

Star & Republican Banner.

"I WISH NO OTHER HERALD, NO OTHER SPEAKER OF MY LIVING ACTIONS, TO KEEP MINE HONOR FROM CORRUPTION."—SHAKS.

BY ROBERT WHITE MIDDLETON.]

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THE GABRIEL.

"With sweetest flowers enrich'd,
From various gardens cull'd with care."

FROM THE FRANKLIN REPOSITORY.

"We rescue our own names, character, and honor
from all participation in this matter; and whatever
the wayward character of the times, the heading
and plunging spirit of party devotion, or the fear of
the love of power may have been able to bring a-
bout elsewhere, we desire to thank God that they
have not, as yet, overcome the love of Liberty, fi-
delity to true Republican principles and a sacred re-
gard for the Constitution, in that State whose soil
was drenched to a mire, by the first and best blood
of the Revolution."—*Mr. Webster's Protest.*

"Old Massachusetts swears it."
"Within her torrid crown." [Mr. Stoughton.]

AYE, honestly, and fearlessly,
Thy duty hath been done!
Champion of Truth and Liberty!
New England's gifted son!

Who may the State that gave thee birth
Exulting hear thy name—
That to the farthest bounds of earth
Her glory to proclaim!

Firm leader of that Roman band
Who in the lawless hour,
When ev'ry the Guardians of our land
Cringed to the nod of power;

True to their Country's grateful trust
Disdain'd to bend the knee,
And saw with indignation just
The shameful mockery—

What though in Freedom's holy cause
Thy voice was raised in vain,—
For when did Party spirit pause
At Truth's persuasive strain?

That voice in every patriot soul
Hath woken an answering tone,—
And still the echoes onward roll,
Ev'n to the Idol's throne.

And blench thou not—though 't'hy now
The way of Power hath spread,
A spirit it can never bow
In rising from the dead;

And men and nations of the past,
And rousing them to see
The fearful doubts that overcast
Their future Liberty.

Then onward! Thou whose warning cry
Hath broke that heedless rest,
Until thy own true energy
Glow'd in each freeman's breast!

Our Fathers' only guide,
Inquires Columbia hearts once more
With all thy patriot pride!

Aye, point them to the Pilgrim Rock!
And to the hall of heroes;
Where Warren met the battle shock,
In death with glory crown'd!

Let every burning word recall
The struggles of our sires;
Who nobly dared and suffered all
Their dearest rights to save.

The glorious deed!—It shall not be
That they have liv'd in vain,
While on the page of Memory
Their thrilling deeds remain!

Hath not each spot a hallowed spot
Her Freedom's chosen shrine?
Some record ne'er to be forgot,
Proud as the boast of time?

Yet all should only serve to keep
More true our Unity;
Ev'n as our own bright rivers sweep
On to one blending Sea;

So should the splendors of the Past
With present hopes combine,
And round our path ever cast
A halo all divine.

And when in future years thy name
Shall find the Poet's song,
And roll with all the Country's fame
On History's page along;

Ev'n as thy own bright rivers sweep
On to one blending Sea;
Now sheds its cheering rays—
Not to one narrow spot confin'd,
Shall be thy well-earned praise.

No—though the North may claim thy birth
The Star's ascending gleam!
As just to all thy gifts and worth,
The South shall hail thee beam!

From every lip—from every heart,
The glowing tribute won—
That thine has been a Patriot's part,
COLUMBIA'S noble Son!

THE REPOSITORY.

FROM ZION'S HERALD.

A Camp Meeting Scene.

We extract the following graphic description of a camp meeting incident from the "Knickerbocker." How finely, it will be seen, the preacher took advantage of the leaping of the fawn into the enclosure of the camp ground, as a shelter from the pursuit of the wolf, and with what beauty, earnestness, and eloquence, he seized upon that incident to warn sinners to "flee to the fold of God."

"Disembarking at Cincinnati, I set off on foot to explore the caverns of Kentucky and Virginia. Travelling later than usual one evening, I lost my way in the midst of one of those extensive forests, which still skirt some of the western cities. After wandering about for some time, on turning a precipitous ridge which obstructed my course, I came suddenly upon one of those singular gatherings of the church militant, called camp meetings. Before me stretched a grove of tall pines, beneath whose dark foliage, and in striking contrast with the same, were pitched numerous white tents, embracing a level area of several acres in extent, entirely devoid of underbrush, and carpeted with the fallen tresses of the overhanging boughs. On one side of this enclosure, several feet from the ground, appeared a plain lodge quadrangularly formed of rough boards, nailed to the trees, with a pulpit in front, and benches around the sides, for the elders and ministers who were to address the congregation. From this spot to various points in the enclosure, stretched in diverging lines the straight poles of lofty pines, felled for the occasion, across whose prostrate length, with the interspace of here and there a "long drawn aisle," were laid the rude seats of those hardy worshippers. Innumerable lamps were suspended on all sides of the encampment, blending their flickering light with the glare of pine torches from the several tents where the evening's repast was in preparation, while millions of fire-flies shot like tiny meteors along the dark openings of the surrounding forests, and the eyes of the sleepless stars looked on as if to witness the devotions of that primal temple.

As I paused to survey the wonderful scene, the wild howl of a wolf rang through the shuddering air, and a moment after, a fawn shot past me, and bounded into the enclosure, dropped down panting and exhausted in one of the open aisles. This singular incident was succeeded by a dead silence, which was presently interrupted by the voice of the reverend speaker, who had just finished the last discourse of the evening, and was about reading the concluding hymn. "Welcome," said the aged man with compassionate emotion, "welcome, poor, weary and persecuted wanderer, to the refuge and the rest ye seek not here in vain! Ye did well to flee hither from thy ravenous pursuer, for thereby have thy days been lengthened, and ye shall yet range through the green places of the wilderness, where the hand of God bringeth forth the tender

herb and the pleasant water course, even for creatures such as ye. Pilgrims of the world," continued he, turning to his hushed auditory, "shall the beasts that perish be wiser in their day and generation than ye, who are fashioned after the image of the All-wise? Flee to the fold of God! The wild pigeon shrinks to her covert at the scream of the wood-hawk, and the roebuck bounds fleetly from the yell of the panther, while ye, who are encompassed with many foes, having eyes not, and ears, hear not, heed not the voice of the provident. Wot ye not that ye, like that poor panting hind, are hunted up and down in this dark wilderness of the world. Flee to the fold of God—

Doth not temptation haunt your footsteps from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof? Doth not remorse dart his fiery arrows into your bleeding hearts at every turn! Doth not conscience smite ye with its avenging sword, whenever ye turn a deaf ear to the still small voice? Flee to the fold of God! Do not the cares of the world, its vanity and vexation of spirit surround ye, when ye rise up and when ye lie down, yea and when ye dream dreams? Flee to the fold of God! Is not death the everpresent shadow of your earthliness, and doth not the prince of the power of the air—the mighty mirror of your priceless souls—trace your guilty souls along this pilgrimage of sin? O flee then, fellow sinners, flee to the fold of God, wherein ye shall find a refuge and a rest!"

Vain were the attempt to depict the scene which followed this peroration. The sighs and sobs, the groans, the hysterical shrieks of the terrified females, and indeed the convulsive shudder of the whole assembly, I leave to the reader's imagination—or memory, if he has ever witnessed a spectacle so thrilling. After the first burst of feeling had a little subsided, the tremulous, yet not unmusical voice of the late speaker was heard chanting that striking hymn—

"Stop, poor sinner! stop and think,
Before you farther go;
Will you stop upon the brink
Of everlasting woe."

One listener after another joined in the strain, till presently ten thousand voices were blended in swelling symphony. I have listened to the midnight peal of the roused ocean, and trembled amid the thunders of the Niagara, but never was my heart hushed to breathlessness, as by the living chorus of that solemn anthem. The place, the scene, and the music of that vast choir, filling the depths of the mute forest with echoes of terrible warning, were all calculated to make a vivid impression, even on a mind the most obtuse. I sunk down on my benched knees, awe-struck and overpowered. It seemed to me that every eye and every voice were directed to myself, in eager impetation to fly from the brink of the dreadful abyss to which "hope never comes, that comes to all." The services closed with the hymn, the worshippers slowly retired to their respective tents, and silence and sleep resumed their quiet empire; but there I remained, riveted to the earth, faint, motionless, and alone. Yet not alone, for the voice of a mysterious presence kept whispering in my ear, "flee to the fold of God!"—and even the monotony "stop!" of the thrilling hymn, rung like a trumpet from heaven through the chambers of my heart. I bowed myself to the earth, and there all night long, amid the gloom of that lonely forest, and the moon of its solemn pines, gazed on the phantoms of mispent hours, imploring light to my darkened spirit, energy to subdue its fiery passions, strength to unmask the specious vanities of the world, and to forego its unmercenary pleasures for the unimaginable cycle of an eternal beatitude, till morning dawned upon my silent vigil, and found me blessed with that inward peace which seems the antepast of heaven."

Knowledge—its Worth.

KNOWLEDGE ITS POWER.—It enables man to subdue nature as in mechanical philosophy. It also confers the ability of governing and directing animals that are stronger than man and also of conquering savage beasts and savage men, and rendering them subservient to the will of the intelligent. It enables him to understand the laws and revolutions of the planetary worlds, and thereby teaching the mariner to guide his vessel upon the trackless ocean. It also gives him the ability to understand and judge of his appetite and passions and to keep them under proper regulations, and whatever intellectual defects may have fallen to his lot he will be able in some measure to remedy or entirely remove.

Knowledge is wealth. It enables the possessor to acquire property, where the less intelligent would necessarily be unsuccessful. This naturally follows from his acquaintance with the relations and states of society, and his ability of rendering valuable the resources of the country. This is fairly exemplified by the immense difference in this respect, between the aboriginals of this country and its present inhabitants. The latter having brought into requisition, iron, marble, cotton, and a thousand other things, both vegetable and mineral, altogether unknown and unthought of by the former possessors of the soil.

Knowledge is happiness. It enables us to place ourselves in such relations to persons and things, and to the present, past and future, as best comport with our enjoyment. It opens to us many sources of innocent delight—in thought—in imagination—in the arts and sciences—in literature—in natural history—and in music and poetry. It renders our animal nature subservient to our intellectual and moral being, and enables us to hold intercourse with powers above us, rather than being beings beneath us, in the exercise of mere sensual enjoyments.

Knowledge is respectability. It gives weight of character, and causes the possessor to be consulted even by those who may not be friendly in other respects. No one will quarrel with the pilot, when there is no other on board who can steer all safely into port: Knowledge may some times excite envy, but it will do this less than wealth or fame, or any other qualification.

Knowledge may also be said to be permanent: A man may lose his property—he may be deprived of his possessions—his riches may take to themselves wings and flee away—his friends may forsake him—his character may be injured or destroyed—his health may decline, but while he retains his faculties, he cannot lose his intelligence. In this sense knowledge is a pearl of great price, which a person may carry about with him, without the danger of being robbed, whether he travels by sea or by land.

All the above advantages, and many more, may

be obtained by every one possessing extensive knowledge; and that all are justly entitled to such knowledge; is the point for which we strenuously contend, and for the attainment of which we respectfully solicit the aid and co-operation of all.

HIRING TO DUTY.—Cultivate in no way the mercenary principle. Never hire your child to do its duty: To subscribe the reward for the motive, and make present advantage the determining influence, when truth, honor or religion, all sacred and immortal, should decide, is to breed monsters in the moral world.

FAREWELL ADDRESS.

Farewell Address of Andrew Jackson.

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

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

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

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

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

the most friendly character—our commerce continually expanding, and our flag respected in every quarter of the world.

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

The necessity of watching, with jealous anxiety, for the preservation of the Union, was earnestly pressed upon his fellow-citizens by the Father of his country, in his farewell address. He has there told us, that "while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who, in any quarter, may endeavor to weaken its bonds;" and he has cautioned us, in the strongest terms, against the formation of parties, on geographical discriminations, as one of the means which might disturb our union, and to which designing men would be likely to resort.

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

What have you to gain by division and dissension? Delude not yourselves with the belief that a breach once made may be afterwards repaired. If the union is once severed, the line of separation will grow wider and wider, and the controversies which are now debated and settled in the halls of legislation, will then be tried in fields of battle, and determined by the sword. Neither should you deceive yourselves with the hope, that the first line of separation would be the permanent one, and that nothing but harmony and concord would be found in the new associations formed upon the dissolution of this union. Local interests would still be found there, and unchastened ambition. And if the recollection of common dangers, in which the people of these United States stood side by side against the common foe; the memory of victories won by their united valor; the prosperity and happiness they have enjoyed under the present constitution; the proud name they bear as citizens of this great republic; if all these recollections and proofs of common interest are not strong enough to bind us together as one people, what tie will hold united the new divisions of empire, when these bonds have been broken and this union dissolved? The first line of separation would not last for a

single generation; new fragments would be torn off; new leaders would spring up; and this great and glorious republic would soon be broken into a multitude of petty states, without commerce, without credit; jealous of one another; armed for mutual aggression; loaded with taxes to pay armies and lenders; seeking aid against each other from foreign powers; insulted and trampled upon by the nations of Europe, until harassed with conflicts, and humbled and debased in spirit, they would be ready to submit to the absolute dominion of any military adventurer, and to surrender their liberty for the sake of repose. It is impossible to look on the consequences that would inevitably follow the destruction of this Government, and not feel indignant when we hear cold calculations about the value of the union, and have so constantly before us a line of conduct so well calculated to weaken its ties.

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

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

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

But the constitution cannot be maintained, nor the Union preserved, in opposition to public feeling, by the mere exertion of the coercive powers confided to the General Government. The foundations must be laid in the affections of the people; the security it gives to life, liberty, character, and property in every quarter of the country; and in a fraternal attachment which the citizens of the several States bear to one another as members of one political family, mutually contributing to promote the happiness of each other. Hence the citizens of every State should studiously avoid every thing calculated to wound the sensibility or offend the just pride of the people of other States; and they should frown upon any proceedings within their own borders likely to disturb the tranquility of their political brethren in other portions of the Union.

In a country so extensive as the United States, and with pursuits so varied, the internal regulations of the several States must frequently differ from one another in important particulars; and this difference is unavoidably increased by the varying principles upon which the American colonies were originally planted; principles which had taken deep root in the social relations before the revolution, and therefore, of necessity influencing their policy since they became free and independent States. But each State has the unquestionable right to regulate its own internal concerns according to its own pleasure and while it does not interfere with the rights of the people of other States, or the rights of the Union, every State must be the sole judge of the measures proper to secure the safety of its citizens and promote their happiness; and all efforts on the part of people of other States to cast odium on their institutions, and all measures calculated to disturb their rights of property, or to put in jeopardy their peace and internal tranquility, are in direct opposition to the spirit in which the Union was formed, and must endanger its safety. Motives of philanthropy may be assigned for this unwarrantable in-

terference; and weak men may persuade themselves for a moment that they are laboring in the cause of humanity, and asserting the rights of the human race; but every one, upon sober reflection, will see that nothing but mischief can come from these improper assaults upon the feelings & rights of others. Rest assured that the men found busy in this work of discord are not worthy of your confidence, and deserve your strongest reprobation.

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

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

There is, perhaps, no one of the powers conferred on the Federal Government so liable to abuse as the taxing power. The most productive and convenient sources of revenue were necessarily given to it, that it might be able to perform the important duties imposed upon it; and the taxes which it lays upon commerce being concealed from the real payer in the price of the article, they do not so readily attract the attention of the people as smaller sums demanded from them directly by the taxgatherer. But the tax imposed on goods enhances by so much the price of the commodity to the consumer; and, as many of these duties are imposed on articles of necessity, which are daily used by the great body of the people, the money raised by these imposts is drawn from their pocket. Congress has no right, under the constitution, to take money from the people, unless it is required to execute some one of the specific powers entrusted to the Government; and if they raise more than is necessary for such purposes it is an abuse of the power of taxation, and unjust and oppressive. It may, indeed, happen that the revenue will sometimes exceed the amount anticipated when the taxes were laid. When, however, this is ascertained, it is easy to reduce them; and, in such a case, it is unquestionably the duty of the Government to reduce them, for no circumstances can justify it in assuming a power not given to it by the constitution, not in taking away the money of the people when it is not needed for the legitimate wants of the Government.

Plain as these principles appear to be, you will yet find that there is a constant effort to induce the General Government to go beyond the limits of its power, and to impose unnecessary burdens upon the people. Many powerful interests are continually at work to procure heavy duties on commerce and to swell the revenue beyond the real necessities of the public service; and the country has already felt the injurious effects of their combined influence. They succeed in obtaining a tariffs of duties bearing most oppressively on the agricultural and laboring classes of society, and producing a revenue that could not be usefully employed within the range of the powers conferred upon Congress; and, in order to fasten upon the people this unjust and unequal system of taxation, extravagant schemes of internal improvement were got up, in various quarters, to squander the money and purchase support. Thus, one unconstitutional measure was intended to be upheld by another, and the abuse of the power of taxation was to be maintained by usurping the power of expending the money in internal improvements. You cannot have forgotten the