THE ERIE OBSERVER.

ONE DOLLAR AND A-HALF PER YEAR, IF PAID IN ADVANCE, $2,00 IF NOT PAID UNTIL THE END OF THE YEAR.

VOLUME 33. ERIE, PA., SATURDAY MORNING, APRIL 4, 1863. NUMBER 43.

THE ERIE OBSERVER.

...ER ON STATE STREET, OPPOSITE THE POST OFFICE, ERIE, PENNA.

...single subscribers, if paid in advance ... of twenty five $25 —Clubs of fifty $45, and ... same rate for larger Clubs.

TERMS OF ADVERTISING

...ten lines or less make a square. One square 1 week, $ 75 | One square 3 months $3 00 ... 1 00 | One " 6 " 5 00 ... 1 25 | One " 9 " 6 75 ... square, 3 months, $5; 6 months, $8; 9 months, $10; 1 year, $14. ... 20 squares—one year, $70; 6 months, $40; 3 months, $20.

...inserted in the Business Directory at $3 per ... lines allowed for a Card, over six, and under eight, $5.

Special and Editorial notices, 15 cents a line; but no ... will be inserted among the Special Notices ... one dollar.

Merchants and others requiring frequent changes ... advertisements will be allowed two squares, paper ... for additional space, the charges will ... proportion, and the advertisements must be strictly ... to the legitimate business of the advertiser. Payment for transient advertisements required in advance—bills for early advertising will be presented half-yearly.

All communications should be addressed to

WHITMAN & BRECHT, Publishers.

BEST'S WHITMAN, JAMES I. BRECHT.

BUSINESS DIRECTORY.

D. PHILO BENNETT, JUSTICE OF THE PEACE. Office second ... Wayne Block, French Street, between Fifth and Sixth. june15 2y.

BUFFALO HOUSE, MARKET SQUARE, Harrisburg, Pa., Geo. ... Proprietor. This old established House has ... changed hands the present season, has undergone extensive improvements and been thoroughly RENOVATED ... REFITTED. We feel confident that it is now not ... to any in the State for the comforts and convenience ... to pertain to a First Class Hotel. feb18—y

CLEMENS CAUGHEY & CO., WHOLESALE GROCERS, and Dealers in ... and imported Wines and Liquors, also Segars, ... Fruit, Fish, Oil, and Agents for Moffats Buffalo ... Nos. 1 and 2 Commercial Buildings, North side ... Public square, Erie, Pa.

JAMES C. REED, ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW, Erie Pa., having resumed the practice of his profession ... permanently, will be found at his old office, on French ... street, southeast corner of Public Square. July 6, '61.

A. WOLL, PROPRIETOR. MORRISON HOUSE. Corner of Second and Market Street—one square east of Johnson's Exchange, Warren, Pa. Sept. 29—17.

H. COLE, BOOK BINDER, BLANK BOOK MANUFACTURER, ... second story of Rinderknecht's Block, Erie, Pa.

EDWIN C. WILSON, ATTORNEY & COUNSELLOR AT LAW, Erie Pa.—Office on State Street, near the Park, in the American ..., second story of the building, occupied by F. & M. ...ndeker. He will always be found in his office, and business punctually attended to.

GEORGE H. CUTLER, ATTORNEY AT LAW, Girard, Erie County, Pa. Collections and other business attended to with promptness and dispatch.

GEORGE J. MORTON, FORWARDING and Commission Merchant, Public Dock, Erie, dealer in Coal, Salt, Fish, Flour and Feed.

L. C. BURGESS & CO., WHOLESALE DEALERS IN GROCERIES AND PROVISIONS, State Street, No. 7 Bonnell Block.

JOHN HEARN & CO., FORWARDING and Commission Merchants, Dealers in Coal, Flour, Fish, and agent for a daily line of ... Lake Steamers, Public Dock, Erie, Pa.

J. W. DOUGLASS, ATTORNEY AT LAW.—Office removed to ... building west of State Street, on the north side of the Park, Erie Pa.

J. F. DOWNING, ATTORNEY AT LAW AND JUSTICE OF THE PEACE. Will practice in the several Courts of Erie County, and give prompt and faithful attention to all business entrusted to his hands, either as an Attorney or Magistrate. Office in Empire Block, corner of State and Fifth Sts., Erie, Pa.

LIDDELL, & MARSH, MANUFACTURERS of Steam Engines, Boilers, ... Gearing, Agricultural Implements, Railroad Cars, ... Erie, Pa.

M. SANFORD & CO., DEALERS in Gold, Silver, Bank Notes, ... Certificates of Deposit, &c. Sight exchange on the principal cities constantly for sale. Office No. 9 Reed House Public Square, Erie.

SAVAGE'S CITY and PASSENGER DINING SALOON. ... of Liberty Street and Pennsylvania R. R. Depot, ... Lynn Savage, Proprietor. Oysters and Refreshments at all hours of the day or night. feb16—3f.

SCOTT & RANKIN, DEALERS in all kinds of Coal, Salt, Plaster, Flour, ... &c. Public Dock, Erie, Pa. 51 J. H. RANKIN.

S. AUSTIN, DEALER in Clocks, Watches, Fine Jewelry, Silver Spoons, Plated Ware, Looking Glasses, Gilt ... Cutlery and Fancy Goods, Paragon Building, north side West Park near Peach st.

J. S. SINCLAIR, (Successor to Stewart & Sinclair,) WHOLESALE AND RETAIL DRUGGIST, Wright's Block, State Street, Erie, Pa., Dealer in Paints, Oils, Camphene, ... Glass, Burning Fluid, Brushes, &c.

WM. A. GALBRAITH, ATTORNEY AT LAW—Office on 6th street, ... opposite the Court House, Erie, Pa.

W. L. MAGILL, DENTIST, Office in Huren ... Block, north side of the Park, Erie, Pa. 20.

S. S. SPENCER, SELDEN MARVIN. SPENCER & MARVIN ATTORNEYS & COUNSELLORS AT LAW OFFICE, Paragon Block, near North West Corner of the Public square, Erie, Pa.

WEDDELL HOUSE, J. P. ROSS, Proprietor. Corner of Superior and Bank Streets, Cleveland, O. 33 3t.

OLIVER SPAFFORD, BOOKSELLER AND STATIONER, and manufacturer of Blank Books and Writing Ink. Room of Hughes' Block, State street. march20—1f43.

J. EICHENLAUB & CO., DEALERS IN Boots and Shoes, Leather and Findings, Wholesale and Retail, American Block, State Street, Erie, Pa. march20—43

REED HOUSE, ERIE, PA., A. M. GUILD, Proprietor. The guests of this House shall have every attention, to make their stay agreeable. Omnibus to and from all trains. april6—15.

WALKER & GILSON, FORWARDING & COMMISSION MERCHANTS, ... Ware House, Public Dock, East of State Street. Ca... Ware House at Rail Road Crossing, Erie, Pa. Dealers ... Salt, Fish, Flour, Plaster, Water Lime, &c. N. B.—Cars running to and from Canal Ware House. ...

BRADY HOUSE, JOHN BRADY, Proprietor. Corner of State and Third Streets, (immediately fronting the Capitol,) Harrisburg, Pa. Terms reasonable; accommodation ... to the best Hotel in the city, and the Bar shall be supplied with the choicest liquors. feb25—58.

J. DREISICKER, WHOLESALE AND RETAIL DEALER IN Groceries and Provisions, Flour and Feed, Wood and Willow Ware, Wines, Liquors, Tobacco, Segars, &c., State Street, one door South of Fourth, East side, Erie, Pa. june1—1y.

ERIE CARBON OIL CO., REFINERS AND DEALERS in Oils. Works west of Mill Creek, Erie. 14

D. P. ENSIGN, BOOKSELLER and Dealer in Stationery, Wall Paper, Magazines, Newspapers, &c. Country dealers supplied. Store under Brown's Hotel, fronting the Park. apr25'62tf.

N. PREUSS, BAKER AND CONFECTIONER, Wholesale and Retail Dealer in Candies, Crackers, Cakes, &c., "City Central Bakery," East Corner of Eighth and State streets, Erie, Pa. june8—1y1.

HERR'S HOTEL, Corner of 3d and Market sts., Harrisburg, Pa. This old and well known house is now fitted up in the most improved style. The accommodations are of the best order and the terms reasonable. It is situated in the most delightful part of the city, and affords one of the pleasantest stopping places in the country. feb1'62tf.

E. NEWTON PETTIS. M. PARK DAVIS. PETTIS & DAVIS, ATTORNEYS AT LAW, Chestnut Street, Meadville, Pa. Feb. 15—37.'62

JAS. KENNEDY & CO., FORWARDERS AND COMMISSION MERCHANTS, and Dealers in Refined and Crude Oil, Coal, Flour, Plaster, etc. Office and Yard on 8th street, near Canal. J. KENNEDY. [apr19'62y1.] E. M. THAYER.

DRS. O. L. ELLIOTT & SON, DENTISTS—Office in South Park Row, Erie, Pa. All work warranted. T. J. ELLIOTT. [mar15tf.] O. L. ELLIOTT.

SUGAR CURED HAMS. If you want the very best Sugar Cured HAMS and SHOULDERS in the Market, the place to get them is the Bonded Store SLOAN, SHOTWELL & MCCREARY. marl5

CARVER HOUSE, J. H. HOTT, Warren, Warren Co., Pa General Stage Office. aug 7 '62

STRANAHAN & WARDEN, FORWARDING AND COMMISSION MERCHANTS, at Union Mills, Erie county, Pa., by Atlantic & G. W. R. R. Dealers in Coal, Salt, Iron, Crude and Refined Petroleum. All kinds of Shipping done on Commission. 24tf.

GEORGE WEISS'S BARBER SHOP, State street, nearly opposite the Post Office. Larger Beer Saloon attached, where gentlemen can ... themselves without being annoyed by disorderly crowds

TO NERVOUS SUFERERS OF BOTH SEXES—A REVEREND GENTLEMAN having been restored to health in a few days, after undergoing all the usual routine and irregular expensive modes of treatment without success, considers it his sacred duty to communicate to his afflicted fellow creatures the means of cure. Hence, on the receipt of an addressed envelope, he will send (free) a copy of the prescription used. Address JOHN M. DAGNALL, 186 Fulton Street, Brooklyn, N. Y. ja24-1y.

BENER & BURGESS, (Successors to F. F. Adams,) CORNER OF STATE AND FIFTH STS., ERIE, PA. DEALERS IN CONFECTIONERIES, FRUITS, NUTS, &c. TOYS, FANCY GOODS, YANKEE NOTIONS, &c. BALTIMORE OYSTERS, CHOICE TOBACCOS & CIGARS.

PARTIES AND FAMILIES Supplied with Ice Cream, Fancy Cakes, Fine Candies, Pyramids, Fruit, &c

Fine French Confections and Pure Candies of every variety.

Lemons, Oranges, Cocoa Nuts, Raisins, Figs, Dates, &c.

CRACKERS! CRACKERS! Boston, Oyster, Butter, Soda and Sugar Crackers, ALWAYS FRESH!

FRESH CAN OYSTERS Received every day, by express, direct from Baltimore. WARRANTED FRESH AND SWEET.

Will pay particular attention to filling orders for any ty28tf Goods in their line.

LUMBER AND STAVES! J. H. GRISWOLD WANTS ASH LUMBER! 3,000,000 Feet of ASH LUMBER, 12, 14 and 16 feet in length. Same, 1 inch, 1¼, 1 1-2, 2, 2 1-2, 3 and 4 Plank.

WHITE WOOD LUMBER.

1,500,000 feet of 5-8 White Wood full thickness.
500,000 " 4-4 " " "
500,000 " 3 & 4 inch White Wood Plank.
500,000 " White Wood Columns, 5x5, 6x6, 7x7, 8x8.

CHERRY LUMBER.

500,000 feet of 4-4 Boards.

STAVES.

3,000,000 Red Oak Hhd. Staves, 44 inch long, 1 inch th ck, on heart edge, and 4 inch wide
1,500,000 White Oak Bbl. Staves 34 inch long, 1 1-4 inch thick on heart edge, 4 inch wide clear of sap.

Office and Docks opposite P. & E. R. R. Depot. feb.8 63—2m J. H. GRISWOLD.

GROUND COFFEE. GC You can find a Nice Article of GROUND COFFEE, at 12½, 18, 20, 25 and 30 Cents, at the "Banner Store. SLOAN & M'CREARY.

DANDELION COFFEE. DC The Healthiest and Cheapest Beverage now in use is the Pure DANDELION COFFEE, for sale at the "Banner," at 20 and 25 cents per lb. SLOAN & M'CREARY.

JAPAN TEA. JT Another Invoice of Japan Tea, THE ONLY PURE TEA IMPORTED, JUST OPENED, At the "Banner" at $1,25 per pound. [fy28tf] SLOAN & M'CREARY.

NOTICE. We take great pleasure in informing the Public, and our numerous Patrons in particular, that we have again resumed MANUFACTURING STOVES WITH INCREASED FACILITIES, And are prepared to fill all orders for COOKING AND HEATING STOVES, WITH PROMPTNESS. Having purchased a large Stock of Iron, previous to being burnt out, gives us a decided advantage, (in price of Stoves,) over Manufacturers who have bought Iron at present high prices. Thankful for past favors, we hope, by strict attention to the wants of Customers, to continue to merit their patronage feb28'63tf. VINCENT, TIBBALS, SHIRK & CO

NEW JERSEY LANDS FOR SALE, AT $10, GARDEN OR FRUIT FARMS, suitable for Grapes, Peaches, Pears, Raspberries, Strawberries, Blackberries, Currants, &c., of 1, 2½, 5, 10, or 20 acres each, at the following prices for the present, viz: 20 acres for $200, 10 acres for $110, 5 acres for $60, 2½ acres for $40, 1 acre for $20. Payable by $1 a week. Also, good Cranberry lands, and village lots in CHERWOOD, 25 by 100 feet, at $10 each, payable by one dollar a week. The above land and farms are situated at Cherwood, Washington Township, Burlington County, New Jersey. For further information, apply, with a P. O. Stamp, for a circular, to B. FRANKLIN CLARK, ja17'63y1. No. 90 Cedar Street, New York, N. Y.

ERIE CITY BOOK BINDERY. CORNER OF STATE AND FIFTH STS. The undersigned would respectfully return thanks for the patronage heretofore extended to him, and solicits a continuance of the same. He has recently made extensive improvements, among which are a PAGING MACHINE, for paging Blank Books, by means of which he is enabled to do work of that kind as neat and as cheap as it can be done in Buffalo. Having had an EXPERIENCE OF TWENTY YEARS, I believe I can appeal for the public patronage with full confidence in my ability to give satisfaction. RULING, BINDING AND ALL KINDS OF WORK IN MY LINE Done to order. Constantly on hand a large supply of BLANK BOOKS. Remember the place, south-west corner of State and Fifth streets, second story, next door to the "Gazette" office. E. M. COLE. Erie, January 24th, 1863.-3m

NEW GAS LIGHT! THE OLEO-WATER GAS! Patented by Prof. L. L. Hill, June 17, 1862. This Gas has been thoroughly tested by men of science, and its merits have stood the greatest scrutiny. It can be manufactured for 50 CENTS PER 1,000 CUBIC FEET. It is perfectly free from offensive smell, not liable to explosion and will not condense in any temperature or climate. It has a body superior to the best Coal Gas and gives a much more brilliant light. We are now prepared to offer the Petroleum Gas Apparatus to the Public, which must eventually take the place of all other Gases, owing to the cheapness with which it can be made, its brilliancy of light, its perfect simplicity and its adaptability in all cases where good light is required. For private dwellings in city or country, Stores, Churches, Hotels, Theatres, Factories, Public Gardens, &c., &c., and can easily be adapted to Gas Works now in operation, at very little expense. We will dispose of RIGHTS for Cities, Towns, Counties or States, at moderate prices. For further particulars apply to T. H. TUTTLE, Sec'y, jan 10m1. 313 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

IMPROVE YOUR VISION! JOSEPH BLACK, Practical and Scientific Optician has arrived in this city with a large assortment of the celebrated SPHEROIDAL SPECTACLES, the best in use. They are ground perfect, their perfect surface, high polish and their peculiar shape being ground in a CONCAVE CONVEX ELLIPSIS, make it the clearest as well as the easiest spectacles in use. Persons who are far or near-sighted or such as are suffering from WEAK EYES, arising from whatever cause or causes will improve their EYES by the use of the SPEROIDAL GLASSES. For long reading or fine sewing they cannot be surpassed. New Glasses set into old Frames. Office at L. Strong's Drug Store under the Reed House. mar21-3w.

JAS. P. GAGGIN, NOTARY PUBLIC AND GENERAL COLLECTING AND INSURANCE AGENT. Collections and all business intrusted to him promptly attended to. Applications for insurance solicited, and Policies issued without delay, in first class companies. Office, Wright's Block, corner of 6th and State streets, Erie, Pa. nov29'61tf.

FAREWELL ADDRESS OF ANDREW JACKSON.

To the People of the United States:

FELLOW CITIZENS:—Being about to retire from public life, I beg leave to offer you my grateful thanks for the many proofs of kindness and confidence which I have received at your hands. It has been my fortune, in the discharge of public duties, civil and military, frequently, to have found myself in difficult and trying situations, where prompt decision and energetic action were necessary, and where the interest of the country required that high responsibilities should be fearlessly encountered—and it is with the deepest emotions of gratitude that I acknowledge the continued and unbroken confidence with which you have sustained me in every trial. My public life has been a long one, and I cannot hope that it has, at all times, been free from errors. But I have the consolation of knowing that, if mistakes have been committed, they have not seriously injured the country I so anxiously endeavored to serve; and, at the moment when I surrender my last public trust, I leave this great people prosperous and happy, in the full enjoyment of liberty and peace, and honored and respected by every nation of the world.

If my humble efforts have, in any degree, contributed to preserve to you these blessings, I have been more than rewarded by the honors you have heaped upon me; and above all, by the generous confidence with which you have supported me in every peril, and with which you have continued to animate and cheer my path to the closing hour of my political life. The time has now come, when advanced age and a broken frame warn me to retire from public concerns; but the recollection of the many favors you have bestowed upon me is engraven upon my heart, and I have felt that I could not part from your service without making this public acknowledgment of the gratitude I owe you. And if I use the occasion to offer to you the counsels of age and experience, you will, I trust, receive them with the same indulgent kindness which you have so often extended to me; and will, at least, see in them an earnest desire to perpetuate in this favored land, the blessings of liberty and equal laws.

We have now lived almost fifty years under the Constitution framed by the sages and patriots of the Revolution. The conflicts in which the nations of Europe were engaged during a great part of this period—the spirit in which they waged war against each other, and our intimate commercial connections with every part of the civilized world, rendered it a time of much difficulty for the government of the United States. We have had our seasons of peace and of war, with all the evils which precede or follow a state of hostility with powerful nations. We encountered these trials with our Constitution, yet in its infancy, and under the disadvantages which a new and untried government must always feel when it is called upon to put forth its whole strength, without the lights of experience to guide it, or the weight of precedents to justify its measures. But we have passed triumphantly through all these difficulties. Our Constitution is no longer a doubtful experiment, and, at the end of nearly half a century, we find that it has preserved unimpaired the liberties of the people, secured the rights of property, and that our country has improved and is flourishing beyond any former example in the history of nations.

In our domestic concerns there is everything to encourage us, and if you are true to yourselves, nothing can impede your march to the highest point of national prosperity. The States which had so long been retarded in their improvement, by the Indian tribes residing in the midst of them, are at length relieved from the evil; and this unhappy race—the original dwellers in our land—are now placed in a situation where we may well hope that they will share in the blessings of civilization, and be saved from that degradation and destruction to which they were rapidly hastening, while they remained in the States; and while the safety and comfort of our own citizens have been greatly promoted by their removal, the philanthropist will rejoice that the remnant of that ill-fated race has been at length placed beyond the reach of injury or oppression, and that the paternal care of the General Government will hereafter watch over them and protect them.

If we turn to our relations with foreign powers, we find our condition equally gratifying. *Actuated by the sincere desire to do* justice to every nation, and to preserve the blessing of peace, our intercourse with them has been conducted on the part of this government in the spirit of frankness, and I take pleasure in saying that it has generally been met in a corresponding temper. Difficulties of old standing have been surmounted by friendly discussion, and the mutual desire to be just, and the claims of our citizens, which has been long withheld, have at length been acknowledged and adjusted and satisfactory arrangements made for their final payment, and with a limited, and, I trust, a temporary exception, our relations with every foreign power are now of the most friendly character—our commerce continually expanding, and our flag respected in every quarter of the world.

These cheering and grateful prospects, and these multiplied favors, we owe, under Providence, to the adoption of the Federal Constitution. It is no longer a question whether this great country can remain happily united, and flourish under our present form of government. Experience, the unerring test of all human undertakings, has shown the wisdom and foresight of those who formed it, and has proved, that in the union of these States there is a sure foundation for the brightest hopes of freedom, and for the happiness of the people. At every hazard, and by every sacrifice, this Union must be preserved.

The necessity of watching with jealous anxiety for the preservation of the Union, was earnestly pressed upon his fellow citizens by the father of his country, in his farewell address. He has there told us, that "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 bonds;" and he has cautioned us, in the strongest terms, against the formation of parties on geographical discriminations, as one of the means which might disturb our Union, and to which designing men would be likely to resort.

The lessons contained in this invaluable legacy of Washington to his countrymen, should be cherished in the heart of every citizen to the latest generation; and, perhaps, at no period of time could they be more usefully remembered than at the present moment. For when we look upon the scenes that are passing around us, and dwell upon the pages of his parting address, his paternal counsels would seem to be not merely the offspring of wisdom and foresight, but the voice of prophecy foretelling events and warning us of the evil to come. Forty years have passed since this imperishable document was given to his countrymen. The Federal Constitution was then regarded by him as an experiment, and he so speaks of it in his address; but an experiment upon the success of which the best hopes of his country depended; and we all know that he was prepared to lay down his life, if necessary, to secure to it a full and a fair trial. The trial has been made. It has succeeded *beyond the greatest hopes* of those who framed it. Every quarter of this widely extended nation has felt its blessings, and shared in the general prosperity produced by its adoption. But amid this general prosperity and splendid success, the dangers of which he warned us are becoming every day more evident, and the signs of evil are sufficiently apparent to awaken the deepest anxiety in the bosom of the patriot. We behold systematic efforts publicly made, to sow the seeds of discord between different parts of the United States, and to place party divisions directly upon geographical distinctions; to excite the *south* against the *north*, and the *north* against the *south*, and to force into the controversy the most delicate and exciting topics—topics upon which it is impossible that a large portion of the Union can ever speak without strong emotion. Appeals, too, are constantly made to sectional interests, in order to influence the election of the Chief Magistrate, as if it were desired that he should favor a particular quarter of the country, instead of fulfilling the duties of his station with impartial justice to all, and the possible dissolution of the Union has at length become an ordinary and familiar subject of discussion! Has the warning voice of Washington been forgotten? or have designs already been formed to sever the Union? Let it not be supposed that I impute to all of those who have taken an active part in these unwise and unprofitable discussions, a want of patriotism or of public virtue. The honorable feeling of State pride, and local attachments, find a place in the bosoms of the most enlightened and pure. But while such men are conscious of their own integrity and honesty of purpose, they ought never to forget that the citizens of other States are their political brethren; and that, however mistaken they may be in their views, the great body of them are equally honest and upright with themselves. Mutual suspicions and reproaches may in time create mutual hostility, and artful and designing men will always be found, who are ready to foment these fatal divisions, and to inflame the natural jealousies of different sections of the country. The history of the world is full of such examples, and especially the history of republics.

What have you to gain by division and dissension? Delude not yourselves with the belief that a breach once made may be afterwards repaired. If the Union is once severed, the line of separation will grow wider and wider, and the controversies which are now debated and settled in the halls of legislation, will then be tried in fields of battle, and determined by the sword. Neither should you deceive yourselves with the hope, that the first line of separation would be a permanent one, and that nothing but harmony and concord would be found in the new associations formed upon the dissolution of this Union. Local interests would still be found there, and unchastened ambition. And to the recollection of common dangers, in which the people of these United States stood side by side against the common foe; the memory of victories won by their united valor; the prosperity and happiness they have enjoyed under the present Constitution; the proud name they bear as citizens of this great republic; if all these recollections and proofs of common interest are not strong enough to bind us together as one people, what tie will hold united the new divisions of empire, when these bonds have been broken and this Union dissevered? The first line of separation would not last for a single generation; new fragments would be torn off; new leaders would spring up; and this great and glorious republic would soon be broken into a multitude of petty States, without commerce, without credit; jealous of one another; armed for mutual aggression; loaded with taxes to pay armies and leaders; seeking aid against each other from foreign powers; insulted and trampled upon by the nations of Europe, and harrassed with conflicts, and humbled and debased in spirit, they would be ready to submit to the absolute dominion of any military adventurer, and to surrender their liberty for the sake of repose. It is impossible to look on the consequences that would inevitably follow the destruction of this government, and not feel indignant when we hear cold calculations about the value of the Union, and have so constantly before us the line of conduct so well calculated to weaken its ties.

There is too much at stake to allow pride or passion to influence your decision. Never for a moment believe that the great body of the citizens of any State or States can deliberately intend to do wrong. They may under the influence of temporary excitement or misguided opinion, commit mistakes; they may be misled for a time by the suggestions of self-interest; but in a community so enlightened and patriotic as the people of the United States, argument will soon make them sensible of their errors; and, when convinced, they will be ready to repair them. If they have no higher or better motives to govern them, they will at last perceive that their own interest requires them to be just to others as they hope to receive justice at their hands.

But in order to maintain the Union unimpaired, it is absolutely necessary that the laws passed by the constituted authorities should be faithfully executed in every part of the country, and that every good citizen should, at all times, stand ready to put down, with the combined force of the nation, every attempt at unlawful resistance, under whatsoever pretext it may be made, or whatever shape it may assume. Unconstitutional or oppressive laws may no doubt be passed by Congress, either from erroneous views or the want of due consideration; if they are within the reach of judicial authority, the remedy is easy and peaceful; and if from the character of the law, it is an abuse of power not within the control of the judiciary, then free discussion and calm appeals to reason and to the justice of the people will not fail to redress the wrong. But until the law shall be declared void by the courts, or repealed by Congress, no individual, or combination of individuals can be justified in forcibly resisting its execution. It is impossible that any government can continue to exist upon any other principles. It would cease to be a government, and be unworthy of the name, if it had not the power to enforce the execution of its own laws within its own sphere of action.

It is true that cases may be imagined disclosing such a settled purpose of usurpation and oppression, on the part of the government, as would justify an appeal to arms. These, however, are extreme cases, which we have no reason to apprehend in a government where the power is in the hands of a patriotic people; and no citizen who loves his country would, in any case whatever, resort to forcible resistance, unless he clearly saw that the time had come when a freeman should prefer death to submission, for if such a struggle is once begun, and the citizens of one section of the country arrayed in arms against those of another in doubtful conflict, let the battle result as it may, there will be an end of the Union, and with it, an end to the hopes of freedom. The victory of the injured would not secure to them the blessings of liberty; they would avenge their wrongs, but they would themselves share in the common ruin.

But the Constitution cannot be maintained, nor the Union preserved, in opposition to public feeling, by the mere exertion of the coercive powers confided in the General Government. The foundations must be laid in the affections of the people; in the security it gives to life, liberty, character and property in every quarter of the country; and in the fraternal attachment which the citizens of the *several States bear to one another as members* of one political family, mutually contributing to promote the happiness of each other. Hence the citizens of every State should studiously avoid every thing calculated to wound the sensibility or offend the just pride of the people of other States; and they should frown upon any proceedings within their own borders likely to disturb the tranquility of their political brethren in other portions of the Union. In a country so extensive as the United States, and with pursuits so varied, the internal regulations of the several States must frequently differ from one another in important particulars, and this difference is unavoidably increased by the varying principles upon which the American colonies were originally planted; principles which had taken deep root in their social relations before the Revolution, and therefore, of ascendancy, influencing their policy since they became free and independent States. But each State has the unquestionable right to regulate its own internal concerns according to its own pleasure; and while it does not interfere with the rights of the people of other States, or the rights of the Union, every State must be the sole judge of the measures proper to secure the safety of its citizens and promote their happiness, and all efforts on the part of people of other States to cast odium upon their institutions, and all measures calculated to disturb their rights of property, or to put in jeopardy their peace and internal tranquility, are in direct opposition to the spirit in which the Union was formed, and must endanger its safety. Motives of philanthropy may be assigned for this unwarrantable interference; and weak men may persuade themselves for a moment that they are laboring in the cause of humanity, and asserting the rights of the human race, but every one, upon sober reflection, will see that nothing but mischief can come from these improper assaults upon the feelings and rights of others. Rest assured that the men found busy in this work of discord are not worthy of your confidence, and deserve your strongest reprobation.

In the legislation of Congress, also, and in every measure of the General Government, justice to every portion of the United States should be faithfully observed. No free government can stand without virtue in the people, and a lofty spirit of patriotism; and if the sordid feelings of mere selfishness shall usurp the place which ought to be filled by public spirit, the legislation of Congress will soon be converted into a scramble for personal and sectional advantages. Under our free institutions, the citizens of every quarter of our country are capable of attaining a high degree of prosperity and happiness, without seeking to profit themselves at the expense of others; and every such attempt must in the end fail to succeed, for the people in every part of the United States are too enlightened not to understand their own rights and interests, and to detect and defeat every effort to gain undue advantages over them; and when such designs are discovered, it naturally provokes resentment which cannot always be easily allayed. Justice, full and ample justice to every portion of the United States, should be the ruling principle of every freeman, and should guide the deliberations of every public body, whether it be State or National.

It is well known that there have always been those amongst us who wish to enlarge the powers of the General Government; and experience would seem to indicate that there is a tendency on the part of this government to overstep the boundaries marked out for it by the Constitution. Its legitimate authority is abundantly sufficient for all the purposes for which it was created; and its powers being expressly enumerated there can be no justification for claiming anything beyond them. EVERY ATTEMPT TO EXERCISE POWER BEYOND THESE LIMITS SHOULD BE PROMPTLY AND FIRMLY OPPOSED. For one evil example will lead to other measures still more mischievous; and if the principle of constructive powers, or supposed advantages, or temporary circumstances shall ever be permitted to justify the assumption of a power not given by the Constitution, the General Government will before long absorb all the powers of legislation, and you will have, in effect, but one consolidated government. From the extent of our country, its diversified interests, different pursuits and different habits, it is too obvious for argument, that a single consolidated government would be wholly inadequate to watch over and protect its interests; and every friend of our free institutions should be always prepared to maintain unimpaired, and in full vigor, the rights and sovereignty of the States, and to confine the action of the General Government strictly to the sphere of its appropriate duties.

There is, perhaps, no one of the powers conferred on the Federal Government so liable to abuse, as the taxing power. The most productive and convenient sources of revenue were necessarily given to it, that it might be able to perform the important duties imposed upon it, and the taxes which it lays upon commerce being concealed from the real payer in the price of the article, they do not so readily attract the attention of the people as smaller sums demanded from them directly by the tax-gatherer. But the tax imposed on goods enhances by so much the price of the commodity to the consumer; and, as many of these duties are imposed on articles of necessity, which are daily used by the great body of the people, the money raised by these imposts is drawn from their pockets. Congress has no right, under the Constitution, to take money from the people, unless it is required to execute some one of the specified powers entrusted to the government; and if they raise more than is necessary for such purposes, it is an abuse of the power of taxation, and unjust and oppressive. It may, indeed, happen that the revenue will sometimes exceed the amount anticipated, when the taxes were laid. When, however, this is ascertained, it is easy to reduce them; and, in such a case, it is unquestionably the duty of the government to reduce them; for no circumstances can justify it in assuming a power not given to it by the Constitution, nor in taking away the money of the people, when it is not needed for the legitimate wants of the government.

Plain as these principles appear to be, you will yet find that there is a constant effort to induce the General Government to go beyond the limits of its taxing power, and to impose unnecessary burdens upon the people. Many powerful interests are continually at work to procure heavy duties on commerce, and to swell the revenue beyond the real necessities of the public service; and the country has already felt the injurious effects of their combined influence. They succeeded in obtaining a tariff of duties bearing most oppressively on the agricultural and laboring classes of society, and producing a revenue that could not be usefully employed within the range of the powers conferred upon Congress, and, in order to cast upon the people this unjust and unequal system of taxation, extravagant schemes of internal improvement were got up in various quarters, to squander the money, and to purchase support. Thus, one unconstitutional measure was intended to be upheld by another, and the abuse of the power of taxation was to be maintained by usurping the power of expending the money in internal improvements. You cannot have forgotten the severe and doubtful struggle through which we passed, when the Executive Department of the government, by its veto, endeavored to arrest this prodigal scheme of injustice, and to bring back the legislation of Congress to the boundaries prescribed by the Constitution. The good sense and practical judgment of the people, when the subject was brought before them, sustained the course of the Executive; and this plan of unconstitutional expenditure for the purpose of corrupt influences is, I trust, finally overthrown.

The result of this decision has been felt in the rapid extinguishment of the public debt, and the large accumulation of a surplus in the treasury, notwithstanding the tariff was reduced, and is now very far below the amount originally contemplated by its advocates. Entirely upon it, the design to collect an extravagant revenue, and to burden you with taxes beyond the economical wants of the government, is not yet abandoned. The various interests which have combined together to impose a heavy tariff, and to produce an overflowing treasury, are too strong, and have too much at stake to surrender the contest. The corporations and wealthy individuals who are engaged in large manufacturing establishments, desire a high tariff to increase their gains. Designing politicians will support it to conciliate their favor, and to obtain the means of profuse expenditure, for the purpose of purchasing influence in other quarters; and since the people have decided that the Federal Government cannot be permitted to employ its income in internal improvements, efforts will be made to seduce and mislead the citizens of the several States, by holding out to them the deceitful prospect of benefits to be derived from a surplus revenue collected by the General Government, and unequally divided among the States. And if, encouraged by these fallacious hopes, the States should disregard the principles of economy which ought to characterize every republican government, and should indulge in lavish expenditures exceeding their resources, they will, before long, find themselves oppressed with debts which they are unable to pay, and the temptation will become irresistible to support a high tariff, in order to obtain a surplus for distribution. Do not allow yourselves, my fellow citizens, to be misled on this subject. The Federal Government cannot collect a surplus for such purpose, without violating the principles of the Constitution, and assuming powers which have not been granted. It is, moreover, a system of injustice, and, if persisted in, will inevitably lead to corruption, and must end in ruin. The surplus revenue will be drawn from the pockets of the people, from the farmer, the mechanic, and the laboring classes of society; but who will receive it when distributed among the States, where it is to be disposed of by leading State politicians who have friends to favor and political partisans to gratify? It will certainly not be returned to those who paid it, and who have most need of it, and are honestly entitled to it. There is but one safe rule, and that is, to confine the General Government rigidly within the sphere of its appropriate duties. It has no power to raise a revenue, or impose taxes, except for the purposes enumerated in the Constitution, and if its income is found to exceed these wants, it should be forthwith reduced, and the burdens of the people so far lightened.

In reviewing the conflicts which have taken place between the different interests in the United States, and the policy pursued since the adoption of our present form of government, we find nothing that has produced such deep seated evil as the course of legislation in relation to the currency. The Constitution of the United States unquestionably intended to secure to the people a circulating medium of gold and silver. But the establishment of a National Bank of Congress, with the privilege of issuing paper money receivable in the payment of the public dues, and the unfortunate course of legislation in the several States upon the same subject, drove from general circulation the constitutional currency, and substituted one of paper in its place.

It was not easy for men engaged in the ordinary pursuits of business, whose attention had not been particularly drawn to the subject, to foresee all the consequences of a currency exclusively of paper; and we ought not, on that account, to be surprised at the facility with which laws were obtained to carry into effect the paper system. Honest, and even enlightened men, are sometimes misled by the specious and plausible statements of the designing. But experience has now proved the mischiefs and dangers of a paper currency, and it rests with you to determine whether the proper remedy shall be applied.

The paper system being founded on public confidence, and having of itself no intrinsic value, it is liable to great and sudden fluctuations; thereby rendering property insecure, and the wages of labor unsteady and uncertain. The corporations which create the paper money cannot be relied upon to keep the circulating medium uniform in amount. In times of prosperity, when confidence is high, they are tempted, by the prospect of gain, or by the influence of those who hope to profit by it, to extend their issues of paper beyond the bounds of discretion and the reasonable demands of business. And when these issues have been pushed on, from day to day, until public confidence is at length shaken, then a reaction takes place, and they immediately withdraw the credits they have given; suddenly curtail their issues; and produce an unexpected and ruinous contraction of the circulating medium, which is felt by the whole community. The banks, by this means, save themselves, and the mischievous consequences of their imprudence or cupidity are visited upon the public. Nor does the evil stop here. These ebbs and flows in the currency, and these indiscreet extensions of credit naturally engender a spirit of speculation injurious to the habits and character of the people. We have already seen its effects in the wild spirit of speculation in the public lands, and various kinds of stock, which, within the last year or two, seized upon such a multitude of our citizens, and threatened to prevade all classes of society, and to withdraw their attention from the sober pursuits of honest industry. It is not by encouraging this spirit that we shall best preserve public virtue and promote the true interests of our country. But if your currency continues as exclusively paper as it now is, it will foster this eager desire to amass wealth without labor; it will multiply the number of dependents on bank accomodations and bank favors—the temptation to obtain money at any sacrifice will become stronger and stronger, and inevitably lead to corruption, which will find its way into your public councils, and destroy at no distant day, the purity of your government. Some of the evils which arise from this system of paper, press with peculiar hardship upon the class of society least able to bear it. A portion of this currency frequently becomes depreciated or worthless, and all of it is easily counterfeited, in such a manner as to require peculiar skill and much experience to distinguish the counterfeit from the genuine note. These frauds are most generally perpetrated in the smaller notes, which are used in the daily transaction of ordinary business; and the losses occasioned by them are commonly thrown upon the laboring classes of society, whose situation and pursuits put it out of their power to guard themselves from these impositions, and whose daily wages are necessary for their subsistence. It is the duty of every government so to regulate its currency as to protect this numerous class as far as practicable from the impositions of avarice and fraud. It is more especially the duty of the United States, where the government is emphatically the government of the people; and where this respectable portion of our citizens are so proudly distinguished from the laboring classes of all other nations, by