THURSDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1865.

Grie Weekly Observer.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

Message of the President of the United States to the two Houses of Congress at the commencethe two first session of the Thirty-ninth

follow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives :

Representative of God, in the name of To express grating to too, in the name of the people, for the preservation of the United the people, is my first duty in addressing you. Our states, is my first duty in addressing you. the provides the proof of its confidence by en-of the relevant of the death of the late the president by an act of particidal treason. The president by an act of particidal treason. The president by an act of particidal treason. The president by an act of particidal treason and risk of the nation is still fresh; it finds some risk of the consideration that he lived to en-value highest proof of its confidence by en-of the bighest proof of its confidence by en-oring on the renewed term of the Chief Magis-ering on the renewed term of the Chief Magis-ering on which he had been elected; that he act of the civil war substantially to a close; rought the civil war substantially to a close of the his loss was deplored in all parts of the his loss was deplored in all parts of the his and that foreign nations have rendered at hts l nion; and that hery. His removal cast upon the best weight of cares than ever devolv-are bestier weight of cares than ever devolv-near bestier weight of cares than ever devolvlupon any on any one end the support and confidence by trust I need the support and confidence who are associated with me in the vari-land iments of government, and the supbi departments of government, and the sup-soft and confidence of the people. There is a of and confidence of the people. There is at any in which I can hope to gain their sub one way in which I can hope to gain the ir sub one way in which I can boot to gain the ir sub ond the sub of the to state with frankness the subset of the subset wary and; it is to state with frankness the every which guide my conduct, and their more than the present state of affairs, well phaling to the efficiency of my labors will, in sare that the efficiency of my labors will, in real measure, depend on your and their un-real measure, depend on your and their un-

The Union of the Onlice States of America resulted by its authors to last se long as resulted demselves shall last. "The Union 28 States themselves shall ast. "The Union the States themselves shall last. "The Union the States themselves shall last. "The Union abail be perpetual," are the words of the Con-abail be perpetual, " are the words of the Con-the the declared purpose of the United States as and an of Divine Providence was never The band of Divine Providence was never pre plainly visible in the affairs of men than in the declared purpose of the the theorem the band of Divine Providence was never the framing and the adopting of that instruin the framing and the adopting of that instru-ment. It is, beyond comparison, the greatest real in American history; and indeed is it even in American bistory; and indeed is it sol, of all events of modern times, the most perchant with consequences for every people of the carth? The members of the Convention the boroursed it, brought to their work it is the cartin. And it, brought to their work the shot prepared it, brought to their work the esperience of the Confederation, of their sev-esperience and of other Republican Govern-ral States, and of other Republican Governments, old and new ; but they needed and they bianed a wisdom superior to experience ablanced a wisdom superior to experience. And when for its validity it required the ap-proval of a people that occupied a large part of continent and acted separately in many dis-met conventions what is more wonderful than thet conventions contention and naction vertices and all opinions were ultima-dia, all feelings and all opinions were ultima-gly drawn in one way to its apport?

the Constitution to which life was thus im-The Constitution to which life was thus im-parted contains within itself ample resources for its own preservation. It has power to en-force the liws, punish treason, and ensure do-mette tranquillity. In case of the usurpation metter anguillity. of the Government of a State by one man, or of the Government, it becomes a duty of the l'nited States to make good the guarantee to United States to make good the guarantee to that State of a republican form of government, and so maintain the homegenousness of all. Nee the large of time reveal defects? A sim-ple mode of amendment is provided in the Con-tinuity used so the its condition permote statistics on that its condition can always situation uself, so that its condition can always be made to conform to the requirements of ad-sancing civilization. No room is allowed even or the thought of the possibility of its coming to an end. And these powers of self-preservaion have always been asserted in their comtombare always been asserted in their com-plete integrity by every patriotic Chief Magis-trate-by Jefferson and Jackson, not less than by Washington and Madison. The parting ad-vice of the Father; of his Country, while yet President, to the people of the United States, was, that "the free Constitution, which was the work of their hands, might be sacredly maintained;" and the inaugural words of President Jefferson held up "the preservation of the tieneral to remember, in its constitution-it vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety should." The Constitution is the work of "the people of the United states," and it should be as indestructible as the people. the people. It is not strange that the framers of the Con-

stitution, which had no model in the past, should not have fully comprehended the excel-lence of their own work? Fresh from a struge against arbitrary power, many patriots suf-red from harassing fears of an absorption of the State Governments by the General Govern-ment, and many from the dread that the States rould break away from their orbits. But the ery greatness of our country should allay the pprehension of encroachments by the General

tent; would have divided the people into the vanquishers and the vanquished; and would have envenomed hared rather than have restored affection. Once established, no precise limit to their continuance was conceivable. They would have occasioned an incalculable and exhausting expense. Peaceful emigration to and from that portion of the country is one of the best means that can be thought of for the restoration means that can be thought of for the restoration of harmony; and that emigration would have been prevented; for what emigrant from abroad, what industrious citizen at home, would place himself willingly under military rule? The chief persons who would have follow-ed in the train of the army would have been de-pendent on the General Government, or men who expected profit from the mixerise of their erring fellow-citizens. The powers of patron-age and rule which would have been exer-cised, under the President, over a vast, and populous, and naturally wealthy region, are greater than unless under extreme necessity. I should be willing to entrust to any one man; they are such as, for myself, I could never, unthey are such as, for myself, I could never, unless on occasion of great emergency, consent to exercise. The wilful use of such powers, if continued through a period of years, would have endangered the purity of the General Administration and the libertles of the States

which remained loyal. Besides, the policy of military rule over a conquered territory would have implied that the States whose inhabitants may have taken part in the rebellion had, by the act of those inhabitants ceased to exist. But the true theo-ry is, that all pretended acts of secession were, ry is, that all pretended acts or secession were, from the beginning, null and wold. The States cannot commit treason, nor screen the individ-ual citizens who may have committed treason, any more than they can make valid treaties or any more than they can make valid treaties or engage in lawful commerce with any foreign power. The States attempting to secole placed themselves in a condition where their vitality was impaired but not extinguished—their functions susponded, but not destroyed. But if any State neglects or refuses to perform its offices there is the more need that the general government should maintain all its suthority, and as non as practicable, resums the exper-

and, as soon as practicable, redume the exer-cise of its functions. On this principle I have acted, and have gradually and quietly, and by almost imperceptible ateas, sought to restore the rightful energy of the General Government the rightful energy of the General Government and of the States. To that end, Provi-ional Governors have been appointed for the States, conventions called, governors elected, degisla-tures assembled and Senators and representa-tives chosen to the Congress of the United States. At the same time the Courts of the United States, as far as could be done, have been recopend so that the laws of the United States. re-opened, so that the laws of the United States may be enforced through their spency. The blockade has been removed and the custom houses re-established in ports of entry, so that the revenue of the United States may be col-lected. The Post Office Department renews its ceaseless activity, and the General Govern-ment is thereby enabled to communicate promptly with its officers and agents. The Courts bring security to persons and property. The opening of the ports invites the restora-tion of industry and commerces. The Post Office renews the facilities of social inter-course aid of business. And is it not happy for us all, that the restoration of each one of these functions of the General Government brings with it a blessing to the States over re-opened. so that the laws of the United State brings with it a blessing to the States over which they are extended? Is it not a sure promise of harmony and renewed attachment to the Union that, after all that has happened, the return of the General Government is known

I know very well that this policy is attended with some risk; that for its success it requires at least the acquisecence of the States which it concerns; that it implies an invitation to those concerns; that if implies an invitation to those States, by renewing their allegiance to the Uni-ted States, to resume their functions as States of the Union. But it is a risk that must be taken; in the choice of difficulties it is the smallest risk; and to diminish, and if possi-ble, to remove all danger. I have felt it incum-bent on me to assert one other power of the General Government—the nower of parlon General Government—the power of pardon. As no State can throw a defence over the crime of treason, the power of pardon is exclusively yested in the Executive Government of the United States. In exercising that power, it have taken every precaution to connect it with the clearest recognition of the binding force of the laws of the United States, and an unqualified acknowledgment of the great social change of condition in regard to slavery which has grown out of the war. The next step which I have taken to restore the constitutional relations of the States, has

been an invitation to them to participate in the high office of amending the Constitution. Every patriot must wish for a general amnesty at the earliest epoch consistent with public safety. For this great end there is need of a concurrence of all opinions, and the spirit of mutual conciliation. All parties in the late terrible con-tlict must work together in harmony. It is not, too much to ask, in the name of the whole peo-

tive from a policy which has so maiformly obtained. Moreover, a concession of the elective franchise to the freedmen, by act of the Presi-dent of the United States, must have been ex-tended to all colored men, wherever found, and so must have established a change of suf-frage in the Northern, Middle and Western States, not less than in the Southern and South-western. Such an act would have created a new class of voters, and would have been an ansumption of power by the President which assumption of power by the President which nothing in the Constitution or laws of the United States would have warranted. On the other hand, every danger of conflict is avoided when the settlement of the question

is avoided when the settlement of the question is referred to the several States. They can, each for itself, decide on the measure, and whether it is to be adopted at once and abso-lutely, or introduced gradually and with o.n-ditions. In my judgment, the freedmen, if they abow patience and manly virture, will sconer obtain participation in the elective fran-chise, through the States than through the gen-eral government, even if it had power to inter-vene. When the tumult of emotions that has been raised by the suddenness of the social change shall have subsided, it may prove that they will receive the kindliest usage from some of these on whom they have heretofore most classly depended. closely depended

But while I have no doubt that new, after the elose of the war, it is not competent for the general government to extend the elective franchise in the several States, it is equally clear that good faith requires the security of the freedmen in their liberty and property, their right to labor and their right to claim the just return of their labor. right to hador and their right to claim the just return of their labor. I cannot too strongly urge a dispassionate treatment of this subject which should be carefully kept aloof from all party strife. We must equally avoid hasty assump-tions of any natural impossibility for the two races to live side by side in a state of mutual benefit and good will. The experiment involves us in no inconsistency. It as the interview benefit and good will. The experiment favolves us in no inconsistency; let us, then, good and-make that experiment in good faith, and not to be too easily disheartened. The country is in need of labor, and the freedmen are in need of employment, culture and protection. While their right of voluntary migration and expa-triation is not to be questioned, I would not advise their forced removal and colonization. Let us rather encourage them to honderble and Let us rather encourage them to bondration, useful industry, where it may be beneficial to themselves and to the country; and, instead of hasty anticipations of the certainty of failure, let there he nothing manifus to the foil to fail or let there be nothing wanting to the fair trial of the experiment. The change in their condition is the substitution of labor by contract for the status of slavery. The freedmen cannot fairly be accused of unwillingness to work, so long as a doubt remains about his freedom of choice as a doubt remains about his freedom of choice in his pursuits, and the certainty of his recor-ering his atipulated wages. In this the inter-ests of the employer and employed coincide. The employer desires in his work men spirit and alacrity, and these can be permanently se-cured in no other way. And if the one ought to be able to enforce the contract, so ought the other. The public interest will be best promo-ted, if the several States will provide adequate protection and remedies for the freedmen. Un-ill this is in some way accomplished, there is no chance for the advantageous use of their la-bor; and the blame of ill-success will not rest on them. on them,

I know that sincere philanthropy is earnest for the immediate realization of its femotest aims ine immediate realization of its femolest aims; but time is always an element in reform. It is one of the greatest acts on record to have brot four millions of people into freedom. The ca-reer of free industry must be fairly opened to them, and then their future prosperity and con-dition must, after all, rest mainly of them-selves. If they fail, and so perish away, let us be careful that the failure shall not be attribu-table to any denial of instice. In different table to any denial of justice. In sil that re-lates to the destiny of the freedment we need not be too anxious to read the future; many incidents which, from a speculative point of view, might raise alarm, will quietly settle

Now that alavery is at an end, of near its end, the greatness of its evil, in the point of view of public economy, becomes more and more apparent. Slavery was essentially a mo-nopoly of labor, and as such, locked the States where it prevailed against the incoming of free industry. Where abor was the property of the capitalist, the white man was excluded from capitalist, the white man was excluded from employment, or had but the second best chance of inding it; and the foreign emigrant turned away from the region where his condition would be so preserious. With the destruction of the monopoly, free labor will hasted from all parts of the civilized world, to assist in de-veloping various and immeasurable resources which here the table world to assist in dewhich have hitherto laid dormant. The eight or nine States nearest the Gulf of Mexico have a soil of exuberant fertility, a climate friendly to long life, and can sustain a denser population than is found as yet in any part of our country. And the future influx of population to them will be mainly from the North, or from the most englished pations in Finnes. most cultivated nations in Europe. From the sufferings that have attended them during our late struggle, let us look away to the future, which is sure to be laden for them with greater prosperity than bas ever before been known. The removal of the monopoly of alave labor is a pledge that those regions will be peopled by a numerous and enterprising population, which will yik with any in the Union in compactness, most enitival s in Europe. From the our forward and the output of ment. To them it owes allegiance; from them it must derive its courage, strength and mis-dom. But, while the Government is thus bound to defer to the people, from whom it de-rives its existence, it should, from the very considération of its origin, be strong in its -power of resistance to the establishment of in-equalities. Monopolies, perpetuities, and class legislation, are contrary to the genius of free government, and ought not to be allowed. Here, there is no room for favored classes or monopolies; the principle of our Government is that of equal laws and freedom of industry. Wherever monopoly ittains a forthold, it is is that of equal laws and freedom of industry. Wherever monopoly attains a fosthold, it is sure to be a source of danger, discord, and trouble. We shall but fulfill our duties as leg-islators by according "equal and exact justice to all men," special privileges to flore. The Government is subordinate to the people; but, as the sgent and representative of the people; it must be held superior to monopolies, which, in themselves, ought never to be granted, and which, where they exist, must be subordinate and yield to the Government. which, where they exist, must be subordinate and yield to the Government. The Constitution confers on Congress the right to regulate commerce among the several States. It is of the first necessity, for the main-tenance of the Union, that that commerce should be free and unobstructed. No State can be justified in any device to tax the transit of travel and commerce between States. The pojustified in any device to tax the transit of travel and commerce between States. The po-sition of many States is such that, if they were allowed to take advantage of it for purposes of local revenue, the commerce between States might be injuriously burdened, or even virtu-ally prohibited. It is best, while the country is still young, and while the tendency to dan-gerous monopolies of this kind is still feeble, to use the power of Congress so as to prevent any selfish impediment to the free circulation of man and merchandise. A tax on travel and selfish impediment to the free droulation of men and merchandise. A tax on travel and merchandise, in their transit, constitutes one of the worst forms of monopoly, and the evil is increased if coupled with a denial of the choice of routs. When the vast extent of our country onsidered, it is plain that every obstacle to the free circulation of commerce between the State ought to be sternly guarded against by appropriate legislation, within the limits of the Constitution. The report of the Secretary of the Interior explains the condition of the public lands, the transactions of the Fatent Office and Pension transactions of the Fatent Once and Fetalou Bureau, the management of our Indian affairs, the progress made in the construction of the Facilic railroad, and furnishes information in reference to matters of local interest in the Distriet of Columbia. It also presents evidence of the successful operation of the Homestead Act, under the provisions of which 1,160,533 acres of the public lands were entered during the last fixed year-more than one-fourth of the whole number of scree sold or otherwise dis whole number of acres sold or otherwise dis posed of during that period. It is estimated inat the receipts derived from this source are sufficient to cover the expenses incident to the survey and disposal of the lands entered under this Act, and that payments in cash to the ex-tent of from forty to fifty per cent. will be made by settlars, who may thus at any time acquire title before the expiration of the period at which it would otherwise yeat. The Home-stad polloy was only established after long and earnest resistance; experience proves its wisdom. The lands, in the hands of industri-ous settlers, whose labor creates wealth and ous settlers, whose labor creates wealth and contributes to the public resources, are worth more to the United States than if they had heen reserved as a solitude for future purchasers. The lamentable events of the last tour years, The Ismentable events of the last four years, and the sacrafices made by the gallant men of our army and navy, have swelled the records of the Pension Bureau to an unprecedented extent. On the 30th day of June last the total member of pensioners was 85,986, requiring for their sunual pay, exclusive of expenses, the sum of \$8,023,445. The number of applications that have been allowed since that date will resim of source, set. The number of starting the set in the set of the second set of the smoont for the next fixed year. The means for the payment of the stipends due, under existing laws, to our disabled soldiers and sailors, and to the families of such as have perished in the service of the country, will not doubt be cheerfully and promptly granted. A grateful people will not hesitate to sanction any measures having for their object the relief of multisted soldiers and sailors to pro-serve our mational existence. The report of the operations of the operations of the post of the post of the operations of The Fost Office Department during the year. The revenues of the past year from the loyal states alone expected the maximum annual

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receipts from all the States previous to the re-bellion, in the sum of \$6,038,091; and the annu-al average increase of revenues during the last four years, compared with the revenues of the four years immediately preceeding the rebel-lion, was \$3,533,845. The revenues of the last facal year amounted to \$14,556,158, and the ex-penditures to \$13,694,729, leaving a surplus of receipts over expenditures of \$361,430. Pro-gress has been made in restoring the postal service in the Southern States. The views presented by the Postmaster General against the policy of granting subsidies to ccean mail steamabip lines upon established routes, and in favor of continuing the present system, which limits the compensation for ocean ser-vice to the postage earnings, are recommended to the careful consideration of Congress. Itsppears, from the report of the Secretary four years, compared with the revenues of the

Itappears, from the report of the Secretary of the Navy, that while, at the commencement of the present year there were in commission 530 vessels of all classes and descriptions, armed with 3,000 guns and manued by 51,000 armed with 3,000 guns and manned by 51,000 men, the number of vessels at present in com-mission is 117, with 830 guns and 12,123 men. By this prompt reduction of the naval forces the expenses of the Government have been largely diminished, and a number of vessels, purchased for naval purposes from the mer-chant marine, have been returned to the eaceful gursuits of commerce. Since the suppressing of active hostilities out foreign squadrons(baye been re-established, and con-sist of vessels much more efficient than those employed on similar service previous to the rebellion. The suggestion for the enlargement of the uavy yards, and especially for the eq-tablishment of one in fresh water for iron-claid vessels, is deserving of consideration, as is also the recommendation for a different loca-tion and more ample grounds for the Naval tion and more simple grounds for the Naval Academy. In the report of the Secretary of War a gen

in the report of the Secretary of War a tent eral summary is given of the military man-paigns of 1864 and 1865, ending in the suppres-sion of armed resistance to the national author-ity in the insurgent States. The operations of the general administrative Bureaus of the War the general summarizative Bureaus of the system Department during the past year are detailed, and an estimate made of the appropriations, that will be required for military purpose the fiscal year commencing the 30th of sune, 1866. The national military force on the sat of May, 1865, numbered 1,000,516 men. It is pro-May, 1865, numbered 1,000,516 men. It impro-posed to reduce the military establishment to a peace footing, comprehending 50,000 troops of all arms, organized so as to admit of an en-largement by filling up the ranks to eighty-two thousand six hundred, if the circumstances of the country should require an augmentation of the army. The volunteer force has alrigidy been reduced by the discharge from service of over eight hundred thousand troops, and the Department is proceeding rapidly in the work Department is proceeding rapidly in the work of further reduction. The war estimates are reduced from \$516,420,131 to \$33,814,461, which amount, in the opinion of the Department, is adequate for a paace establishment. The measures of retreachment in each Barean and sures of retrencoment in esca biligent and brandh of the service exhibit a diligent econo-/ my worthy of commendation. Reference is al-so made in the report to the necessity of provid-ing for a uniform militia system, and to the propriety of making suitable provision for wounded and disabled officers and soldiers. The revenue system of the country is a subject of vital interest to its honor and prosperi-ty, and should command the carnest considerty, and should command the carnest consider-ation of Congress. The Secretary of the Treas-ury will lay before you a full and detailed re-port of the receipts and disbursements of the last fiscal year of the first quarter of the pre-sent fiscal year of the probable receipts and ex-penditures for the other three quarters, and the estimates for the year following the 30th of June, 1865. I might content myself with a reference to that report, in which you will find all the information recuired for your deliberaall the information required for your delibera-tions and decisions. But the paramount importance of the subject so presses itself on my own mind, but I cannot but lay before you my views of the measures which are required for views of the measures which are required or the good character, and, I might almost say, for the existence of this people. The life of a republic lies certainly in the energy, virtue, and intelligence of its citizens, but it is equally true that a good revenue system is the life of an organized government. I meet you at a time when the nation has voluntarily burden-ed itself with a debt unprecedented in our an-nals. Vast as is its amount, it fades away into nothing when compared with the countless blessings that will be conferred upon our country and upon man by the preservation of the nation's life. Now, on the first occasion of the meeting of Congress since the return of peace, It is of the utmost importance to inaugurate a just policy, which shall at once be put in mo-tion, and which shall commend itself to those who come after us for its continuance. We must aim at nothing less than the complete effacement of the financial evils that neces-sarily followed a state of civil war. We must endeavor to apply the earliest remedy to the

tion respecting the details of its management, reference is made to the annual report of the Commissioner. I have dwelt thus fully on our domestic af-

fairs because of their transcendent importance. Under any circumstances, our great extent of territory and variety of climate, producing al-most everything that is necessary for the wants, and even the comforts of man, make as singularly independent of the warying policy of for-eign Powers, and protect us against every temp-tation to "entangling alliances," while at the present moment the re-establishment of har-mony, and the atrength that comes from harmony, and the strength that comes from har-mony, will be our best security against "na-tions who feel power and forget right." For myself, it has been and will be my constant aim to prompt peace and amity with all for-eign nations and powers; and I have every reason to believe that they all, without excep-tion, are animated by the same disposition. Our relations with the Emperor of China, so recent in their origin, are most friendly. Our commerce with his dominions is receiving new developments; and it is very pleasing to find

commerce with his dominions is receiving new developments; and it is very pleasing to find that the Government of that great Exhpire man-ifests satisfaction with our policy, and reposes just confidence in the fairness which marks our intercourse. The unbroken harmony be-tween the United States and the Emperor of. Russia is receiving a new support from an enterprise designed to carry telegraphic lines across the continent of Asla, through his do-minions, and so to connect us with all Europe by a new channel of intercourse. Our com-inerce with South America is about to receive encouragement by a direct line of mail steamencouragement by a direct line of mail steamships to the rising Empire of Brazil. The dis-tinguished party of men of science who have recently left our country to make a scientific exploration of the natural history, and rivers and mountain ranges of that region, have re-ceived from the Emperor that generous wel-come which was to have been expected from his constant friendship for the United States, and his welt known zeal in promoting the ad-vancement of knowledge. A hope is enter-tained that our commerce with the rich and populous countries that border the Mediter-ranean sea may be largely increased. Noth-ing will be wanting, on the part of this Gov-eanment, to extend the protection of our flag over the enterprize of our fallow-citizens. We receive from the Powers in that region assur-ance of good will; and it is worthy of note, that a special envoy has brought us messages of condolence on the death of our late Chief Magistrate, from the Bey of Tunis, whose rule includes the old dominions of Carthage, on the and mountain ranges of that region, have reincludes the old dominions of Carthage, on the African coast,

Our domestic contest, now happily ended, has left some traces in our relations with one at least of the great maritime Powers. The formal accordance of beligerent rights to the insurgent States was unprecedented, and has not been justified by the issue. But in the systems of neutrality pursued by the Powers which made that concession, there was a marked difference. The materials of war for the insurgent States were furnished in a great marked unterface. The internation was for the insurgent States were furnished, in a great measure, from the workshops of Great Britain; and British ships, manned by British subjects, and prepared for receiving British armanents, sailed from the ports of Great Britain to make war on American commerce, under the shelter of a commission from the insurgent States,— These ships, having once escaped from British ports, ever afterwards entered them in every part of the world, to refit, and so, to renew their dependences. depredations.

The consequences of this conduct were most The consequences of this conduct were more disastrons to the States then in rebellion, in-creasing the desolation and misery by the pro-longation of our civil contest. It had, more-over, the effect, to a great extent, to drive the American flag from the sea, and to transfer much of our shipping and our commerce to the neary Power whose ambiects had created the nevery Power whose subjects had created the ne very Power whose subjects had created the ne-cessity for such a change. These events took piace before I was called to the administration of the Government. The sincere desire for peace by which I am animated led me to ap-prove the proposal, already made, to submit the quastions which had thus arisen between the two countries to arbitration. These ques-tions are of such moment that they must have commanded the attention of the great Powers. commanded the attention of the great Powers, and are so interwoven with the peace and inter-ests of every one of them as to have insured an impartial decision. I regret to inform you that Great Britain declined the arbitrament, but, on the other hand, invited us to the form ation of a joint commission to settle mutual claims between the two countries, from which

claims between the two countries, from which those for the depredations before mentioned about be excluded. The proposition, in that very unsatisfactory form, has been declined. The United States did not present the subject as an impeachment of the good faith of a Pow-er which was professing the most friendly dispositions, but as involving questions of public law, of which the actiement is essential to the peace of nations; and, though pecuniary remarking their injured citizens would have reparation to their injured citizens would have incidentally on a decision ag

bound together by rapid means of communica-tion as to be hardly known to one another, and with historic traditions extending over very few years; now intercourse between the States f is swift and intimate; the experience of centu-rits has been crowded into a few generations, and has created an intense, indestructible na-tionality. Then'our jurisdiction did not reach beyond the inconvenient boundaries of the territory which had achieved independence; now, through cessions of lands, first colonized, by Spain and France, the country has acquired. a more complex character, and has for its natural limits the chain of Lakes, the Gulf of Mexico, and on the east and the west the two great oceans. Other nations were wasted by civil wars for ages before they could establish for themselves the necessary degree of unity; the latent conviction that our form of govern-ment is the best ever known to the world, has ment is the Dest ever known to the world, has enabled us to emerge from civil war within four years, with a complete vindication of the constitutional authority of the General Govern-ment, and with our local liberties and State institutions unimpaired.

Institutions unimpaired. The throngs of emigrants that crowd to our shores are witnesses of the confidence of all peoples in our permanence. Here is a great land of free labor, where industry is bleased with unexampled rewards, and the bread of the workingman is sweetened by the con-reiouspear that the consolities output it is bleased the workingman is sweetened by the con-sciousness that the cause of the country "is his own cause, his own asfety, his own dignity." Here every one enjoys the free use of his facul-ties and the choice of activity as a natural right. Here, under the combined influence of a fruitful soil, genial climes and happy institu-tions, population has increased fifteen-fold within a century. Here, through the easy de-valonment of bundless resources wealth has velopment of boundless resources, wealth has increased with two-fold greater rapidity than increased with two-fold greater rapidity than numbers, so that we have become secure against the financial viciositudes of other coun-tries; and, alike in business and opinion, are self-centred and truly independent. Here more and more care is given to provide educa-tion for every one born on our soil. Here religion, released from political conneg-tion with the civil government, refuses to aub-serve the craft of statesmen, and becomes, in its independence, the spiritual life of the ped-ple. Here toleration is extended to every opin-ion, in the quiet certainty thattruth needs only

ple. Here toleration is extended to every only ion, in the quiet certainty that truth needs only a fair field to secure the victory. Here the hu-man mind goes forth unshackled in the pur-sult of science, to collect stores of knowledge, and acquire an over-increasing mastery over the forces of nature. Here the national domain is offered and held in millions of separate freeholds, so that our fellow citizens, beyond the cccupants of any other part of the earth, constitute in reality a people. Here exists the democratic form of government ; and that form of government, by the confession of European statesmen, "gives a power of which no other form is capable, because it incorporates every man with the State, and arouses every thing

That with the State, and arouses overy thing that belongs to the soul." Where, in past history, does a parallel exist to the public happiness which is within the reach of the people of the United States? Where, in any part of the globe, can institu-tions be found so suited to their hearts or so entitled to their lose as their own free Constitentitled to their love as their own free Consti-tution? Every one of them, then, in whatever hart of the land he has his home, must wish its perpetuity. Who of them will not now ac-knowledge, in the words of Washington, that "every step by which the people of the United States have advanced to the character of an independent nation, seems to have been distinguished by some token of Providential agen-cy?" Who will not join with me in the prayer, that the invisible hand which has led us through the clouds that gloomed around our path, will so guide us onward, to a perfect res-toration of fraternal affection, that we of this day may be able to transmit our great "shberl-tance of State Governments in all their rights, of the General Government in its whole con-atitutional vigor, to our posterity, and they to theirs through countless generations?

ANDREW JOHNSON. Washington, Dec. 4, 1865.

A GENTS WANTED

HE SECRET SERVICE, THE FIELD, THE DUN-GEON, AND THE ESCAPE!

BY ALBERT D. RICHARDSON,

N. Y. Tribune Correspondent.

The most interesting and exciting book ever pub-lifned, embracing Mr. Richardson's unparalleled experience for four years; traveling through the Booth in the secret service of the Tribune at Wie outbreak of the war, with our armies and fleets, both East and West, during the first two years of the Rebellion; his thrilling capture; his confine-ment for twenty months in seven different retel prisons; his escape, and almost miraculous formey by night of nearly 40; miles. It will abound in stirring events, and coutain more of the fact, incl-dent ard romance of the war than any other work

ionernment. The subjects that come unqueq-ionably within its jurisdiction are so numerus that it must ever naturally refuse to be mbarrassed by questions that he beyond it, Were it otherwise, the Executive would sink knesh the burden; the channels of justice would be choked; legislation would be ob-structed by excess, so that there is a greater emptation to exercise some of the functions of seperal Government through the States than to trespass on their rightful sphere. "The abjute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority" was, at the beginning of the century. inferced by Jefferson, "as the vital principle of republics," and the events of the last four year's have established, we hope forever, that there is no appeal to force. The maintenance of the is no appeal to force. The maintenance of the into brings with it the support of the State overnments in all their rights, but it is not ne of the rights of any State government to ré-sounce its own place in the Union or to nully the laws of the Union. The largest liberty is to the maintained in the discussion of the acts of the Federal government, but there is no appeal from its laws except to the various branch s of that government itself, or to the people, who grant to the members of the Legislative and I the Executive Departments no tenure but a initial one, and in that manner always retain the powers of redress, "The sovereignty of the Sates" is the language of the Confederacy, and sot the language of the constitution; the latter on the initial of the united states which don and the laws of the United States which shall be made, in pursuance thereof, and all treater made, or which shall, be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby; anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

contrary notwithstanding." (vertainly, the Government of the "United States is a limited Government; and so is every state government a limited government. With us, this idea "if" limitation spreads through wery form of administration, general, State wd municipal, and rests on the great dis-inguishing principle of the recognition of the ratis of man. The ancient republics absorbed is individual in the State. prescribed his rean avstem rests on the assertion of the equal table fevery man to life, libelty and the pur-tail of happiness; to freedom of conscience, to the culture and exercise of all his faculties. As consequence, the State government is lim-icd, as to the General Government in the inter-stof Union, as to the individual citizen in the Effect of freedom.

States, with proper limitation of power, are sential to the edistence of the Constitution of & United States, At the very commencement the we assumed in place among the powers of Stearth, the Declaration of Independence was hoped by States; so also were the Articles of Cafeferation, and when "the People of the Uside States" ordained and established the ituation, it was the assent of the States, one The which gave it vitality. In the event ¹⁴ paulon of Congress needs the constitution, the ¹⁵ paulon of Congress needs the confirmation ¹⁵ Sates. Without States, one great branch of ¹⁵ legislative government would be wanting. ^{Atj}, if we look beyond the letter of the Consti-¹⁰ nut in a character of one country. Its constation to the character of our country, its capaciv for comprehending within its jurisdiction a us continental empire is due to the system of Sales. The best security for the perpetual exsence of the State is the "supreme authority" "the Constitution of the United States; the Fifeluity of the Constitution brings with it the repetuity of the States; the mutual relation takes us what we are, and in our political when their connection is indissoluble. The The cannot exist without the parts, nor the para without the whole. So long as the Con-fitution of the United States endures, the Ale will endure; the destruction of the one the of the one is the preservation of the other. I have thus explained my views of the mutai relations of the Constitution and the States, bequise they unfold the principles on which I are sought to solve the momentons questions and overcome the apalling difficulties that bet me at the very commencement of my ad-ministration. It has been my steadast object Weyner tescape from the sway of momentary pas-tos, and to derive a healing policy from the adamental and unchanging principles of the Casutution. I found the States suffer-from the states suffer-"s from the effects of a civil war. Resistance the general government appeared to have stausted itself. The United States had re-where possession of their forts and arsenais, and the session of their forts and arsenais. and their armies were in the occupation of tery State which had attempted to secede. Whother the territory within the limits of those sates should be held as conquered territory ander mailtary authority emanating from the President, as the head of the army, was the Ant question that presented itself for consider-

Now, military governments, established for the indefinite period, would have offered no security for the early suppression of discon-

ple, that, on the one side, the plan of restoration shall proceed in conformity with a willingness to cast the disorders of the past into oblivion; and that, on the other, the evidence of sincerity in the future maintenance of the Union shall be put beyond any doubt by the ratification of the proposed amendment to the Constitution, which provides for the abolition of slavery forever within the limits of our country. So long as the adoption of this amendment is delayed, so long will doubt, and jealousy, and uncertainty pre-yail. This is the measure which will efface the and memory of the past; this is the measure which will most certainly call population, and capital, and security to those parts of the Union that need them most. Indeed, it is not too much gto ask of the States' which are now resuming their places in the family of the Union to give this places in the family of the Union to give this places of perpetual loyalty and peace. Un-fil it is done, the past, however much we may desire it, will not be forgotten. The adoption of the amendment reunites us beyond all power of disruption. It heals the wound that is still imperfectly closed; it removes slavery, the ele-ment which has so long perplexed and divided the country; it makes of us once more a uni-ted people, renewed and strengthened, bound more than ever to mutual affection and sup-port.

The amendment to the Constitution being scopied, it would remain for the States, whose powers have been so long in abeyance, to re-sume their places in the two branches of the National Legislature, and, thereby complete the work of restoration. Here it is for you, fellow-cilizensof the Sensie and for you fellow-cilizens of the House of Representatives to citizens, of the House of Representatives, to judge, each of you for yourselves, of the elec-tions, maturns, and qualifications of your own memb

The full assertion of the powers of the General Government requires the holding of Circuit Courts of the United States within the districts where their authority has been interrupted. In where their authority has been interrupted. In the present posture of our public affairs, strong objections have been urged to holding those courts in any of the States where the rebellion has existed; and it was ascertained, by inquiry, that the Circuit Court of the United States would not be held within the district of Virgin-ia during the sutumn or early winter, nor un-til Congress should have "an opportunity to consider and act on the whole subject." To your deliberations the restoration of this branch of the civil authority of the United States is therefore necessarily referred, with the hope of the civil authority of the United States is therefore necessarily referred, with the hope that early provision will be made for the re-sumption of all its functions. It is manifest that treason, most flagrant in character, has been committed. Persons who are charged with its commission should have fair and imwith its commission should nave usir and im-partial trials in the highest civil tribunals of the country, in order that the Constitution and, the laws may be fully vindicated; the truth clearly established and affirmed that treason is a crime, that traitors should be punished and the offence made infamous; and, at the same time, that the question may be judicially set-tled, finally and forever, that no State of its own will have the right to renounce its place in own will has the right to renounce its place in the Union.

The relations of the General Government to-wards the four millions of inhabitants whom the war has called into freedom have engaged my most serious consideration. On the pro-priety of attempting to make the freedmen sectors by the proclamation of the Executive, took for my counsel the Constitution itself, the intespretation of that instrument by its the intespretation of that instrument by its authors and their contemporaries, and recent legislation by Congress. When, at the first movement towards independence the Congress of the United States instructed the several States to institute governments of their own, they left each State to decide for itself the con-ditions for the anisymment of the alexies form they left each State to decide for itself the con-ditions for the enjoyment of the elective fran-chise. During the period of the confederacy, there continued to exist a very great diver-sity in the qualifications of electors in the sev-eral States, and even within a State a distinc-tion of qualifications prevailed with regard to the officers who were to be chosen. The Con-tention of the United States recognizes these tion of qualifications provated with regions the officers who were to be chosen. The Con-stitution of the United States recognizes these diversities when it enjoins that, in the choice of Members of the House of Representatives of the United States, "the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature." After the formation of the Constitution, it remained, as before, the uni-form usage for each State to enlarge the body of its electors, according to its own judgment; and under this system, one State after another has proceeded to increase the number of its electors, until now universal suffrage, or some-thing very near it, is the general rule. So fixed was this reservation of power in the habits of the people, and so unquestioned has been the interpretation of the Constitution, that during the civil war the late President never harbored interpretation of the Constitution, that during the civil war the late President never harbored the purpose-certainly never avoured the pur-pose-of disregarding it; and in the acts of Congress, during that period, nothing can be found which, during the continuance of hostilities, much less after their close, would have sanctioned any departure by the Excenderanged state of the currency, and not shrink from devising a policy which, without being oppressive to the people, shall immediately begin to effect a reduction of the debt, and it persisted in, discharge it fully within a defi-

nitely fixed number of years. It is our first duty to prepare in earnest for our recovery from the ever-increasing evils of an irredeemable currency, without a sudden revulsion, and yet without untimely procrastination. For that end, we must, each in our respective positions, prepare the way. I hold it the duty of the Executive to insist upon fruit the duty of the Executive to insist upon fru-gulity in the expenditures; and a sparing econ-omy is itself a great national resource. Of the banks to which authority has been given to is-sue notes secured by bonds of the United States, we may require the greatest moderation and prudence, and the law must be rigidly enforced when its limits are exceeded. We may, each when its limits are exceeded. We may shorted one of us, counsel our active and enterprising countrymen to be constantly on their guard, to liquidate debts contracted in a paper cur-rency, and, by conducting business as nearly as possible on a system of cash payments or short credits, to hold themselves prepared to return to the standard of gold and silver. To aid our fellow-citizens in the prudent manage-ment of their monetary affairs, the duty de-volves on us to diminish by law the amount of paper money now in circulation. Five years ago the bank-note circulation of the country amounted to not much more than two hundred millions; now the circulation, bank and na-tional, exceeds seven hundred millions. The Honal, exceeds seven hundred minings. The simple statement of the fact recommends more strongly than any words of mine could do, the necessity of our restraining this expansion. The gradnal reduction of the currency is the only measure that can save the business of the country from disastrous calamities; and this can be almost impersentibly accompliand by

country from disastrous calamities; and this can be almost imperceptibly accompliabed by gradually funding the national circulation in accurities that may be made redeemable at the at the pleasure of the government. Our debt is doubly secure—first in the ac-tual wealth and still greater undeveloped re-sources of the country; and next in the char-acter of our institutions. The most intelligent observers among political economists have not failed to remark that the public debt of a coun-try is agie in proportion as its people are free; failed to remark that the public debt of a coun-try is sate in proportion as its people are free; that the debt of a republic is the safest of all. Our history confirms and establishes the theo-ry, and is, I firmly believe, destined to give it a little more signal illustration. The secret of this superiority springs not merely from the fact that in a republic the national obligations are distributed more widely through countless numbers in all classes of society; it has its root in the character of our laws. Here all men in the character of our laws. Here all men contribute to the public welfare, and bear their fair share of the public burdens. During the war, under the impulse of patriotism, the men of the great body of the people, without regard to their own comparative want of wealth, thronged to our armies and filled our fleets of thronged to our armies and filled our freets of war, and held themselves ready to offer their lives for the public good. Now, in their turn, the property and income of the country should bear their just proportion of the burden of tax-ation, while in our impost system, through means of which increased vitality is incident-ally imparted to all the industrial interests of the nation, the duties should be so adjusted as to fail most heavily on articles of luxury, leav-ing the necessaries of life as free from taxation as the absolute wants of the government, eco-nomically administered, will justify. No fa-vored class should demand treedom from as-sessment, and the taxes should be so distribu-ted as not to fail unduly on the poor, but rather on the accumulated wealth of the country. We should look at the national debt just as

on the acculutated weather the country. The should look at the national debt just as it is -not as a national blessing, but as a heavy bur-den on the industry of the country, to be dis-charged without unnecessary delay. It is estimated by the Secretary of the Treas-ury that the expenditures for the inscal-year ending the 30th of June, 1860, will exceed the receipts \$112,194,947. It is gratifying, however, to state that it is also estimated that the reve-nue for the year ending the 30th of June, 1807, will exceed the expenditures in the sum of \$111,682,818. This amount, or so much as may be deemed sufficient for the purpose, may be applied for the reduction of the public debt, which, on the 31st day of October, 1865, was \$2,740,854,750. Every reduction will diminish the total amount of interest to be paid, and so enlarge the means of still further reductions, until the whole shall be liquidated ; and this, as will be seen from the estimates of the Secre-tary of the Treasury, may be accouncilable to tary of the Treasury, may be accompliabed by annual payments even within a period not ex-ceeding thirty years. I have faith that we ahall do all this within a reasonable time; that, as we have amazed the world by the supthat, as we have amazed the world by the sup-pression of à civil war which was thought to be beyond the control of any Governmeat, so we shall equally show the superiority of our institutions by the prompt, and faithful dis-charge of our national obligations. The Department of Agriculture, under its present direction, is accomplishing much in developing and utilizing the vast agricultural capabilities of the country, and for informa-

followed incidentally on a decision against Great Britain, such compensation was not their primary object. They had a higher motive; and it was in the interests of peace and justice to establish important principles of interna-tional law. The correspondence will be placed before you. The ground on which the British Minister rests his justification is, substantially that the municipal law of a nation, and the do-mentic interpretations of that law. are the mestic interpretations of that law, are the measure of its duty as a neutral; and I feel bound to declare my opinion, before you and before the world, that that justification cannot be sustained before the tribunal of nations. At the same time I do not advise to any pres-ent attempt at redress by acts of legislation. For the future, friendship between the two countries must rest on the basis of mutual

From the moment of the establishment of our free Constitution, the civilized world has, been convulsed by revolutions in the interests of democracy or of monarchy; but through all these revolutions the United States have wisely and firmly refused to become propagandists of republicanism. It is the only government of republicatism. It is the only government suited to our condition; but we have never sought to impose it on others; and we have consistently followed the advice of Washing-ton to recommend it only by the careful pres-ervation and prudent use of the blessing. Buring all the intervening period the policy of European Powers and of the United States has, on the whole, been harmonious., Twice, indeed, rumors of the invasion of some parts of America, in the interests of monarchy, have of America, in the interests of monarchy, have prevailed; twice my predecessors bave had occasion to announce the views of this nation in respect to such interference. On both occa-sions the remonstrance of the United States was respected, from a deep conviction for the part of European Governmets, that the sys-tem of non-interference and mutual abstinence from propagandism was the true rule on the

from propagandism was the true rule on the two hemispheres. Since those times we have advanced in wealth is and power; but we retain the same pur-pose to leave the nations of Europe to choose their own dynasties and form their own sys-ltems of government. This consistent modera-tion may justly demand a corresponding mod-eration. We should regard it as a great calam-ity to ourselves, to the cause of good govern-ment, and to the peace of the world, should any European Power challenge the American people, as it were, to the defence of republican-ism against foreign interference. We cannot foreace and are unwilling to consider what op-portunities might present themselves, what combinations might offer to protect ourselves against designs inimical to our form of govern-ment. The United States desire to act in the future as they have ever acted heretofore; they future as they have ever acted heretofore; they never will be driven from that course but by the aggression of European Powers; and we rely on the wisdom and justice of those Powers to respect the system of non-interference which has so long been sanctioned by time, and which, by its good results, has approved

The correspondence between the United States and France, in reference to questions which have become subjects of discussion be-tween the two governments will, at a proper time, be laid before Congress.

When, on the organization of our government, under the Constitution, the President of the United States delivered his inaugural address to the two Houses of Congress, he said to dress to the two Houses of Congress, he said to them, and through them to the country and to mankind, that the "preservation of the sacred fire of liberty and the destiny of the republican model of government are justly considered as deeply, perhaps as finally staked on the experi-ment intrusted to the American people." And the House of Representatives answered Wash-ington by the voice of Madison: "We adore the invisible hand which has led the American neonie, through ao many difficulties, to cherish

a conscious responsibility for the destiny of republican liberty." More than seventy-six years have glided away since these words were spoken; the Uni-ted States have passed through severer trials ted States have passed through severer trials than were foreseen; and now, at this new epoch in our existence as one nation, with our Union purified sorrows, and strengthened by conflict, and established by the virtue of the people, the greatness of the occasion invites us once more to repeat, with solemnity, the pledges of our fathers to hold ourselves answer-able before our fellow-men for the success of the people form of government. Example the republican form of government. Experi-ence has proved its unficiency in peace and in war; it has windicated its authority through war; it has vindicated its authority through dangers and afflictions and sudden and terrible emergencies, which would have crushed any system that had been less firmly fixed in the hearts of the people. At the inauguration of Washington the foreign relations of the coun-try were few, and its trade was repressed by hoatile regulations; now all the civilized nations of the globe welcome our commerce, and their governments profess towards us am-ity. ity.

Then our country felt its way hesitatingly along an untried path, with States so little

dent and romance of the war than any other work yet published. Teachers, ladies, energetic yonng men, and espe-gially returned and disabled officers and saddlers, in want of profitable employment, will find it pecu-harly adapted to their condition. We have agents Harly adapted to their condition. We have agents clearing \$150 per month, which we will prove to any doubting applicant. Send for circulars. Address JONES, BROS. & CO., N. E. corner Sixth and Minor streets, se2-wSm* Philadelphia, Pal PRESQUE ISLE IRON WORKS. STEARNS & MARSH, Erle, Pa. CIRCULAR & MULEY SAW SAW MILLS; STEAM ENGINES and all kinds of Machinery. REFINERY WORK AND, REPAIRING done to Order. Manufacturers of E. H. STEARNS' Patent HEAD BLOCK AND ROSSING MACHINERY for Saw Mills. Corner Tenth and Holland streets. Orders respect-GROCERIES! GROCERIES J. & A. MÌŃNIG Would respectfully inform the public that they have purchased the stock of groceries of J. A. Bliss, at the corner of sth and State Sts., where they intend to keep as good an assortment of \$ GROCERIES AND PROVISIONS,

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