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Best Brands of Erie County Flour!

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THE ERIE OBSERVER.

TWO DOLLARS PER YEAR, IF PAID IN ADVANCE; \$2.50 IF NOT PAID UNTIL THE END OF THE YEAR.

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1864. BUFFALO & ERIE R. R.

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

Cleveland and Erie Railroad

ON and after Monday, April 20th, 1863.

Erie & Pittsburgh H. R.

CHANGE OF TIME, COMMENCING Monday, Jan. 4th, 1864.

Philadelphia & Erie R. R.

CHANGE OF HOURS, COMMENCING Monday, Feb. 22, 1864.

ERIE RAILWAY

CHANGE OF HOURS, COMMENCING Monday, Feb. 22, 1864.

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Prices at a Large Discount below Manufacturer's Prices.

C. ENGELHART, Dealer in Boots & Shoes!

READY PAY STORE!

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STOCK OF GROCERIES OF JAMES A. BLISS.

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Speech of Hon. J. D. Baynes, of Pennsylvania.

Delivered in the U. S. House of Representatives Feb. 24, 1864, on the bill to establish a Bureau of Freedmen's Affairs.

What right, sir, has Congress to authorize arbitrary arrests in the face of the prohibitions of the Constitution?

It is added to the Constitution. These restraints are necessary, it is said, because by the indulgence of free discussion the work of the Government is weakened.

But what an argument is this! A man of constitutional liberty, and whose public opinions form the substratum of all our institutions!

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measures with which the Administration has undertaken to meet the emergency

and perilous character, and their utter despotism in a true policy. Since we have thus far failed in reducing the rebellion

the unconstituted weapons of restraint upon the liberty of the person, of speech, and of the press—of martial law, emancipation

proclamations, and confiscation acts, it is fitting now for us to inquire whether the armory of the Government does not furnish others

of more potent energy and efficiency. There can indeed be no permanent peace upon these principles.

The complete conquest and subjugation of an intelligent and high spirited people history amply demonstrates to be a work of long duration and uncertain result.

Superior resources and physical power may be sufficient to scatter military organizations, but it is quite a different thing to conquer and to subjugate.

The history of the Anglo-Saxon race is full of illustrations of this truth. The Normans conquered that race at the battle of Hastings in 1066, but after a struggle of six hundred years the Saxon element had reasserted itself, and the English constitution was restored as it was before the conquest.

A great standing army would be necessary to keep the South in subjection, and the world would acquire a position to the rest of the Union such as Ireland and India occupy to England.

This war was inaugurated to put down military usurpation. The calm, just, and ever patriotic judgment of a confiding people approved and cheered it on its progress.

It was not intended to be a war against communities, individuals, or their property and rights, but a war in defence of the Constitution, the laws, and for the preservation of the Union.

This is still its true and proper object, and to this, if we look for an early and stable peace, the Administration must return.

The proclamations must be withdrawn, the confiscation acts repealed, and we must get back to the resolution adopted by Congress after the first battle of Bull Run. Mark well its clear and patriotic import:

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and eminent benefits; and the people of every State grew warm in their attachment to it,

and wished for its perpetuity. The North had profited largely by her connection with the South, and by every variety of exchange.

She had profited largely by the products of slave labor. New England, with her barren soil and severe climate, had yet, by her manufacturing industry with a tariff protection,

and her coastwise and foreign trade, grown rich and more populous than any other portion of the Union of the same area.

She had also disproportionate power for shaping the policy of the country to her own advantage in having with a small territory a representation of singular inequality in the Senate.

With a total population of 3,185,283 she speaks through the mouths of twelve Senators in the National Legislature; while the State of New York, with a population of 3,880,785, is heard only through two. In view of the superior benefits which the North has derived from the Union, it must be admitted to be the expression of a grave truth that the Cavalier held the cow while the thrifty Puritan steadily milked her.

This war will be prosecuted, and its great purpose should be peace upon the basis of the Constitution. If we fail to accomplish this, through the obtinate and misdirected policy of the Administration, we shall have no permanent Government left in the North under the present Constitution.

The cohesive power which constitutes the national bond would be gone, and with it would speedily perish the national debt. In the competition for commerce, resulting in a line of free ports from the capes of the Chesapeake to the Rio Grande our foreign commerce, too, would dwindle, and the revenue derived therefrom would perish.

It would be impossible in congressional legislation to reconcile the commercial interests of New York and the agricultural interests of the Northwest with the manufacturing industry of New England and Pennsylvania; free trade and protection alike would be obstinately demanded. An unceasing border war would be the inheritance of the States bounded by the line of separation.

It is a still graver consideration that in the event of such a calamity no man of reflection can think so fast as to see that a portion of the States must become reunited by the instincts of empire, as well as by every consideration of interest, of trade, of commerce, and of security.

Cast your eye over the map of the States, and you see that all the rivers from the Hudson to the Rio Grande, have their outlet to the ocean through the Southern States. The trade of the Lakes, which is alone greater than all our foreign commerce, reaches tide-water west of New England, while that of the great basin of the Mississippi with its tributaries, comprising fifty thousand miles of navigable navigation, can find its way cheaply by the currents along to the Gulf of Mexico.

The products of this mighty valley and the cotton of the South constitute the basis of the commerce of New York. It is idle to suppose that she can exist without a union with these grand divisions.

Pennsylvania must have a market for her iron and coal, and the products of her varied industry; while the Northwest is sure to follow her destiny marked by the water-courses, as every producing and trading people that had the power have always done from the days of the Phoenicians down to the present time.

While the South has all the resources and geographical advantages which I have described, in all probability it cannot exist alone, even if successful, for any great length of time as an independent Power.

A union with the north-western and middle States would become a necessity. For the present, perhaps for a generation, the vast stake which European Governments have in the division of a Government based upon the popular will, and in the article of cotton would secure protection to the Southern Confederacy.

the South should be united almost to a man, and that its resistance should be intensified and embittered with an energy derived from desperation.

Above all things, Mr. Speaker, I desire a restoration of the Union as it was. It is the grand experiment of civil liberty. Any sacrifice, any concession, any appropriation should be made to prevent its failure.

We have a great mission, and no trivial consideration of the negro, or any other, should be permitted to interrupt it. It is our mission to demonstrate the problem of self government, and to revolutionize other Governments by the silent force of a great example.

While the common law and all the privileges and advantages of civilization have been transferred to this continent, nothing but the stable continuance of our admirable system of government is needed to attract within it the people of every clime.

Never were an aggregation of free and independent political communities better circumstanced geographically for the purposes of such a Union.

On a scale of magnitude far surpassing the petty States of Greece, Switzerland, and the Low Countries on the Rhine, there was, as between themselves, the happiest adaptation for a common government.

Looking on the north and east to New England, there was there no conflict of pursuits with any other section. Her climate was rigorous and her soil sterile, and her only means of development were found in commerce and in manufactures.

She was in a position to do the carrying trade for her neighbors, and to work up their raw material. Crossing westward into the State of New York, we find her the possessor of great and peculiar resources, and of the national metropolis, designed by nature as the commercial emporium of the continent.

A little farther south was Pennsylvania, filled with iron and coal, and favored perhaps more highly than any individual State with a combination of agricultural, mineral, manufacturing and commercial advantages.

To the west, in the great valley of the Mississippi, the production of the cereals was a wonder. But none of the States thus noticed produced rice, sugar-cane, cotton or gold.

These, again, were the peculiar product of the States lying between Pennsylvania and the Gulf, and of those on the Pacific. There was, therefore, among the several States those elements of unity, an adaptability to supply each other's wants, and a mutual dependence.

They were further tied together by great rivers reaching far into the interior, and facilitating intercourse between remote points. There were on the Atlantic slope the Hudson, the Susquehanna, the Delaware—to omit others of minor name—and there in the heart of the continent the great inland sea of the Mississippi, flowing due south from the arctic regions, and stretching his long arms to the Missouri and the Ohio from the Allegheny to the Gulf of Mexico, seemed also designed by Providence as another physical bond of union.

There was in all this evidently the most admirable foundation for a union, for that very Government, indeed, adopted by our fathers, combining in itself all the advantages of a consolidated empire for all purposes of defence against foreign aggression, and containing within the State organizations every provision to meet the wants of particular localities.

Experienced proved its great soundness and eminent benefits; and the people of every State grew warm in their attachment to it, and wished for its perpetuity.

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