TERMS OF THE "AMERICAN."

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From the National Intelligencer, Extra, March 4. Inaugural Address

PRESIDENT HARRISON.

Called from a retirement which I had supposed was to continue for the residue of my life, to fill the Chief Executive office of this great and free nation. I appear before you, fellow-citizens, to take the oaths which the Constitution prescribes, as a necessary qualification guage of our system, unalienable. for the performance of its duties. And in obedience to a custom coeval with our Government, and what I believe to be your expectations, I proceed to present to you a summary of the principles self under a sentence of death, for a supwhich will govern me, in the discharge posed violation of the national faith, of the duties which I shall be called u- which no one understood, and which at pon to perform.

ul, in an early period of that celebrated his family and his country, with or with-Republic, that a most striking contrast out alleged cause; that it was the act. was observable in the conduct of can- not of a single tyrant, or hated aristolidates for offices of power and trust, cracy, but of his assembled countrybefore and after obtaining them-they ledges and promises made in the forner. However much the world may ave improved, in many respects, in the upse of upwards of two thousand years ince the remark was made by the virjous and indignant Roman, I fear that strict axamination of the annals of ients, would develope similar instanes of violated confidence.

Although the fiat of the People has one forth, proclaiming me the Chief lagistrate of this glorious Union, noing upon their part remaining to be one, it may be thought that a motive ay exist to keep up the delusion under hich they may be supposed to have sted in relation to my principles and inions; and perhaps there may be me in this assembly who have come re either prepared to condemn those shall now diliver, or, approving them, doubt the sincerity with which they e uttered. But the lapse of a few onths will confirm or dispel their fears. e outline of principles to govern, and asures to be adopted, by an Adminration not vet begun, will soon be exanged for immutable history; and I

in Il stand, either exonerated by my 10 se who promised that they might de- ved, and personal liberty secured to the i ve, and flattered with the intention

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decisions of the majority, the vital principle of Republics, from which there is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism .- JEFFERSON.

By Masser & Eisely.

Sunbury, Northumberland Co. Pa. Saturday, March 13, 1841.

think proper to entrust to their agents, | increase itself, particularly when exer- | essentially and radically changed. This state of | and that which they could not have cised by a single individual, predictions things has been in part effected by causes inherent granted, not being possessed by themselves. In other words, there are certain rights possessed by each individual American citizen, which, in his compact with the others, he has never surrendered. Some of them, indeed, he is unable to surrender, being, in the lan-

The boasted privilege of a Roman citizen was to him a shield only against a petty provincial ruler, whilst the proud democrat of Athens could console him- fore given of my determination to arrest might exert in controlling the freedom of the electhe time was the subject of the mockery as this can be effected by any legitimate and more completely under the control of the Exe-It was the remark of a Roman Con- of all, or of banishment from his home. men. Far different is the power of our eldom carry out in the latter case the sovereignty. It can interfere with no rectives which may be applied. Some one's faith, prescribe forms of worship for no one's observance, inflict no punishment but after well ascertained guilt. the result of investigation under rules prescribed by the Constitution itself. These precious privileges, and those scarcely less important, of giving exome of the modern elective Governs, pression to his thoughts and opinions. either by writing or speaking, unrestrained but by the liability for injury to others, and that of a full participation in all the advantages which flow from the Government, the acknowledged property of all, the American citizen derives from no charter granted by his fellow man. He claims them because he is himself a Man, fashioned by the same Almighty hand as the rest of his species, and entitled to a full share

of the blessings with which he has en-

dowed them. Notwithstanding the limited sovereighty possessed by the People of the United States, and the restricted grant of power to the Government which they have adopted, enough has been given to accomplish all the objects for which it was created. It has been found powerful in war, and hitherto justice has been administered, an intimate union thing can be more corrupting, nothing more deof intrymen, or classed with the mass of effected, domeslic tranquillity presercitizen. As was to be expected, however, from the defect of language, and the necessarily sententious manner in satiable .- It is the never-dying worm in his bosom, which the Constitution is written, disputes have arisen as to the amount of so well understand the infirmities of power which it has actually granted, or intended to grant. This is more of that officer, at least, to whom she has entrusted particularly the case in relation to that the management of her foreign relations, the execupart of the instrument which treats of the Legislative branch. And not only as regards the exercise of powers claimed under a general clause, giving that body the authority to pass all laws necessary to carry into effect the specified powers, but in relation to the latter also. It is, however, consolatory to reflect, that most of the instances of alleged departure from the letter or spirit of the Constitution, have ultimately received the sanction of a majority of adoption of our present form of government. It the people. And the fact, that many of would be an object more highly desirable than the effectually checked by renewing the prohibition pub- their own relief; on the contrary, it is our duty to none." Yet the Senste continued to meet in that our statesmen, most distinguished for gratification of the curiosity of speculative states- lished by Mr. Jefferson, forbidding their interfer- encourage them, to the extent of our constitutional Temple of Liberty, to tak of the sacredness and talent and patriotism, have been, at one men, if its precise situation could be ascertained, a ence in elections further than giving their own authority, to apply their best means, and cheerfully b auty of the common wealth, and gaze at the staon both sides of the most warmly dispu- Departments, of the powers which they respectively assurance of perfect immunity, in exercising this ted questions, forces upon this inference claim and exercise, of the collisions which have oc- sacred privilege of freemen under the dictates of that the errors, if errors there were, are corred between them, or the whole Government attributable to the intrinsic difficulty, in and those of the States, or either of them. We many instances, of ascertaining the in- could then compare our system with what it was for his services out of their pockets, become the platention of the framers of the Constitu- in the commencement of its operations, and ascer- ant instrument of Executive will. tion, rather than the influence of any tain whether the productions of the patriots who sinister or unpatriotic motive. tion, by the Government, of power not powers of the states would be absorbed by those of derived from the mother country, that "the free.lom granted by the People, but by the accu- the Federal Government, and consolidated power of the press is the great butwark of civil and relimulation, in one of the Departments, of established, leaving to the States the shadow, only, gious liberty," is one of the most precious legacies cisely equal to that which has been granted to constitute a despotism, if out denying that the result to which they looked by whatever pretence imposed, are as fatal to it as concentrated in one of the departments. only legitimate right to govern is an ex- States first came from the hands of the sents no appearance of discord between the differ- spective Departments of the Government, as well as press grant of power from the govern- Convention which formed it, many of ent members which compose it. Even the addition all other suthorities of our country, within their aped. The Constitution of the United the sternest republicans of the day were of many new ones has produced no jatring. They propriate orbits. This is a matter of dificulty in States is the instrument containing this alarmed at the extent of the power move in their respective orbits in perfect harmony some cases, as the powers which they respectively grant of power to the several depart- which had been granted to the Federal with the central head, and with each other. But claim are often not defined by very distinct lines .ments composing the Government. On Government, and more particularly of there is still an under current at work, by which, if Mischevious, however, in their tendencies, as collian examination of that instrument, it that portion which had been assigned not seasonably checked, the worst apprehensions of siens of this kind may be, those which srise between come. This is the old trick of those who would uwill be found to contain declarations of to the Executive branch. There were our anti-federal patriots will be realized. And not the respective communities, which for c rtain purwill be found to contain declarations of power withheld. The latter is also susceptible of division in harmony with their ideas of a simple

were made that, at no very remote pe- in the Constitution, and in part by the never-failing riod, the Government would terminate tendency of policial power to increase itself. By in virtual monarchy. It would not become me to say that the fears of these patriots have been already realized. Constitution do not appear to have anticipated at But, as I sincerely believe, that the ten- how short a period it would become a formidable dency of measures, and of men's opinions, for some years past, has been in that direction, it is, I conceive, strictly proper, that I should take this occasion come so powerful as to create great alarm in the to repeat the assurances I have heretothe progress of that tendency if it really exists, and restore the Government to its pristine health and vigor, as far this time be, quadrupled in amount as it certainly is. exercise of the power placed in my cutive will, than their construction of their powers hands.

I proceed to state, in as summary a manner as I can, my opinions of the sources of the evils which have been so extensively complained of, and the corof the former are unquestionably to be revenues of the country. The Constitution has defound in the defects of the Constitution : others, in my judgment, are attributable to a misconstruction of some of its provisions. Of the former is the elegi- United States, blility of the same individual to a second term of the Presidency. The sagacious mind of Mr. Jefferson early saw and lamented this error, and attempts have been made, hitherto without success, to apply the amendatory power of the States to its correction.

As, however, one mode of correction is in the power of every President, and consequently in mine, it would be useless, and perhaps invidious, to enumerate the evils of which, in the opinion of many of our fellow citizens, this error of the sages who framed the Constitution may have been the source. and the bitter fruits which we are still to gather from it, if it continues to disfigure our system. It may be observed, however, as a general remark, that Republics can commit no greater error than to adopt or continue any feature in their systems of government which may be calculated to create or increase the love of power, in the bosoms of those to whom necessity obliges them to commit the management of their affairs. And, sure'y, nothing is more likely to produce such a state of mind than the long continuance of an office of high trust. Nostructive of all those noble feelings which belong to the character of a devoted republican patriot. When this corrupting passion once takes possession of the human mind, like the love of gol I, it becomes ingrows with his growth, and strengthens with the declining years of its victim. If this is true, it is the part of wisdom for a republic to limit the service tion of her laws, and the command of her armies and navies, to a period so short as to prevent his forgetting that he is the accountable agent, not the principal-the servant, not the master. Until an amendment of the Constitution can be effected, public opinion may secure the desired object. I give my aid to it, by renewing the pledge heretofore given, that under no circumstances will I consent to serve a second term. Upwards of half a century has clapsed since the opposed its adoption, or the confident hopes of its of the Executive which might be used with greater But the great danger to our institu- advocates, have been best realized. The great dread effect, for unhallowed purposes, than the control of tions does not appear to be in a usurpa. of the former seems to have been, that the reserved the public press. The maxim which our ancestors that which was assigned to others. Li- of that independent action for which they had so which they have left us. We have learned, too, mited as are the powers which have zealously contended, and on the presentation of from our own as well as the experience of other been granted, still enough have been which they relied as the last hopes of laberty. With- countries, that golden shackels, by whomsoever or with to much apprehension is in the way of being the iron bonds of Despotism. The presses in the This danger is greatly heightened, or it realized, it is obvious they did not clearly see the necessary employment of the Government should has been always observable that men mode of its accomplishment. The General Govern- never be used "to clear the guilty, or vanish are less jealous of encroachments of one ment has seized upon none of the reserved rights of crimes." A decent and manly examination of the department upon another, than upon the States. As far as any open warfare may have acts of Government should be not only tolerated but gone, the State authorities have amply maintained encouraged. When the Constitution of the United their rights. To a casual observer, our system pre- I have spoken of the necessity of keeping the re-

making the President the sole distributor of all the patronage of the Government, the framers of the instrument to control the free operations of the State governments. Of hifling importance at first, it had, early in Mr. Jefferson's administration, bemind of that patriot, from the potent influence it tive french se. If such had been the effects of its

influence, how much greater must the danger at allowed, or the forbearing characters of all the early

Presidents permitted them to make. But it is not by the extent of its patronage alone, that the Executive Department has becom , oung rous, 1 ut by pointing power, to bring under its control the whole clared it to be the duty of the President to see that the laws are executed, and it makes him the Commander-in-Chief of the Armies and Navy of the

If the opinion of the most approved writers upon that species of mixed Government, which, in modern Europe, is termed Monarchy, in contradistinction to Despotism, is correct, there was wanting no other adition to the powers of our Chief Magistrate to stamp a monarchial character on our Government, but the control of the public finances. And to me it appears strange, indeed, that any one should doubt that the entire control which the President possesses over the officers who have the custody of the public money, by the power of removal with or without cause, docs, for all mischievous purposes at least, virtually subject the treasure also to disposal. The first Roman Emperor, in his attempt to seize the sacred treasure silenced the opposition of the officer to whose charge it had been committed, by a significant allusion to his sword. By a selection of political instruments for the care of the public noney, a reference to their commissions by a President, would be quite as effectual an argument as that of Cæsar to the Roman Knight. I am not insensible of the dificulty that exists in devising a proper plan for the safe keeping and disbursement divorce that is complained of, but the unhall sw partment entirely independent of the Executive --He should at least have been removable only upon the demand of the popular branch of the Legislacontrolling the freedom of the elective franchise through the medium of the public officers can be

and confederate States. Strong as is the tie of in terest, it has been often found ineffectual. Men. blinded by their passions, have been known to adopt measures for their country in direct opposition to all the suggestion of policy. The alternative then, is, to destroy or keep down a bad pas-ion by creating and fost-ring a good one; and this seems to be the corner stone upon which our American political architects have reared the fabric of our Government. The cement which was to bind it, and perpetuate its existence, was the affectionate attachment hotween all its members

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To insure the continuance of this feeling, produced at first by a community of dangers, of suff r ings and of interests, the advantages of each were made accessible to all. No participation in any good, possessed by any member of an extensive confedracy, except in domestic gove nment, was withheld from the citizen of any other member. By a process attended with no difficulty, no delay, no expense but that of removal, the citizen of one might become the citizen of another, and successsively of the whole. The lines, too, seperating the use which it appears may be made of the ap- powers to be exercised by the chizens of one State from those of another, seem to be so distinctly drawn as to leave no room for misunderstanding. The citizens of each State unite in their persons all the privilages which they may claim as citizens of the United States; but in no case can the same person, at the same time, act as a citizen of two sepergte

States, and he is therefore positively precluded f om any interference with the reserved powers of any State but that of which he is, for the time being, a citizen. He may indeed off r to the citizens of other States his advice as to their management, and the form in which it is tendered is left to his own discretion and sense of propriety.

Our Confederacy, fellow citzens, can only, be preserved by the same forbearanc. Our citizenmust be content with the exercise of the power with which the Constisution clothes them. The attempt of those of one state to control the domestic institutions of another, can only result in feelings of distrust and jealousy, the certain ha bingers of disunion, violence, civil war, and the ultimate destruction of our free institutions. Our Confederacy is perfectly illustrated by the terms and praciples govering a common copartnership. There a fund of power is to be exercised under the direction of the joint councils of the allied members, but that which has been reserved by the individual m mbers is intangible by the common goverment or the individual members composing it. To atof the public revenues, and I know the importance tempt it finds no supp rt in the principles of our thing to you on the subject of the parties at this time which has been attached by men of great abilities Constitution. It should be our constant and ear- existing in our country. To me it appears perfectand patriotism to the divorce, as it is called, of the nest endeavor mutually to cult vate a spirit of con- ly clear, that the interest of that country requires Treasury from the banking institutions. It is not cord and harmony among the various parts of our that the violence of the party spirit by which these

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the Roman people and the Senate under the pretence of supporting the democratic claims of the former against the aristocracy of the latter; Cromweil, in the character of projector of the liberties of the people, became the dictator of England; and Bolivar possessed himself of unlimited power, with the title of his country's Liberator .- There is, on the contrary, no single instance on record of an extensive and well established republic being changed into an avi-toeracy. The tendencies of all such Goverments in their decline is to monarchy ; and the antigonist principle to liberty there is the spiit of faction -a spirit which a summa the e' arapter. and, in times of great excitement, imposes itself upon the people as the g name s, bit of fr edom, and I ke false Ch ists whose could g was frictold by the Savingr, seeks to, and were it possible would, impose upon the true and must faithful disciples of literty. It is in periods like this that it behooves the peoble to be must watchful of those to whom they have intrusted power. And a though there is at times much difficulty in distinguishing the false from the true spirit, a calm and dispassionate investigation will detect the counterfeit as well by character of its operations, as the results that are craduced.

The foregoing remarks relate almost exclusively to matters connected with our domestic concerns. It may be proper, however, that I should give some indication to my fellow citizens of my proposed course of conduct in the management of our foreign relations. I assure them' therefore, that it is my intention to use every means in my power to preserve the friendly intercourse which now so happily subsists with every foreign nation; and that, although, of course, not well informed as to the sigts of puy pending negotiations with any of them, I see in the personal characters of the Savereigns, as well as in the mutual interest of our own and of the Governments with which our relations are most intimate. a pleasing guaranty that the hormony so important to the interests of their subjects, as well as our citizens, will not be interrupted by the advancement of any claim, or pretension upon their part to which our honor would not permit us to yield. Long the defender of my country's rights in the field, I trust that my fellow citizens will not see in my earnest desire to preserve pesce with foreign powers any indication that their rights will ever be sacrificed, or the honor of the nation tarnished by any admission on the part of their Chief Magistrate unworthy of their former glory.

Before concluding, fellow cit'zens, 1 must say some-Conf deracy. Experience has abundantly taught parties are at this tim ed union of the Treasury with the Executive De- us that the agitation by citizens of one part of the mitigated, if not entirely extinguished, or consepartment which has created such extensive alarm. Union of a subject not confided to the General Gov quences will ensue which are appalling to be thought To this danger to our republican institutions, and erment, but exclusively under the guardianship of of. If parties in a republicare necessary to secure a that created by the isfluence given to the Executive the local authorities, is productive of no other con- degree of vigilance sufficient to keep the public through the instrumentality of the federal officers, I sequences than bitterness, alienation, discord, and functionaries within the bounds of law and daty, propose to apply all the remedies which may be as injury to the very cause which is intended to be at that point their usefulness ends. B wood that, my command. It was certainly a very great error advanced. Of all the great interests which app r- they become destructive of public virtue, the parents in the framers of the Constitution, not to have join to our country, that of union, cordial, confiding of a spirit antagonist to that of liberty, and, eventmade the officer at the head of the Treasury Des frate nal union, is by far the most important, since usly, its inevitable conqueror. We have examples it is the only true and sure guaranty of all others. of Republics, where the love of country and of lib-In consequence of the embarrassed state of busi- erty, at one time, were the dominant passions of the ness and the currency, some of the States may whole mass of citizens. And yet, with the continture. I am determined acver to remove a Serre- meet difficulty in their finance of concerts. However uasce of the name and forms of free government. tary of the Treasury without communicating all the deeply we may regret any thing imprudent exces- not a vestige of the qualities remaining in the bacircumstances attending such removal to both House sive in the angagements into which States have som of any one of its enizons. It was the leantiof Congress. The influence of the Executive in entered for purposes of their own, it does not be- ful remark of a distinguished English writer that "in come us to i parage the State Goverments, not to the Roman Se ate, Octavius had a party, and discourage then from making proper effors for Anthony a puty, but the commonwealth had of our people proverbial; and we may well hope and to shout for one or the other, as these collected There is no part of the means placed in the hands that wise legislation and prudent a humistration, by in Gaul, or Egypt, and the lesser Asia, would furthe respective Goevements, each acting within its mish the larger dividend. The spirit of liberty had fled, and, avoiding the abodes of civilized man, had Unpleasant and even dangerous as e dilston may shught protection in the wilds of Seythia or Sean sometimes be, between the constituted authorities dinavia; and so, under the operation of the same or the chizens of our country, in relation to the causes and influences, it will fly from our Capitol lines which separate their respective ju islictions, and our forums. A calamity so swful, not only to the results can be of no vital injury to our institutions, our country but to the world, must be deprecated if that ardent patriotism, that devoted attachment by every patriot; and every tendency to a state of to liberty, that spirit of mederation and forebearance things likely to produce it immediately checked .for which our countrymen were once distinguised Such a tendency has existed-does exist. Always continue to be cherished. The same causes will the friend of my countrym n, never their flate er it ever produce the same effects; and as long as the liceomes my duty to say to them from this high place love of power is a dominant passion of the human to which their partiality has exalted me, that there bosom, and as long as the understanding of men can exists in the land a spirit hostile to their best interbe warped and their affections changed by opera- ests-hostile to liberty itself. It is a spirit contracttions upon their passions and prejudices, so long ed in its views, suffish in its object. It looks to the will the liberty of a people depend on their own con- aggrandisement of a few, even to the destruction of stant attention to its preservation. The danger to the interest of the whole. The entire remedy is all well-established free governments arises from the with the people. Something, however, may be efunwillingness of the people to believe in its exist- fected by the means which they have placed in my ence, or from the influence of designing men, di- hands. It is union that we want, not of a party for verting their attention from the quarter whence it the sake of that party, but a union of the whole approaches, to a source from which it can never country for the sake of the whole country-for that

o letray.

Bowever strong may be my present surpose to realize the expectations of a nagnanimous and confiding People, I uman nature, and the dangerous tempitions to which I shall be exposed, from he magnitude of the power which it has een the pleasure of the People to comnit to my hands, not to place my confilence upon the aid of the Almighty 'ower which has hitherto protected me nd enabled me to bring to favorable ssues other important, but still greatly nferior trusts, heretofore confided to ne by my country.

The broad foundation upon which our Constitution rests, being the People -a breath of theirs having made, as a preath can unmake, change or modify t-it can be assigned to none of the great divisions of Government but that of Democracy. If such is its theory, hose who are called upon to adminiser it must recognise, as its leading principle, the duty of shaping their measures so as to produce the greatest good o the greatest number. But, with these proad admissions, if we would compare the sovereignty acknowledged to exist n the mass of our People with the power claimed by other sovereignties, even by those which have been considered nost purely democratic, we shall find a nost essential difference. All others lay claim to power limited only by their own will. The majority of our citizens, on the contrary, possess a sovegranted to them by the parties to the national compact, and nothing beyond. We admit of no Government by Divine right-believing that, so far as power is concerned, the beneficent Creator has made no distinction amongst men, that their own reserved rights. all are upon an equality, and that the The latter is also susceptible of division in harmony which the majority had a representative Democracy or Republic. partment of the General Government, but the char-right to grant, but which they did not And knowing the tendency of power to rest of that Government, if not its designation, be

time or other of their political career, fair exhibit made of the operations of each of its votes; and their own independence secured by an to make all necessary sacrifices and submit to all mes of the eller Brutus and of the Curtil and Denecessary burdens to fulfil their engagements and cit. And the people assambled in the forum not maintain their credit, for the character and credit of as in the days of Camilius and the Scipios, to cast the several States form part of the character and their fore votes for annual magistrates or pass upon their own unbiassed judgements. Never, with my consent shall an officer of the People, compensated credit of the whole country. The resources of the the sets of the Senare, but to receive from the leadcountry are abundant, the enterprise and activity ers of the respective parties their share of the spoils,

own sphere, will restore former prosperity.