VOLUME 84.

of anticipating the Southern States in

rating from the Union. It thus appears that in the horary of second

DVERTISENENTS .- One Square of Ten Lines one in ortion 75 Cents; two insertions \$1,09; three inser-tions \$1,25; one month \$1,50; two months \$2,50 nome months \$3,00; six months \$5,00; energents other advertisaments in proportion. These rate will be strictly adhered to, unless changed by special contract, or at the option of the publishers. Auditor's Notices, Strays, Divorces and like advertise ment, \$1,50; Administrator's Notices \$2,50; Loca Notices Five cents a line; Marriage Notices Twanty-FITE cents a piece; Obituary Notices (over three lines in extent) five cents per line. Original poetry, un lass written at the request of the editor, one deliar per line. All advertise nemis will be continued at the expen e of the person advertising, what i dedered out by his direction, unless a specified period is agreed upon for its insertion.

RECEIPTION - Two Dollars per assum to ad B PRINTING -We have one of the hest Jobbins office in the State, and are ready to do any work in that live that may be entrusted to us, in equal style

to any establishment outside of the largest cities MRS. S. H. HALL

NEW YORK. NOW OPENING LARGE STOCK

MILLINERY! Which will be sold CHEAP FOR CASH, OR READY-PAY. Particular attention paid to bleaching, coloris pressing.

Peach %1, 6th door above the Depot, Erie, Pa

A FACT GENERALLY KNOWN, THAT the variety of new style Bedsteads, of Gothic, Cottage, Congress, Round Corst, Camp Soft, Jenny Lind and other patterns, with
spentine and strait front, handownly veneered Bureaus,
strannon, Dining, Breakfast, Centre and other Fables,
haunts, Quaker Stands, Carpet and Damask Lounges,
hallots, Rair and Sea Grass Mattrassee, Feather Beds
d Boisters with other nonschold furniture, &c., all
anofactured from well seasoned-lember and healthy
specials by a correlessed warferse and not by appropriate y experienced werkinger and not by apprentic tyle, quality and low prices I will defy gree where to underself me. Feathers bought an ane west Parior, Redroom, Rocking, Sewing d other Chairs, of Eastern and Western manu-re hickory dolled, and glued, making them a sany other part of the chair, where others made

re only mailed, and by no means durable. Rocking, Sewing and Nurse, are chairs of ds clinched through the seat and glued, tand. Handsomely painted, and gates, war, and grid, price and finish. Spring Beds. I have by and have the highest testimonials with a sof all goods can't an arrival and a second can't are a second can't pping free.
five years experience and contending with un-aled two price dealers, I am determined to sell wo price dealers, I am newsmine to sustice all, give worth for your pay, and do justice Lath, Sning es, Live Stock, Crude and Refine. Produce &c., taken at fair market valued nher the place, next corner of Sth street a. W. ELISEY Manufact'r and Commis's Salesman.

THOLESALE & RETAIL GROCERY STORE. P. A. BECKER.

HOLESALE AND RETAIL GROCER, North-East Corner of the Park & French Street, (CHEAPEIDE,) ctfully call the attention of the community to his large Stock of GROCERIES AND PROVISIONS.

Which he is desirous to sell at the ery Lowest Possible Prices: His assortment of COFFEES TEAS

SYRUPS,

TOBACCOS, FISH. &C.. urpased in the city, as he is prepared to prove to also keeps constantly on hand a superior lot of

PUR'E LIQUORS, wholesale trade, to which he directs the attentio

MANHOOD: How Lost! How Restored!

otto is, "Quick Sales, Small Profits and a full slent for the Money." april 631f.

Published, in a Sealed Euvelope. Price 6 Cents. LECTURE on the Nature. Treatment and Radical ebilite, by . ROB'T J. CULVERWELL, M. D. HOB'T J. CULVERWELL, M. D. e important fact that the swisil consequences of Abuse may be effectually removed without internal clues or the dangerous application of causties, in-meats, m-dicated bougies, and other supprised dangels are demonstrated, and the authory new highly successful treatment as adopted by the celectanticly, fully explained, by which every one in celetocure himself perfectly, and at the least possibility of the control of the control of the celection of the celebrates and the celebrates of the cel

thousands.

-it under so.il; in a plain envelope, to anv address, of receipt of six sents, or two postage stamps, by adsect DR. CHAN. J. C. KLINE, LICALLY TROWERS, New York, Post Office Box, 4556.

SPRING. BONNET STORE. (Late Model Bonnet Store.) H. S. M. I. T. H. LESALE AND RETAIL DEALER IN MILLINERY GOODS. Miliners supplied with Goods at New York Prices rular ettention paid to Bleaching and Dressing vs. No 3 Hughes' Block, State St. ms y3tf.

Notice to Oil Refiners. E are prepared to sell to Redners OIL VITRIOL CAUSTIC SODA and GLUE at the lowest mar-price. We can sell Oil Vitrol by the car load at the Tacturers, thereby saving to the purchaser the ex-

and securing promptness in shipping.
CLEMENS, CAUGHEY & BURGESS. GROCERIES! GROCERIES!

AT OLESALE AND RETAIL P. SCHAAF. spectfu'ly inform the public that he has opened

2 Hughes' Block, Erie, he will always keep on hand a large supply of GROCERIES. CKERY AND WOODEN WARE

WINES, LIQUORS, CIGARS, verything usually for sale in an establishment of Terms as reasonable as any other store in the

EW CROCERY STORE. deraigned have opened a new Grocery Store, or SIDE OF STATE ST., 34 HOUSE RORTH OF RAILROAD BRIDGE, Where they intend keeping a full supply of

Veries, oceries, provisions, fruits, nuts, CKERY WARE.
YANKEE NOTIONS,
WILLUW WARE, PECTIONARIES, TOBACCO & CIGARS,

raything usually on hand in an establishment of the sort. the determined to offer as good inducements as any content in the city, and invite the public to call then that we can give entire attacked.

F. A. WEDBER & USE.

OYSTERS & CLAMS. HE Subscriber would respectifully inform his friends and customers the is still at his old stand, the still at his old stand ELS, STEAMBOAT , RESTAURANTS & FAMILIES

with the best OYSTERS AND CLAMS. attat afords, at Wholesale and Retail, at short and at the Lowser Living Paices. All Orders from the Country Promptly

Administrator's Notice. TTERS OF ADMINISTRATION in the second se leather,

istered to a more its lostbeams

dimilar aids to economic rais abound

t the consum to attempt. Democrats lacale di animme, als

TWO DOBIGES PER YEAR, IF PAID IN ADVANCE: \$2,50 LF NOT PAID UNTIL THE END OF THE YEAR.

XEWS OF THE

- Franci Linkel -

BUFFALO & ERIE R. R.

ON and after Monday, Jan. 4th, 1864, LEAVING ERIE.

A. M., Mell and Assum, stopping at Harbor Greek North Rast, Stinks Line, Quilace, Westland, Portland, Broston, Dunkirk, Silversweek, Lyring: and Angeles, arriving at Buffalo, at 10 30 A. M. P. M., Liny Express, stopping at North East, West Beld, Dunkirk, Silver Greek, and Angela, and arriving at Buffalo at 5 30 P. M.; P. M., Chesimanti Express, stopping at Westfald, Dunkirk and Silver Greek, and arrives at Buffalo at 9 40 P. M., Aight Express, stopping at Wasthald ankirk and Silver Creek, arrives at Buffalo at

4 30 41 M.
Day Express connects at Dunkirk and Buffalo, a left Express at Buffalo only, with Express trains w York, Philadelphia, Boston, &c.
LEAVING BUFFALO. 4 00 P. M., Mail & Act m., stopping at Hamburgh, North Evans, Angels, Irving, Silver Creek, Dunklek, Broa-ton, Fortland, Westfald, Quincy, State Line, North East and Parbor Creek, arriving at Erie at 8 28 P. M. A. M., Thiede Express, stopping at Silver Creek. Dunkirk, Westfield and North East, arrives at Rrie

55 A. M., Day Express, stopping at Angola, Silve Creek, Dunkirk, Westfield and North East, arriving at Eric at 3 40, P. M. P. M., Night Express, stepping at Silver Creek, Dunkirk and Westfield, arriving at Erici at 3 20 A. H.

Cleveland and Krie Railroad

N and after: Monday, April 20th, 1863, and until further notice, rassenger Trains will run LEAVE CLEVELAND. P. M. Might Express Train stope at Patnerri in Ashtabula and Girard, only, and arrives at Eric at

Annuaria and Orane, duty, and arrives at Eric at:
108 P. M., Mail and Accessmodation Train, stope at au
stations, and arrives at Eric at 8 25 P. M.,
4 00 P. M., Cinciantus Express, stope at Princeville,
Ashtabals and Girard, arrives at Eric at 7 00 P. M. Assissons an extract actives are new to remain to remain to P. M., Day Express, stops at Willengthy, Painsevilla, Geneva, Ashtaleila, Coament and Girard, ar rives at Erie at 1 22 P. M. LEAVE ERIK.

A. M. Night Express Train stops at Girars, Ashta bula and Painesville only, and arrives at Clevelan Z, and or and lat of Jan. 1868, have t m failed to disturb the relation of the sevond the hostile presence of our The President, it is true, made a 8 ma d weak resistance to the adoption of war | Discharges the Vitlated Secretions icy, but the abolition pressure was ve, and at length successful. ure involving such an utter disre-

party pledges, such a violent casting constitutional obligations, such diaopposition to the recognized princithe usages of war, and such a adaptation to widen instead of healreach occasioned by secession, could octed to be received with unques quiescence on the part of the law-Constitution-loving masses of the lence vast stretches of authority are and the time honored writ of habeas uspended.

pon the alleged ground of the iny of the erdinary processes of law in disloyal practices, the military aised into a superiority to the civil tial law is extended over the whole Persons not military are made liarrest without legal process, in a sum-- upon the indefinite charge of

Philadelphia & Erie R. R.

TWIS great line traverses the Northernand Northwest counties of Pennsylvania to the city of Eria, on Lake Erie. It has been leased by the Pennsylvania Reil-roed Company, and under their auxplose is rapidly being opened throughout its entire length.

It is now in use for Passenger and Freight business from Harrisburg to Emporium, (195 miles) on the Eastern Division, and from Shaffield to Erie, (18 miles) on the Western Division.

msiness of the Company's agents.
S. B. KINGSTON, JR., corner 18th and Market Streets.

ERIE RAILWAY CHANGE OF HOURS, COMMENCING MONDAY, FEB. 29, 1864.
Trains will leave Dunkirk at about the following house

Eastward Bound-Depart.

New Music Store.

PIANO FORTES AND MELODEONS

MAUNFACTURERS: Steinway & Som, New York.
Wm. Knabe & Co., Baltimore, Md.
Lindsman & Bons, New York.
Wm. B. Bradbury, New York.
John B. Dwahnm, New York.
J. P. Hale & Co., New York.
Goo. A. Princo & Co., Bashalo, H. Y.
Carhart, Needham & Co., New York.

Prices at a Large Discount below Manfacturer's Prices.

SEVEN OCTAVE, IBON FRAME, OVER STRUNG ROSE WOOD PLANOS FOR \$250. Also, Instruction Books and Sheet Music, All persons wishing a first rate Piane Forte or Melode on, are invited to call and examine our instruments be on purchasing elsewhere.

Reed's Block, State street, nearly opposite the Post
ZEBINA SMITH.

Office.

ZEHINA DAILAN.

P. S.—Every Instrument warranted for five years, may 760. 1y. C. ENGELHART, Dealer in Boots & Shoes

- ALSO, MANUFACTURER OF CUSTOM MADE BOOTS AND SHORS! WOULD take this method of returngenerally for their liberal patronage heretofore extended to him, and hopes to have a continuation of the same. I take pleasure to inform the public that I am still sel-

READY MADE SOOT? AND SHORS AS CHEAP, If not a Little Chapper,
Than any Home in this place, and Lais still making the
best qualities of Gent's Boots and Shoes, for which I employ none but the BET of WORKMEN, under the Superintendence of O. MILLER.
Having obtained a Leanse to use the

Plumer Patent Lest. I am now prepared to make the Piumer Patent Boots and Shous in a manner not to be surprised in Style and Workmanhip.

ETF I always keep our hand a selection of the best Stands of French and American Calfand Rips.

P. S.—Repairing attended to.

mr1264f.

READY PAY STORE! P. & J. MINNIG

Would respectfully inform the Public that they of STOCK OF GROCERIES OF JAMES A. BLIEF, COMMER OF STE AND STATE STE.

Where they intend to keep as good an as · FAMILY GROCERIES & PROVISIONS. WOOD & WILLOW WARE, AND VARIETY GOOD

aa is kopt in , Eria. Best Brands of Eric County Flour Kept constantly on hand and

WARRANTED & GOOD ARTICLE! gry The highest Market Price paid for all kinds [SMOTEMA]

ERIE, PA, SATURDAY MORNING, APRIL 2, 11864. REALESTATE

Obealt wordship was

ROZ TWO STORY BRICK BOURS, with stone collect brick bake oven, excellent well of water, large cisters carriage house, large barn; 26 by 66, an excellent or chard of grafted fracti manufling implies, cherries, pears, ite, adjoining the Out Lets of Erie, with 21

seres of excellent ground, part of which com an unarriamed view of the City, Bay, Harbor, &c. 25 ACRES adjoining above, small frame house, large frame bern, good orehard of grafted fruit, &u, for ... \$6,000

SE ACRES OHOICE L'AND-Binail frame house, frame barn, orchard, &s., & miles from Erie, for\$5,300 ACRES, winter from Erle, 40 improved, balance goo wood land, I mile from Sunbury Road and Jackson's Station—small house, here and orchard for ... \$6,500

THE Large and Complete Offi REFINERY, in the city of Erle, known as the "fly Refinery," especity about 150 barrels per week; together with 6 sprey of land, Conting on Phil's & Erie Hallroad, for\$4,400 LLEO, Lots, Houses and Lets and Out Lots in the City and Suburba.

The subscriber having recently enlarged and extended his manufacturing business, needs funds to carry it on, and to determined to bell a part of his Real Estate. He therefore offers the foregoing at the above low rates, and will make the terms favorable and titles perfe-A. KING. des26'88.

McAlister's ALL-HEALING OINTMENT

cunia Cures Disease by Opening the Peres restoring the Insensible Perspiration.

éel vad larger Absorbed by the Skin and Muscles, and porutes like Magie when Applied in Affect tions of the Lungs, Stomach and Bowels. The

paigest to also Equally Beneficial in Kidney Complaints. sociati by the Gallant Soldiers and Saliers Prize it higher the indefinite power of arrests is and & than Gold. It has saved immense suffering agréss ore lives on every gory battle-field than any other the 🚟 the de

> Those known all around the world as the treaté soothing and healing Cintment in existence COURSE MEALISTER is the Inventor and Preprietor, New and he is sold at 25 cents by all Druggists everywhere. Sold Europhanus. Carres, No. 4 West rark Row, Agent for Eric. Wholesale Depot at Mosrow & Co.'s, \$12 breadway. dec26'63-3m.

New Grocery! JACOB BOOTZ would respectfully an-

NEW GROCERY STORE on the West Side of Pouch Street, a Short Distance South of the Lake Shore Depot, Where he will keep on hand a large assortment of GROCERIES, PROVISIONS, WOOD AND WILLOW WARE, FLOUR

And everything usually kept in a first class store. ATSO. Wine, Sweet Cider and Liquers. The highest Market Price paid for Product, INCASE,

if desired.

Give me a call, if you wish to secure good bar-gains. I pledge myself to sell as Low, if not Lower, than any other store in the city.

mri256tf. Mrs. Allen's Photograph Albums & Prizes. Mrs. Alica's Photograph Albums & Prizes.

I WILL sendicable of my beautiful Phograph Albums, made from the finest Turkey Morocco, with double heavy, gold pladed extension clasps, and a yaluable prize, he express, pre-paid, for five dollars. No one need send the money till they knew what prize will accompany the Album. Perpong can dirst send on their names and try their luck. They will be notified by return mail of the result of a distribution, when they have the privilege of sending for the album and prize or not, as they choose. Splendid inducements offered to seent, indice as well as gentlemen. Full particulars, with circulars, sent by mail. Address (with stamp for rature, postage) Mrs. LUCX ALIEN, box 5.656, New York City.

Tork City.

27 P. S.—Zhy period who will cut out this advertisement and ancies it in a latter to the country of F. S.—Any period who will cut out this advertisement and enclose it in a latter to some friend in the army, and notify me of the first sad to whom sent, shall receive by return mail a beautiful and exact life photograph of Major General Grant, worth at retail 40 cents of single stamp will answer both for the return Photograph and trial of luck, as both can be sent in one letter maro-3m.

Mrs. ALLEN.

\$225. shven: octave \$225. Bosewood Piano-Fortes!

N E W, Enlarged Scale Piano-Fortes, With all latest improvements. Thirty years' or periones, with greatly laurened facilities for mannheturing, enable us to self-for CASH at the above unusually ow price. Our instruments received the highest awards the World's fine, said the five successive years at the American Institute. Warranted five years. There say American Call of soid for descriptive circular.

mand-dm. [1] [1] [1] [1]

DR. WEBSTER.

OF BUFFALO, N. Y., HAS LOCATED IN ERIE, PA.,

inhigistion of Oxygenized Air, ALL DISEASES OF THE HUMAN SYSTEM.

The Oxygen is breathed directly into the Lungs, and through them carried into the blood, expelling all impurities from the systems, and healing any and every deeme with which it may come in content. The sense of Coughe, Colds and Consumption, is a lack of oxygen in the sir we breathed. By the indication of oxygenized air, the blood becomes suggested and particle, and discuss disspects like deep before the wins.

A few administrations of the suggest will gare any of the following diseases: Dynamus Neurales Rhouns.

the blood.

We trust we have gold anough, to convince the philo-pophical mind of the officer; at the exygenized air as a remedial agent, and to induce the afflected to place them-salves at one water this terminal properties. remedial agent, and to induce the inflatind to place their resistant and one under this transmit.

CONSULTATION FARENCE.

Moreary VISIBLY drawn from to Aystem.

Volunteer testimonish from prominent citieses of New York and Brooklyn, who have been traved by this treatisent, and he seepe of the pressue.

CONSULTATION FARENCE TO THE TEST AREA OF THE RESISTANT AND ALPHATE BOOK A SHORE STORE

ABOYE E. N. MUNICIPAL BOOK A SHORE STORE

Also agent the the tale of the Frankrien's Popular regular, of 284 pages, the Mattencheldtism and the Dermateblethis, 17 ኒሜቸርኛ የ 6 . . የተለጀመር ፡፡ **ይለውምዕራ-ሽቃ-ሙዕ** ተመመመውለ የመ**መ**ጀመር ለ የ ነ ነ ነ ነ ነ ነ ነ ነ ነ ነ ነ ነ ነ

HOWARD! ASSOCIATION. ISEASES OF THE NERVOUS, SEMI-RAL and ERRAL SYSTEM new and reliable treatment—in referred of the Holyan AND ASSICIATION—South Fault by main in manifest of new long a free of charge. Address Dr. J. SKILLIN HOUGHTON, Security Association, No. 2 South Night St. Philadelphia Charles and Printed association, No. 2 South Night St. Philadelphia (High TV) mrs 1211. Additionally 1211. Dissolution of Co-Partnership.

HE FIRM of Coursered & Caughey was dissibled in the last at All debts of said from will be settled by Wa. A. Grawford, to whom all debts belonging to said from will be said - a spee being authorized to use the manufact of Walls settling the same. THE UNDERSIGNED HAVE THIS Any begand a we-particularly under the first himself, reached helpstecked, and will continue the Ground and Complete Bulletin by the six stands of Crawling Recognition of the Six stands of Crawling Recognition of Gravity West and CRAWFORD.

Prince Bull of weight of the Six of RAWFORD.

WE ARE OFFERING A large assertment of Rubber Goods, Comba a, Della, Dell Hands, Genne and Ausserments for the Purses, Porto Homasics, Portunery, So. BEHER & SUBCESS.

The Old Story. Minusi, sidmins, yoting Eddle Jenes Who called for me life right,

And by the fallen oak sat down,. ath the moon's most light, Whispered so many profly things. About his sountry better, And took my hand in his, and saked If I would be his own

He called me beautiful and said

My head was snowy white, My fips were cored, and my eyes Warm Men the Slamend's light : And then he sighed and looked so and, And seemed in such distress. That when he saked made be his. I had to tell him yes.". "I'le ! fie ! my daughten-Eddie Jone I A nice young man may be.

And does not own a 'sed,' Before I see you marry him, I'd rather both were dead." " But, dear memma, young Eddie James Fire thousand pounds or more; And all his money is his own,

Besides his country home;-

Mamma, mamma, I'd rather be

But "he can't keep a heal," nor

He's nothing but a younky clows.

A husband be to thee?

Ills bride than live alone, "I know he loves the very ground On which my shadow falls, And will delight to faralsh me With bonnets, hoops, and shawls; And more than gold man buy, More than my petted vine That climbs upon the perchal leve

To know his meany is mine" "Five thousand pounds, and all his own! Whew I daughter, what a plie ! Not that I care a fig for wealth, Therefore you needn't smile, But Eddie Jones has wen your heart And loves you, too, I guess ! So when he asks your hand again, Just say, I acquiesce."

Speech of Hon. Jno. L. Dawson. OF PRESSELVANIA. in the U.S. House of Representatives

Feb. 24, 1864, on the Bill to establish a Bursay

of Freedmen's Affairs. Mr. Speaker, it is now about eight years since I left these Halls. The country was then in the enjoyment of an unmierrupted career of prosperity. It seemed as though at length the problem of government had been solved, and that human wisdom had produced s system which, resting upon a basis of just and equal laws for individuals, consulted with the happiest success for the rights and interests of the political communities which composed the federation. From small beginnings three quarters of a century ago we had grown to greatness. From thirteen polonies, feeble and poor at best, we had become a populous and, wealthy nation, a rich and powerful empire. The great nations of the world had come to look upon us with respect, with admiration and envy. Sectional causes of difference had indeed suffled rather too rudely nounce to the people of Erie city and county, that | the calm surface of our presperity, t but prone which had hitherto befriended us, we dismissed lightly the apprehensions of evil which they were sitted to eccasion us. We took counsel too readily of our wishes, and always rested

> perpetual. Such was the state of things at the close of my representative term in 1855. I return here in the midst of a revolution. Country." men of the same lineage are arrayed in bloody conflict. Strange and unheard of doctrines of government are promulgated by those in possession of authority; and powers and neasures unknown to the Constitution are resorted to with desperate eagerness at the

> call of the novel exigencies which have arisen. The division of the country by violence has been all along foreseen by the wise among us as the consequence of causes which might have been avoided. As it is, the future inquirer into the history of the events transpiring around us, will be struck with amage. ment at the folly and madness which could thus permit to perish, if perish it shall, a government so admirable after an existence but little extended beyond that prescribed by the Psalmist as the maximum of individual as compared with the brief duration of our institutions. furnishes the most conclusive attestation of their unparalleled excellence. Yet

life. The fact of our extraordinary greatness this has not sufficed, when once the demon of noble fabric of civilization from the rule, it may be, which has been the common fate of. nations. The wisdom and foresight of the fathers have been shamed; and together with the memory of their noble struggles, sacrifices and sufferings in the cause of independence and freedom, their counsels and warnings, have been cast to oblivion. In vain the commom ties of language, manners, literature and religion, of blood and country and glory, have

raised their supplicating voice for the continuance of the Union. Nearly three years of civil war have now discharged their relentless fury upon our unhappy country; and we are yet apparently as remote from any satisfactory adjustment of our differences as when we first few to arms. These unlucky years have seen many of the penceful pursuits of the country broken up, its wast resources wasted in amfruitful conflict, and the members of almost every household arrayed in the sable habiliments of grief. And still the contest rages. This illfearful proportions between the present and the return of prosperity to our country. The all-important and practical question which we have to determine is, what is the policy which the exigency demands ! In order to a wise sonparty struct to windraw our street of the constitution, neither did they solution of the Union and formation of a solution of the Union and formation of the

an union, more or less extensive, of the Brite ish colonies, was from a very early period not an unfamiliar one with our fathers. Such an the Dutch of New Amsterdam. The congress important one which, was called at the same the colonies against hostilities by the Prench respectively or to the people." and Indians. The projected union failed, however, through jealousies on the part of the onies themselves. The idea of colonial union bered, was to consult for the "common welfare" against the oppressive measures and unwarrantable pretensions of the mother country. While resistance was determined upon against the claim to tax the colonies Political societies." without their consent, the idea of independence had not yet found acceptance in the colonial councils. In the spirit of attachment to Great British, the colonies would freely have united in conceding to her the benefit of of taxation. The measures adopted by that

colonies were forced into independence. Simultaneously with that act, the Continental Congress proceeded to prepare Articles of Confederation, which should express the nature of the compact between the States, and | ment of the United States and those of the define the powers conferred upon the Congress as well'as those reserved to the States. Not in their respective spheres. I therefore find withstanding the greatness of the common no difficulty in a divided allegiance, and I exigency, diversity of interests, local prejudicies and jealousies prevented an immediate union by Congress on such Articles, and not till in March, 1781, was the ratification of these articles completed by the thirteen

States. What is especially to be noted in the of these proceedings is the jealous care exerised by the several colonies in asserting their individual sovereignty and in guarding it against encroschment. Thus, in the action of the various independent political communities in appointing delegates to the Continenal Congress, the 'wole and exclusive regulation of their own internal government, police and concerns," was explicitely reserved. The States consented to surrender only a very partial control over the subject of trade. The Congress was invested by the articles with no control whatever over individuals.

Under these articles the United States were enabled to close the war of the Revolution, sitions for delinquincies in raising revenue could only be made against States in their corporate capacities, there was no remedy when these were withheld by the States except a resort to civil war. This was the dein the conclusion that the Republic must be fect of the old Confederation, as it had been of all similar establishments of ancient and modern times-of the Grecian republics; the Germanic, Hansestic, the Dutch, and the Helvetian. The immediate and pressing grievance which paralyzed the energies of the Confederate Government was the numerous, diverse, and connecting interests and regula-

tions in regard to trade. In order to secure the fruits of the Revolution it was necessary that the commerce of the country should be freed from the disadvantages under which it was placed by the discriminations imposed upon it by foreign Governments by the navigation laws which their own interests and cupidity had induced necessary that the public faith should be pre-European Governments strictly complied with. It was also necessury to "provide for the sectionalism has been evoked to save this of the Confederation by conferring upon the central Government still larger and better defined powers; and by distributing them through well balanced legislative, judicial, and executive departments, to bring down those powers to operate upon individuals. In these three particulars: In the greater extent and more precise definition of the powers conveyed; in surrendering the control of the several States over the subject of commercial as to act upon individuals within the sphere of those powers, consists the great and material difference of the Constitution of 1789 from the Articles of Confederation. It was these changes which converted the Government of the United States from a specious but lifeless and inefficient organization to one of vital and energetic power for great and beneficial ends. It was and is still not less a Federal Government. Neither in the circumidated Government in lieu of that of the compact of the States.

The Convention of 1787, which framed the Constitution, was composed of delegates from sultation upon this subject, it is necessary to the several States, and not from the people at look to the past as well as the future. What large. Propositions in that Convention were is this Government, whose suspending is in such voted upon by the delegates, not as individufearful peril, and for the maintenance of lale, but by States. It was not a majorily of which the country is yielding so lavishly of its the delegates, but a majority of the States, by blood and treasure? I am convinced that it which each proposition was rejected or became is from loose and incorrect ideas of the nature is part of the Constitution. As the people did of our Government, from allowing the heats of not act as a whole in appointing a Convenparty strife to withdraw our attention from tion to form a Constitution, neither did they in my judgement, be alike criminaled a shall Beats was necessary to but it into operation. speak, therefore, under these deep convioling was not oblained until July 26, 1785. And ration, the States of Massachusetts and Conof duly which the times lastire, and with that though, as accepted by mise States, the new agricus sent commissioners to Washington to unrenerred freedom and haldenes which jare | Garerament went into reperation the deb at present their deniends to the Administration. The true character of our government, then, until the 21st of November following, more will be best perceived from a glance at its than two years after its adoption by the Con-

nearly three years after that event ; and those States, during the period of their hesitation, were treated by the logislation of the United union was formed by certain of the New Engal States as foreign countries. By the seventh land colonice as early as 1648; the object being article of the Constitution it is declared that the common defence against the Indians and The ratification of the convention of nine Blates "shall be sufficient for the establishment of which met at Albany in 1722, and included this Constitution between the States ratifying other colonies than the New England, opn- the same." The tenth article also declares templated a similar union, as did the more that the "powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by place in 1754, to consult for the protection of it to the States, are reserved to the States

It thus appears, from a consideration of the circumstances under which the Constitution home Government, as well as among the col- was produced, and from the provision of the instrument itself, that our Government is a was af length fully matured in 1774, in the compact between sovereign and coequal politfirst Continental Congress which met at Phil- ical communities, the States composing it. adelphia; consisting of the representatives of Gouverneur Morris, who was the individual in twelve colonies. Its object, it will be remem. | the convention upon whom devolved the task of revising the language of the instrument before its adoption by that body, also declared "that the Constitution was a compact, not between solitary individuals, but between I have thus recurred to what are seen to be

leading facts and principles in the formation of our Government. This retrospect must convince us that it is historically true that our Government was formed by the States as her navigation acts could she have consented parties, and not by individual citizens as to have renounced the fatal claim to the right | members of one community. I hold it at the same time true that this Government, which Congress had for their object to compet her is one of limited and specially defined powers, to absadon that right, and British commerce is of the same obligatory authority within the was to be renounced till she did so. Two sphere of the granted powers, as the State years later, by the mad persistence of the governments themselves within the spheres of home Government in her unjust measures; the the reserved powers. I see not how this can be otherwise, since both were created by the same authority—that of the individual citizens of the several States acting through their respective State organizations. The governseveral States are therefore equally sovereign hold that allegiance to bind the citizen in equal degree to the government of the State and to that of the nation, both proceeding from the same source—the people of the several States. In case of irreconcilable differ ence between the Federal and State govern ments, there is no necessity that the parties to the compact should, each for itself, decide the dispute; for in the very instrument of compact they appointed an arbiter, the judiciary, by whose decisions they agreed to

sbide. If these were still not sufficient, and the Constitution, even under the interpretation of its own functionaries, should be found in its working to bear hard upon individual States, there was still another peaceful remedy provided by the charter. This was the amendment of the charter itself. It is a consequence of these views that there is no cause which ng its authority, which might not be of to authorize resistance to the State governments. In other words, there is no cause resulting from the nature of the compact, or the relation of the parties, to do this as of constitutional right, but only that cause which exists in all governments, the ultema ratio abolish their Government when in their judgement it has proved destructive of its endmy view, alike without warrant in the Constitution.

The South has been consistent since 1798 in adhering to the doctrine of State rights. When the Constitution first went into operation, the doctrine that the Constitution was a compact between political societies or sovereignties received the consent of many of the asserted as distinctly and emphatically by those Governments to adopt. It was not less Morris, by Sherman, Johnson, and Oliver Ellsworth, afterwards Chief Justice of the served; that the debts contracted during the United States, of the North, as it was by Mad-Revolution should be liquidated, and the treaty ison and Jefferson. Nor did the doctrine stipulations into which we had entered with | rest merely on constitutional history and fact or abstract theory with the North, Repeatedly before this was done by any part of the common defense." These were the great and South, was the theory of State rights resorted pressing inducements to the formation of a to by New England as a justification for new compact of union. In it a remedy was breaking up the Union. The first of these sought also for the weakness and inefficiency was during the administration of Washington when the New England Representatives declared that those States would secede unless the debts of those States should be assumed by the general Government. The second was ther step in the same direction when by the upon the occasion of the embargo act, passed tariffs of 1816 and 1824 and 1828 duties upon . to meet the Berlin and Milan decrees of Mapoleon, and the British orders in council. The embargo being, in view of the Eastern States, designed as a blow at their commerce for the benefit of other sections of the country. regulations; and in the distribution of the open resistance was threatened in case the powers through a well organized system, so embargo was enforced. The violence of this outery secured the repeal of the embargo in 1809. A similar disposition was manifested in New England again on the purchase of Louisiana. The proposition of a measure which has added so incalculably to the greatness and prosperity of the country was met with similar threats of dissolving the Union. But a fourth time and with a still louder and more unsatisfied clamor did New England threaten rebellion to the Government, and stances which attended its formation and throw herself upon the doctrine of State sovadoption, nor in the instrument itself, nor yet ereignly as authorizing a dissolution of the judged rebellion still interposes it hage and in the expositions of its founders, is there Union. This was during the administration apparent any intention to substitute a consol- of Mr. Madison, and from dissatisfaction with its measures, the last of which was the decla-

ration of war in 1812. Slavery then, as now, the Constitution" which must be amputated. It mattered not then, as it has not in more recent times, that it was a part of the Constitution. This opposition took an organized form of expression in the Hartford Convention of December 15, 1814, in which Massa bostility to slavery continued to increase, and add Connecticut by seven, Bhode Island four, New tion of Missouri for admission info the Union of Hampshire three, and Vermont one. A dis solution of the Union and formation of a South Carolina before the final act of sepaformation. It is well known that the idea of vention; now Rhode Island till May 29, 1790 no doubt alone saved New England the honor

sion and mullification, as constitutional remadies for real or imaginary griovesses, the North and the South were utike participants. While Liministrated rays over this privite. tion of the conseguences deduced ifmen these doctrines, it is impossible to doug that their full justification is found in the touchings said practice of the North. In my judgment both were wrong. Allegiance was in both instances. equally due to the General Government withinthe uphere of the granted powers us to the States within the reserved; and I do not think that in either case the griovance was sufficient to justify revolution of the more value

As to the right of the General Covernmen to overoe a State; in mach electronisticates, the preponderance of authority may be said to have been adverse. It is well known that a proposition to confer the power of coercing & State was made in the Constitutional Courses tion: by Edward Randolphyrand was dool- of sively rejected. It is also clear that it is not among the specially granted powers, and if it be found there at all, it is among those which are necessary to carry the granted powers into effect. It was the opinion of Johnson and Ellaworth, the delegates in the Constitutional Convention from Connections, and of Mr. Madison, from Virginia," that the Constitution does not attempt to coerce sovereign States in their political capacities; that the power which is to enforce the laws in to be a legal power, vested in the magistrates." The force to be employed is the energy of lew, and his is to be exerted only upon individuals. 291 Hamilton, if he did not expressly deny the existence of the nower to course, certainly did not at least contemplate its éxercise. He ap-27/ proved of the proceedings by Massachusetts." calling in aid the power of the General Gove ernment to suppress the Skay insurrection. out he remarked in that connection: e im-

"But how can this force be exerted on the State collectively? It is impossible. --It amounts to a declaration of war, between the 🔗 parties. Foreign powers also will not be idle 👊 pentators. They will interfere; the cenfusion will increase, and a dissolution of the ... Union will ensue."

It is apparent from the history of the State rights dectrine, that in framing a national Government there were many and great diversities to be reconciled between the independent States. Though speaking a common language, and possessing the common law as a ommon inheritance, the colonies of the different sections were marked by radical and striking peculiarities. The Puritans of New England differed not more in character from the Cavallers of Virginia, than the Huguenotis of the Carolinas from the Quakers of Pennsylvania, and the Roman Catholics of Marva: and from the Dutch of New York. The president judices of opinion and antipathles which the settlers brought with them from Europe were still actively cherished in their new abode. There were also wide differences of interest. The interests of northern States were chiefly ... commercial, their wealth consisting in the ships engaged in the carrying trade and in . the fisheries. The States of the South, whose property was more largely in slaves, were in ; __ terested in planting. In forming a common Government those discordant elements had to be consulted and reconciled. To any one who has carefully studied the history of the Constitution it must be clear that if the full demands of the sections had been insisted on in would justify withholding allegiance from the Convention, that body would have termithe government of the United States and nated without results. But the occasion was ufficient magnitude and oppressive character [wise heads and patriotic hearts of the men of the Bevolution were there to meet it in the proper spirit. New England demanded protection for her navigation, while the South required protection for her slave property. These demands were reconciled by the South surrendering to the common Government the populi, the right of the people to alter and right to tax the ships of foreign States and to impose daties upon imports—in other words. the control of the whole subject of trade-Nullification and secession are therefore, in New England conceding to return to the South the right of importing slaves for twenty years. the right to have three-fifths of her slaves reckoned in the basis for representation, and the right to the surrender of her fugitive slaves. This, as characterized by Governeur Morris, was the "bargain" between the sections, and by it slavery became a part of enr national Government. Had these concesgreatest and best minds of the North. It was sions not been obtained, it is but the simple truth to say that the southern States would never have become parties to the Government.

Such, then, was the Government left the by our fathers; and whatever fault we may find with the conditions which it involves, good faith required that we should strictly adhers to them. I believe the history of our Government will bear me out in the assertion, that: whatever troubles we have at any time exerciperienced have been in consequence of the exercise of the doubtful powers, and of a departure ture from the spirit of the compact. I might and instance that departure in the case of the establishment of the National Bank, and there assumption of the State debts. It was a furimports were levied not for the clearly nonstitutional purpose of an economical administration of the Government, but for the avowed object of protection to home manufactures. Happy, thrice happy for the people of these States would it have been, had the sectional feeling of the country limited itself to such triumphs as it might keps to schieve through the exercise of the implied powers under the Constitution.

But it manifested itself further in a diamit tinfaction on the part of the North with the compromises of the Constitution in regard to slavery. There had indeed existed alminicontemporaneously with the adoption of the Bat charter a small party of abolisistists, equals 4007 ing chiefly of the Quakers of New Mariand: '3 and Pennsylvania. These parties, thering and Washington's administration, Mad memorial- ic ized Congress for the abolition of the phoenic trade prior to the time fined in the Constitute De tion, and for the abelition of slavery within and the States. This crys, which originated with "75 was held up to odium as "the rotten part of fanatics, was caught up by politicians for party ends, and was used with great bliters de ness by the northern jeurnale to intensifican the hostility which that acction entertain toward the measures of Mr., I offeren a land w. Mr. Madison's administrations. The sairit of chusetts was represented by twelve delegates, broke out with fresh rigulates on the applicaance from its connection with a contact for

Columbia; and John Gainey Manny pages 14d eatly and detactly promate stranger of ing for the dissibilities of the trail nullified by their legislatist The steil de Constant the bithright of the Ameldein bilden and Sonid March, 1789, North Carolina did not second without the high name of Harri-[Continued on third page.]