BY GEORGE BERGNER.

HARRISBURG, PA., SATURDAY MORNING, FEBRUARY 22, 1862.

PRICE ONE CENT.

# From Washington.

The Reported Proposals of the Rebels to Surjender Nashville.

PROM THE EMPORAC FLOTILLA Reconnoissance in 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 trom the upper flotilla. Yesterday morning this steamer, with launch and boats crew from the Yankee, went on a reconnoissance up the Occaquan creek

Lieut. Eastman sent out acting-master Law rence with the launch, who visited the north and south shores of the creek, penetrating a short distance into the interior, but withou 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 uncom fortably 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 riled shot into the cover of the rebels, which undoubtedly damaged them, as the fire of the

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 Oh! thus be it ever, when freemen shall stand 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 o [Signed]

WM. H. SEWARD, S. P. CHASE, E. M. STANTON, GIDFON 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 re-leased on the 22d inst., by order of the War Department, on their parole of honor to render no a'd 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

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. Rancan, 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. Ronnell, P. O'Brien, A. Thompson, man, J. K. Runnell, P. O'Brien, A. Thompson, Rutson Maury, E. M. Sones, Geo. Julius, J. Garnett Guthrie, Christopher Lederidge, J. M. Perkins, Thos. Matthews, Daniel C. Hall, R. Leais, Islah Butler, Path Brady, Tho. Brookbank, R. C. Holland, J. P. Juayne, William Grosse, J. H. Weaver, H. Stung, J. Junth, Wm.

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. Blown, Elward Barned O'Neil, Wm. St. Georg Charles Keene, Wm. H. Gatchal, J. Harnen Thomas, T. F. Raisin, J. R. Flanders Assissa 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. Etzlish, Wm. G. Harrison, Robt. M. Denni Man, Wm. T. M'Cune, H. M. Warfield.

### FROM NEW YORK

EXECUTION OF GORDEN THE SLAVE TRADER.

BEINFORCEMENTS FOR GEN. BURNSIDE.

HIS FORCE INCREASED TO FORTY THOUSAND.

NEW YORK, Feb. 21.

Nathaniel Gordon, the convicted slaver, was treated at noon to-day, in the Toombs. He bade no speech. The unfortunate man attempted to commit sulcide last night by thoking cigars which were saturated with streeting. The Post this evening says reinforcements lave been sent to General Burnside, which will lace ase his force to 40,000.

FROM CHICAGO

CHICAGO, Feb. 21. Twenty-two hundred Fort Donelson prisoners arrived this morning, and more are expected

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

Gave proof through the night that our flag was still there l 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 tower-As it fitfully blows, half conceals, half dis-Now it catches the gleam of the morning's first

In full glory reflected now shines on the 'Tis the star-spangled banner i 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

Mid the havor of war and the battle's con-

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, C'er the land of the free, and the home of

Between their lov'd homes, and the war'desolation. Blest with victory and peace, may the heav'n rescued land.

Praise the power that hath made and pre-served us an ition;
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

My Country, 'tis of Thee.

My country, 'tis of thee, Sweet land of liberty, Of thee I sing; 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; 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. 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.

THE REBEL DEFENCES at Fort Donelson were Arrival of Fort Donelson Prisoners. abattes extended up the river, penning the land of Dover. Their fortifications on the land side, back from the river, were at least four miles in length.

Yes, yes, yes, yes, yes, yes.

#### Markets by Telegraph.

NEW YORK, Feb. 21. Cotton unsettled—sales 3,000 hales at 22@ WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.

TO THE PROPLE 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 clotned 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.

justice to be assured, that this resolution has erry you possess, are the work of joint counsels not been taken without a strict regard to all and joint efforts, of common dargate, full reliefs which binds the dutitul citizen to his country:

But these considerations are the work of joint counsels and successes.

But these considerations has been described as the successes. which silence in my situation might imply, I generally outweigned by those which apply am influenced by no diminution of zeal for more immedia ely to your interest. Here every your future interest; no deficiency of grateful espect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuence hither to in, the office to which your suffrages have twice common government, finds in the productions called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of in- of the latter, great additional resources of marcalled me, have been a uniform sacrifice of in- of the latter, great additional resources of marchination to the opinion of duty, and to a defer- itime and commercial enterprise, and precious ence to what appeared to be your desire. I materials of manufacturing industry. The constantly hoped that it would have been much south, in the same intercourse, benefitting by earlier in my power, consistently with motives the agency of the North, sees its agriculture which I was not at liberty to disregard, to regrow and its commerce expand. Turning turn to that retirement from which I had been partly into its own channels the seamen of the reluctantly drawn. The strength of my incli-North, it finds its particular navigation invigonation to do this pravious to the last also led; and while it contributes in different more reluctantly drawn. The strength of my incli-nation to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an ad-

ministration of the government, the best exer or from an apostate and unnatural connexion tions of which a very fallible judgment was with any foreign power, must be intrinsically capable. Not unconscious in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualification, experience, in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of feels an immediate and particular interest in others, has strengthened the motives to diffiunion, all the parts combined cannot fail to find of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me nore and er strength, greater resources, proportionably more that the abode of retirement is as necesigneater security from external danger, a less sary to me, as it will be welcome. Satisfied frequent interruption of their peace by foreign that, if any circumstances have given peculiar nations; and, what is of inestimable value, value to my services, they were temporary, they must derive train union, an exemption. that, if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporar?, I have the consolation to believe that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the po-litical 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 try from these services, let it always be re-membered 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 apto my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows, that Heaven may continue to you the work of your hands, may be sacredly main-tained—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 preserva-tion, and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommendand western; whence designing men may ening it to the applause, the affection, and the deavor to excite a belief that there is a real dit adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger

ery ligament of your hearts, no recommenda-tion of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment

tutes you one people, is also now dear to you. be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the Union by which they ifice of your real independence; the support of were procured? Will they not henceforth be 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 Joyce Their fortifications and the lower piece of ground. From different guarters, much pains will be Union, a government of the whole is indiscasy to forsee that, from different causes and rom different quarters, much pains will be Union, a government of the whole is indistaken, many artifices employed, to weaken in pensable. No alliances, however strict, beyour minds the conviction of this truth; as tween the parties, can be an adequate sustitute; this is the point in your political fortress they must inevitably experience the infractions against which the batteries of internal and example and interruptions which all alliances, in all ernal enemies will be most constantly and actimes, have experienced. Sensible of this motwelly, (though often coverly and insidiously,)
mentous truth, you have improved upon your
directed, it is of infinite moment that you
should properly estimate the immense value of
of government, better calculated than your BURNING OF A LAKE STEAMER.

CLEVELAND, Feb. 21.

The steamer North Star was burned at the last night. Loss about seventy-five languaged dollars.

Insured one-third of its.

Cotton unsettled—sales 3,000 bales at 22@ directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of government, better calculated than your should properly estimate the immense value of government, better calculated than your this position. The according to the truth of government, better calculated than your should properly estimate the immense value of government, better calculated than your this position. The according to the truth of government, better calculated than your should properly estimate the immense value of government, better calculated than your former, for an intimate union, and for the effication, southern 6@6 80. Wheat heavy; sales of 30,000 bus. at \$2.48 for red Delaware. Corp this government, the offspring of our own lawy; sales of 30,000 bus. at \$2.48 for red Delaware. Corp this government, the offspring of our own lawy; sales of 30,000 bus. at \$3.000 bus. at \$3

nantly 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 discrimination slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits and political princi-

they address themselves to your sensibility, are portion of onr country finds the wost command

ing motives for carefully guarding and preserving ing the union of the whole.

The North, in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the equal laws of a ted; and while it contributes in different ways tion, 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 natious, and itself is unequally adapted. The East, in a like intercourse with the West, already finds, and in the projection 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 the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or impropriety; and ampersuaded, whatever partiality may be retained what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it for my services, that, in the present circum must of necessity over the seare enjoyment of to nourish and increase the general mass of the

persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained, what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it 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 impressions with which I first undertook attempts of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interper 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 exer-

in the united mass of means and efforts, great from those broils and wars, between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring counties, 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 setablishments, which are overgrown military establishments, which, under any form of government, are inauspicious it has supported me; and for the opportunities to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this violable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to ered as a main prop of your liberty, and that my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our coun-

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 pearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of doubt whether a common government can emfortune often discouraging—in situations in brace so large a sphere? Let experience solve which, not unfrequently, want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism—the constancy of your support was the essential prop a proper organization of the whole, with the stancy of your support was the essential prop a proper organization of the whole, with the of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans, by auxiliary agency of governments for the rewhich they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to the experiment. It is well worth a full and to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasvious motives to union, affecting all parts of the choicest tokens of its beneficence—that our country, white experience shall not have your union and brotherly affection may be demonstrated its impracticability, there will perpetual—that the free constitution, which is 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 - Alluntic and western; whence designing men may enference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within 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 ocnatural 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 together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a win the negotiation by the Exacutive, and in people. These will be offered to you with the treat with Spain and in the universal safe nore freedom, as you can only see in them the the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satdisinterested warnings of a parting friend, who isfaction at that event throughout the United can possibly have no personal motives to bias States, a decisive proof of how unfounded 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 with Great Britain and that with Spain, and that with Spain, and the with Spain and the with Sp which secure to them everything they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, to The unity of the government which consti- wards confirming their prosperity. Will it not

whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it ergy, and containing within itself a provision as necessary as to institute them. If, in the can, in any event, be abandoned; and indigfor its own amendment, has a just claim to opinion of the people, the distribution or modiyour confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiscence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty of the people to make and alter their constitu-tions 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 govern-

All obstructions to the execution of laws all combinations and associations mader what-ever 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 principle, and or facts tenuency. They serve their contextons with private and public removes to organize faction, to give it an artificial and ty. Let it simply be asked, where is the secuentraordinary force, to put in the place of the lity for property. for rejutation, for life, if 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 murror of the illoncerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and whole some 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 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 litted 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 ac-knowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its prinples, 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 untermine 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 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 indespensible. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed, and adjusted, he surest guardines. 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

joyment 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 manuer against the baueful effects of the spirit of party generally.
This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from

having itaro sions 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

nis elevation, or the ruius 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 sof-ficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it. 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 anitimes impel to war the government, contrary mosity of one part against the other; foments to the best calculations of policy. The governoccasional riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which propensity, and adopts, through passion, what 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 or the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, s probably true; and in governments of a monarchial cast, patriotism may look with indul-gence, 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 queuched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming,

stitutional 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 ble ways, such attachments are particularly heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of alarming to the truly enlightened and indepen-

for its own amendment, has a just claim to opinion of the people, the distribution or modiopinion 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 The basis of our political systems is the right usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the cust-mary 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

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 man and citizens. The respectively. men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to chrish them. A volume could not trace all their counexions with private and public f. lioicourts of justice? And let us, with caution, indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may e conceded to the influence of retined educa tion on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of reli-

gious principles. It is substantially true, that virtue or moral-It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends, with more or less to ce, 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? ion 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 enightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is, to use it as sparingly as possi-ble, avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also, that timely disbur-ements, 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 unavoida-ble wars may have occasioned, not ungenerousthe real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes, upon the 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 towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue 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 caudid construction of the conduct within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enof 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 narmony 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 el example of a people always guid exalted justice and benevolence. doubt but, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantage which might be los steady adverence to it; can it be that Provi-deuce 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

endered impossible by its vices. In the execution of such a plan, nothing is nore essential than that permanent, inveterate antinathies 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 hebitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its ani-mosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty or its interest. Antipathy in one nation against when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence, frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed by ill-will and resentment, somereason 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, faciliating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cas s where no real common intere-t exists, and infusing into one the enemies of the other, betrays the tormer into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducements or justification. It leads also to cone ssions to the tavorite nation, of privileges denied by others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions by to injure the nation making the concessions by unnece sarily parting with what ought to have 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 confine themselves within 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 be confined themselves within their respective confined themselves within the confined themselves within zens, (who devote 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 foolsh compliances of ambition, corruption or in-

As avenues to foreign influences in innumera-