

their industry and enterprise, are raised to the possession of wealth, that is the one. If there is one measure better calculated than another to produce that state of things so much deprecated by all true republicans, by which the rich are daily adding to their hoards, and poor sinking deeper into penury, it is an exclusive metallic currency. Or if there is a process by which the character of the country for generosity and nobleness of feeling may be destroyed by the great increase and necessary toleration of usury, it is an exclusive metallic currency.

Amongst the other duties of a delicate character which the President is called upon to perform, is the supervision of the government of the Territories of the United States. Those of them which are destined to become members of our great political family are compensated, by their rapid progress from infancy to manhood, for the partial and temporary deprivation of their political rights. It is in this District only where American citizens are to be found, who, under a settled system of policy, are deprived of many important political privileges, without any inspiring hope as to the future. Their only consolation, under circumstances of such deprivation, is that of the devoted exterior guards of a camp—that their sufferings secure tranquility and safety within. Are there any of their countrymen who would subject them to greater sacrifices, to any other humiliations than those essentially necessary to the security of the object for which they were thus separated from their fellow citizens? Are their rights alone not to be guaranteed by the application of those great principles upon which all our constitutions are founded? We are told by the greatest of British orators and statesmen, that at the commencement of the war of the Revolution, the most stupid men in England spoke of their American subjects. Are there, indeed, citizens of any of our States who have dreamed of their subjects in the District of Columbia? Such dreams can never be realized by any agency of mine.

The people of the District of Columbia are not the subjects of the people of the States, but free American citizens. Being in the latter condition when the constitution was formed, no words used in that instrument could have been intended to deprive them of that character. If there is any thing in the great principles of unalienable rights, so emphatically insisted upon in our Declaration of Independence, they could neither make, nor the United States accept, a surrender of their liberties, and become the subjects, in other words the slaves of their former fellow citizens. If this be true, and it will scarcely be denied by any one who has a correct idea of his own rights as an American citizen, the grant to Congress of exclusive jurisdiction in the District of Columbia, can be interpreted, so far as respects the aggregate people of the United States, as meaning nothing more than to allow Congress the controlling power necessary to afford a free and safe exercise of the functions assigned to the General Government by the Constitution. In all other respects the legislation of Congress should be adapted to their peculiar position and wants, and be conformable with their deliberate opinions of their own interests.

I have spoken of the necessity of keeping the respective Departments of the government as well as all the other authorities of our country within their appropriate orbits. This is a matter of difficulty in some cases, as the powers which they respectively claim are often not defined by very distinct lines. Mischievous, however, in their tendencies, as collisions of this kind may be, those which arise between the respective communities, which for certain purposes compose one nation, are much more so; for no such nation can long exist without the careful culture of those feelings of confidence and affection which are the effective bonds of union between free and confederated States.—Strong as is the tie of interest, it has been often found ineffectual. Men, blinded by their passions, have been known to adopt measures for their country in direct opposition to all the measures of policy. The alternative then, is, to destroy or keep down a bad passion by creating and fostering a good one; and this seems to be the corner stone upon which our American political architects have reared the fabric of our Government.

The cement which was to bind it, and perpetuate its existence, was the affectionate attachment between all its members. To insure the continuance of this feeling, produced at first by a community of dangers, of sufferings and of interests, the advantages of each were made accessible to all. No participation in any good possessed by any member of an extensive confederacy, except in domestic government, was withheld from the citizen of any other member. By a process attended with no difficulty, no delay, no expense but that of removal, the citizen of one might become the citizen of any other, and successively of the whole. The lines,

too, separating powers to be exercised by the citizens of one State from those of another, seem to be so distinctly drawn as to leave no room for misunderstanding. The citizens of each State unite in their persons all the privileges which that character confers, and all that they may claim as citizens of the United States; but in no case can the same person, at the same time, act as the citizen of two separate States, and he is therefore positively precluded from any interference with the reserved powers of any State but that of which he is, for the time being, a citizen. He may indeed offer to the citizens of other states his advice as to their management, and the form in which it is tendered is left to his own discretion and sense of propriety.

It may be observed, however, that organized associations of citizens, requiring compliance with their wishes, too much resembles the recommendations of Athens to her allies—supported by an armed and powerful fleet. It was, indeed, to the ambition of the leading States of Greece, to control the domestic concerns of the others, that the destruction of that celebrated confederacy, and subsequently of all its members, is mainly to be attributed. And it is owing to the absence of that spirit that the Helvetic confederacy has for many years been preserved. Never has there been in the institutions of the separate members of any confederacy more elements of discord. In the principles and forms of government and religion, as well as in the circumstances of the several cantons, so marked a discrepancy was observable, as to promise any thing but harmony in their intercourse or permanency in their alliance. And yet, for ages, neither has been interrupted. Content with the positive benefits which their union produced, and with the independence and safety from foreign aggression which it secured, these sagacious people respected the institutions of each other, however repugnant to their own principles and prejudices.

Our Confederacy, fellow citizens, can only be preserved by the same forbearance. Our citizens must be content with the exercise of the powers with which the Constitution clothes them. The attempt of those of one State to control the domestic institutions of another, can only result in feelings of distrust and jealousy, the certain harbingers of disunion, violence, civil war, and the ultimate destruction of our free institutions. Our Confederacy is perfectly illustrated by the terms and principles governing a copartnership. There a fund of power is to be exercised under the direction of the joint councils of the allied members, but that which has been reserved by the individual members is intangible by the common government or the individual members composing it. To attempt it finds no support in the principles of our constitution. It should be our constant and earnest endeavor mutually to cultivate a spirit of concord and harmony among the various parts of our Confederacy. Experience has abundantly taught us that the agitation by citizens of one part of the Union of a subject not confided to the General Government, but exclusively under the guardianship of local authorities, is productive of no other consequences than bitterness, alienation, discord, and injury to the very cause which is intended to be advanced. Of all the great interests which appertain to our country, that of union, cordial, confiding, fraternal union, is by far the most important, since it is the only true and sure guaranty of all others.

In consequence of the embarrassed state of business and the currency, some of the States may meet with difficulty in their financial concerns. However deeply we may regret any thing imprudent or excessive in the engagements into which states have entered for purposes of their own, it does not become us to disparage the State Governments, nor to discourage them from making proper efforts for their own relief; on the contrary, it is our duty to encourage them, to the extent of our constitutional authority, to apply their best means and cheerfully to make all necessary sacrifices and submit to all necessary burdens to fulfil their engagements and maintain their credit, for the character and credit of the several States form part of the character and credit of the whole country. The resources of the country are abundant, the enterprise and activity of our people proverbial, and we may well hope that wise legislation and prudent administration, by the respective Governments, each acting within its own sphere, will restore former prosperity.

Unpleasant and even dangerous as collisions may sometimes be, between the constituted authorities or the citizens of our country, in relation to the lines which separate their respective jurisdictions, the results can be of no vital injury to our institutions, if that ardent patriotism, that devoted attachment to liberty, that spirit of moderation and forbearance for which our countrymen were once distinguished, continue to be cherished. If this contin-

ues to be the ruling passion of our souls, the weaker feelings of the mistaken enthusiast will be corrected, the Etopian dreams of the scheming politician dissipated, and the complicated intrigues of the demagogue rendered harmless. The spirit of liberty is the sovereign balm for every injury which our institutions may receive. On the contrary, no care that can be used in the construction of our Government; no division of powers, no distribution of checks in its several departments, will prove effectual to keep us a free People, if this spirit is suffered to decay; and decay it will without constant nurture. To the neglect of this duty, the best historians agree in attributing the ruin of all the Republics with whose existence and fall their writings have made us acquainted.

The same causes will ever produce the same effects; and as long as the love of power is a dominant passion of the human bosom, and as long as the understanding of men can be warped and their affections changed, by operations upon their passions and prejudices, so long will the liberties of a people depend on their own constant attention to its preservation. The danger to all well-established free Governments arises from the unwillingness of the people to believe in its existence, or from the influence of designing men, diverting their attention from the quarter whence it approaches, to a source from which it can never come. This is the old trick of those who would usurp the government of their country. In the name of Democracy they speak warning the people against the influence of wealth, and the danger of aristocracy. History, ancient and modern, is full of such examples. Caesar became the master of the Roman people and the Senate, under the pretence of supporting the democratic claims of the former against the aristocracy of the latter. Cromwell, in the character of Protector of the liberties of the people, became the Dictator of England, and Bolivar possessed himself of unlimited power with the title of his country's Liberator. There is, on the contrary, no single instance on record, of an extensive and well established Republic being changed into an Aristocracy. The tendencies of all such governments, in their decline, is to monarchy:—and the antagonist principle to liberty there, is the spirit of faction—a spirit which assumes the character, and in times of great excitement imposes itself upon the people as the genuine spirit of freedom, and, like the false Christ whose coming was foretold by the Saviour, seeks and were it possible would impose upon the true and most faithful disciples of liberty.

It is in periods like this that it behoves the people to be most watchful of those to whom they have intrusted power. And although there is at times much difficulty in distinguishing the false from the true spirit, a calm and dispassionate investigation will detect the counterfeit as well by the character of its operations, as the results that are produced. The true spirit of liberty, although devoted, persevering, bold, and uncompromising in principle, that secured, is mild and tolerant and scrupulous as to the means it employs; whilst the spirit of party, assuming to be that of liberty, is harsh, vindictive, and intolerant, and totally reckless as to the character of the allies which it brings to the aid of its cause. When the genuine spirit of liberty animates the body of a people to a thorough examination of their affairs, it leads to the excision of every excrescence which may have fastened itself upon any of the Departments of the Government, and restores the system to its pristine health and beauty. But the reign of an intolerant spirit of party amongst a free people, seldom fails to result in a dangerous accession to the executive power, introduced and established amidst unusual professions of devotion and democracy.

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

the honour of the nation tarnished, by any admission on the part of their Chief Magistrate, unworthy of their former glory. In our intercourse with our aboriginal neighbors, the same liberality and justice which marked the course prescribed to me by two of my illustrious predecessors, when acting under their direction in the discharge of the duties of Superintendent and Commissioner, shall be strictly observed. I can conceive of no more sublime spectacle—none more likely to propitiate an impartial and common Creator—than a rigid adherence to the principles of justice, on the part of a powerful nation, in its transactions with a weaker and uncivilized people, whom circumstances have placed at its disposal.

Before concluding, fellow citizens, I must say something to you on the subject of the parties at this time existing in our country. To me it appears perfectly clear that the interest of that country requires that the violence of the spirit by which those parties are at this time governed, must be greatly mitigated, if not entirely extinguished, or consequences will ensue which are appalling to be thought of.

If parties in a Republic are necessary to secure a degree of vigilance sufficient to keep the public functionaries within the bounds of law and duty, at that point their usefulness ends; beyond that, they become destructive of public virtue, the parent of a spirit antagonist to that of liberty, and eventually its inevitable conqueror. We have examples of Republics, where the love of country and of liberty at one time were the dominant passions of the whole mass of citizens, and yet, with the continuance of the name and forms of free government, not a vestige of these qualities remaining in the bosom of any one its citizens. It was the beautiful remark of a distinguished English writer, that, "In the Roman senate, Octavius had a party, and Anthony a party, but the commonwealth had none." Yet the Senate continued to meet in the Temple of Liberty, to talk of the sacredness and beauty of the Commonwealth, and gaze at the statues of the elder Brutus and of the Curtii and Decii; and the people assembled in the forum, not as in the days of Camillus and the Scipios, to cast their free votes for annual magistrates, or pass upon the acts of the Senate, but to receive from the hands of the leaders of the respective parties their share of the spoils, and to shout for one or the other, as those collected in Gaul or Egypt and the lesser Asia would furnish the larger dividend. The spirit of liberty had fled, and avoiding the abodes of civilized man, had sought protection in the wilds of Scythia or Scandinavia.—And so under the operation of the same causes and influences it will fly from our Capitol and our forums. A calamity so awful, not only to our country, but to the world, must be deprecated by every patriot, and every tendency to a state of things likely to produce it, immediately checked. Such a tendency has existed—does exist. Always the friend of my countrymen, never their flatterer, it becomes my duty to say to them, from this high place to which their partiality has exalted me, there exists in the land a spirit hostile to their best interests—hostile to liberty itself. It is a spirit contracted in its views—selfish in its objects. It looks to the aggrandizement of a few even to the destruction of the interest of the whole.

The entire remedy is with the people. Something, however, may be effected, by the means which they have placed in my hands. It is union that we want, not of a party for the sake of that party, but a union of the whole country, for the sake of the whole country. For the defence of its interests and its honor against foreign aggression—for the defence of those principles for which our ancestors so gloriously contended. As far as it depends upon me, it shall be accomplished. All the influence that I possess shall be exerted to prevent the formation at least of an Executive party in the halls of the legislative body. I wish for the support of no member of that body to any measure of mine that does not satisfy his judgement and his sense of duty to those from whom he holds his appointment. Nor any confidence in advance from the people but that asked for by Mr. Jefferson, "to give firmness and effect to the legal administration of their affairs."

I deem the present occasion sufficiently important and solemn to justify me in expressing to my fellow citizens a profound reverence for the Christian religion, and a thorough conviction that sound morals, religious liberty, and a just sense of religious responsibility, are essentially connected with all true and lasting happiness. And that good being who has blessed us by the gifts of civil and religious freedom—who watched over and prospered the labors of our fathers; and has hitherto preserved to us institutions far exceeding in excellence those of any other people, let us unite in fervently commending every interest of our beloved country in all future time. [Oath administered.]
Fellow Citizens: Being fully invested

with that high office to which the partiality of my countrymen has called me, I now take an affectionate leave of you. You will bear with you to your homes the remembrance of the pledge I have this day given, to discharge all the high duties of my exalted station according to the best of my ability; and I shall enter upon their performance with entire confidence in the support of a just and generous people.
WASHINGTON, MARCH 4, 1841.



JEFFERSONIAN REPUBLICAN

Stroudsburg, Pa. March 10, 1841.

Terms, \$2.00 in advance; \$2.25 half yearly; and \$2.50 if not paid before the end of the year.

DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE FOR GOVERNOR.

JOHN BANKS.

Subject to the decision of the State Convention.

We publish to-day, to the exclusion of other matter, the Inaugural Address of President Harrison. It is a deeply interesting state paper, and as such, we commend it to the attention of our readers.

The Ladies Companion.

The March No. of this excellent magazine, which has just been received, is we think, fully equal to any which has preceded it, and will amply repay a perusal.

FOR THE JEFFERSONIAN REPUBLICAN.

Mr. S.—I recently obtained a copy of a letter from an old member of the Legislature, whose experience entitles his sentiments to a candid consideration, and as the subject of which he treats is now in discussion before the community, and as I have not heard of any similar proposed plan, no injury can result from a fair discussion of this in the columns of your paper. The letter was written in answer to one from Moses W. Coolbaugh, then representative from Monroe county. The plan is fully set forth in the paragraph of the letter I have marked, and which you are at liberty to extract.

"I would establish at the seat of Government of the State, a Bank to be managed by a President, Directors and Cashier, to be elected and appointed by the members of the Legislature, to issue bills on the same principle the Banks now issue their bills. These officers of the Bank, to give security for the faithful performance of their trust, they should also be sworn to perform their several duties with fidelity, and pay them a reasonable compensation for their services; thus would the faith of the State be pledged for the redemption of the paper they might issue, and I know of no better security for the payment of money than the terra firma of the country. Let the interest that would be paid by the borrowers of this money be paid into the State Fund, and I am clearly of opinion, that in a short time we would not be obliged to pledge the faith of the State to those worthless institutions for the loan of their bills to pay State debt. I would establish two banks in every city in the State, one in each county in the State. Let those institutions loan money on good security sufficient to supply the wants of the people, thus we would have a paper currency for the redemption of which, the whole property in the State would be pledged. State Banks established upon this principle would seem to me, would not only give stability to the paper currency, but a security that could not be doubted in any country or State in the Union."

JAMES T. MOREHEAD has been elected by the Legislature of the state of Kentucky to be a Senator of the United States for six years from the 4th of March, in the place of Mr. CURTIS, who declined. Mr. Morehead is of course a sterling Whig, and has been heretofore Lieutenant and Acting Governor of his State.—National Intelligencer.

The Spy in Washington says: "Mr. Van Buren having announced his determination to quit the house on the 20th February, the President Elect caused an inquiry to be made as to the state of the furniture. What was his astonishment to find, that there were not beds, bedsteads, or bedding sufficient for his family; that the bed-rooms, with one or two exceptions, were destitute of the requisite articles of furniture. Other departments of housekeeping are in a similar dilapidated situation. Thus circumstanced, Gen. Harrison requested Col. Chambers to have purchased whatever furniture was necessary for the comfort of his family, and if Congress would not pay for it, he (Gen. H.) would."

Death of the American Consul in France.

Died, on Saturday evening, January 31, in Paris, in the 68th year of his age, of typhoid exhaustion, after gout, Daniel Brent, Esq., Consul of the United States of America for Paris, and agent of American claims.