed
In the west, in my own native land.
Yes, yes, yes, yes, yes, yes.

Then hail, dear Columbia,
The land that we love,
Where flourishes Liberty's tree;
'Tis the birthplace of freedom,
Our own native home,
'Tis the land, 'tis the land of the free.
Yes, yes, yes, yes, yes, yes.

THE REBEL DEFENCES at Fort Donelson were most formidable. They were well fortified on two immense hills, with their fort near the river on a lower piece of ground. From the foot of their entrenchments rifle pits and abattes extended up the river, behind the town of Dover. Their fortifications on the land side, back from the river, were at least four miles in length.

Markets by Telegraph.

NEW YORK, Feb. 21.

Cotton unsettled—sales 3,000 bales at 22@23. Flour heavy; sales of 10,000 barrels at a decline of 5c.; state $5 50@5 55, Ohio $6@6 10, southern 6@6 80. Wheat heavy; sales of 6,000 bus. at $2 48 for red Delaware. Corn heavy; sales of 80,000 bus. at 63½@65. Beef firm. Pork buoyant at $13 50@14 for mess, and 9 50@10 25. Lard firm at 7½@8. Whiskey firm at 25½@26½.

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Friends and Fellow Citizens:

The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds the dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuence hitherto in, the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference to what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or impropriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that, in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualification, experience, in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more that the abode of retirement is as necessary to me, as it will be welcome. Satisfied that, if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my political life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more, for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging—in situations in which, not unfrequently, want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows, that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete by so careful a preservation, and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and the adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motives to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of the government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is the main pillar in the edifice of your real independence; the support of your tranquility at home; your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to forsee that, from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively, (though often covertly and insidiously,) directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual and immovable attachment to it; accostoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can, in any event, be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth, or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections The name of American, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits and political principles—you have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess, are the work of joint counsels and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are generally outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The *North*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *South*, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The *South*, in the same intercourse, benefitting by the agency of the *North*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the *North*, it finds its particular navigation invigoted; and while it contributes in different ways to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The *East*, in a like intercourse with the *West*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which each brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The *West* derives from the *East* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort—and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the *secure* enjoyment of indispensable *outlets* for its own productions, to the weight, influence, and the maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as *one nation*. Any other tenure by which the *West* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connexion with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resources, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union, an exemption from those broils and wars, between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries, not tied together by the same government, which their own rivalship alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments and intrigues, would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is, that your Union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective sub-divisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a full and fair experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who, in any quarter, may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by *geographical* discriminations—*northern* and *southern*—*Atlantic* and *western*; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country, have lately had a useful lesson on this head; they have seen, in the negotiation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event throughout the United States, a decisive proof of how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them, of a policy in the general government and in the Atlantic States, unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi. They have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them everything they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the Union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such they are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens?

To the efficiency and permanency of your Union, a government of the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parties, can be an adequate sustitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances, in all times, have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay by the adoption of a constitution of government, better calculated than your former, for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and alter their constitutions of government. But the Constitution which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government, pre-supposes the duty of the individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of laws, all combinations and associations under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force, to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation the will of party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common counsels, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associotions of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men, will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which had lifted him to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government and the supremacy of your present happy state, it as requisite not only that you steadily discountenance irregular opposition to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown.—In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of so much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensible. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed, and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the State, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discrimination. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissensions, which, in different ages and countries, has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, (which, nevertheless, ought not to be entirely out of sight,) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public counsels and enfeeble the public administration.—It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against the other; foments occasional riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which finds a facilitated access to the government itself, through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true; and in governments of a monarchial cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutory purpose. And, there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigale and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding, in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power and proneness to abuse it which predominate in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks, in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasion by the others, has been evinced by experiments, ancient and modern; some of them in our own country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance, in permanent evil, any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, Religion and Morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connexions with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation *desert* the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us, with caution, indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends, with more or less force, to every species of free government. Who, that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is, to use it as sparingly as possible, avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also, that timely disbursements, to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding, likewise, the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense but by vigorous exertions, in time of peace, to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to our representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that toward the payment of debts there must be revenue; that there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised, which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper object, (which is always a choice of difficulties,) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measure for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct, and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, in no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt but, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantage which might be lost by a steady adherence to it; can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! it is rendered impossible by its vices.

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that in place of them, just, amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated.—The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty or its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another, disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence, frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impel to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts, through passion, what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations, has been the victim.

So, likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another, produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enemies of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducements or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite nation, of privileges denied by others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill will, and a disposition to retaliate in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupted or deluded citizens, (who devote themselves to the favorite nation,) facility to betray, or sacrifices the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influences in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils? Such an attachment of a small or weak towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

[CONCLUSION ON FOURTH PAGE.