WEEKLY SENTINEL.

MONDAY..... FEBRUARY 24

The Union it must be preserved.
—*Jackson.*

Democratic Union State Ticket.

FOR SECRETARY OF STATE,
JAMES S. ATHON,
Of Marion County.

FOR AUDITOR OF STATE,
JOSEPH RISTINE,
Of Fountain County.

FOR TREASURER OF STATE,
MATTHEW L. BRETT,
Of Daviess County.

FOR ATTORNEY GENERAL,
OSCAR B. HORD,
Of Decatur County.

FOR SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION,
MILTON B. HOPKINS,
Of Clinton County.

Let it be Noted.

Let it be noted that the Constitutional Convention of the proposed new State of Western Virginia has calmly and deliberately and solemnly passed a resolution to this effect: "That no slave or free person of color shall come into the State for permanent residence after the new Constitution goes into operation."

"Why should we of the North bother ourselves about the slavery question when the South is gradually, but surely, settling it herself—settling it, too, in accordance with our own ideas?" So says the Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser*, (Republican) and so will say every man of practical sense. Fanatics and political traitors, however, will still keep harping.

The Most Startling Proposition of the War.

The Boston *Post* says CHARLES SUMNER is doing the great work of disintegration faster than our armies undo it and cement the Union. He proposes to disfranchise the people, to take away the municipal rights of many of the rebel States; to reduce them back to a Territory, and bring them under the legislation of Congress. This is the most startling proposition of the war. If it is done, the hopes of the Union are over. The Unionists of the South are forever alienated, and there will be no power of arms to reclaim them. MACAULAY said that he "had long been convinced that institutions purely democratic must, sooner or later, destroy liberty or civilization, or both." If this be good philosophy, who comes the nearest to being the direct agent for the destruction of liberty in the United States—the Secessionist or the disintegrationist; the man who would simply divide the Union, or the man who would go to the foundations and destroy them? This demagogue of a Senator, canting about the tyranny and the barbarism of the South, at a time like this, when all there is loyal in the South is dearer than ever before to the North, is but adding fuel to the flame—is but adding more lives to the holocaust—is lengthening this terrible struggle.

"A Proclamation.

"It is recommended to the people of the United States that they assemble in their customary places for public solemnities, on the 22d day of February, and celebrate the anniversary of the birthday of the Father of his Country, by causing to be read to them his Farewell Address.

"A. LINCOLN.

"WM. H. SEWARD, Secretary of State."

In compliance with the suggestion of the President, we this morning publish the Farewell Address of the Father of his Country and we trust that it will receive the consideration from every reader which is pre eminently due to the wise and patriotic sentiments of him who was "first in war, first in peace and first in the hearts of his countrymen." If his counsels had been heeded the present difficulties would never have occurred. We especially direct attention to the profound reverence with which WASHINGTON regarded the Constitution and all its obligations, and also to his warning against the formation of sectional and geographical parties which he predicted would result in the very evils which have threatened the destruction of the Union. In referring to the Government which had been put in operation under his Administration, WASHINGTON said: "Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems, is the right of the people to make and alter their constitutions of government; but the Constitution, which at any time exists, til changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all." These sentiments should be deeply impressed upon the public mind and should control the action of every citizen. A disregard of constitutional obligations and an unconstitutional or threatened interference with the rights, immunities and institutions of some of the States with those of others have had much to do in causing the civil war now raging and which has devastated some of the fairest portions of the country. The only hope for a permanent restoration of the Union is in a return to that just observance of all our constitutional duties and obligations which distinguished the early days of the Republic. We believe that the great body of the people of the North are now imbued with this sentiment and from the troubles that have threatened the overthrow of the Government—a Government which the experience wisdom and ingenuity of the present generation can not improve—will arise a constitutional party that will sweep into a common grave Abolitionism, Secessionism and their kindred heresies, which the people now see can not be tolerated without the destruction of our political systems and with their overthrow all hope of constitutional liberty.

A Hopeful Sign.

The recommendation of the President for the celebration of the Anniversary of the Birthday of the Father of his Country was generally responded to and in many places by enthusiastic demonstrations. The reading of his "Immortal Farewell Address," as it is styled by the Chief Magistrate of the nation, was the leading feature in the ceremonies of the day wherever it was observed. If its lessons and counsels, which received the cordial approbation of MADISON, of JEFFERSON, of ADAMS, of HAMILTON, and of all the patriotic and far-seeing statesmen who were their associates in the work of achieving liberty and independence, and of establishing the institutions which made us a powerful and prosperous Government are heeded by those who now constitute the nation, the Constitution will be maintained and the Union preserved with all the blessings and privileges they secured to us individually and collectively. WASHINGTON warned his countrymen of the dangers of parties founded upon sectional issues and geographical distinctions; of the evils of partisan misrepresentations to secure influence in one section of the country by falsely representing the opinions and objects of other sections; the effects of which we are now experiencing, and he counselled a strict adherence to constitutional obligations and a faithful observance of all constitutional duties as the first and highest duty of the citizen. The ultra men of both sections of the country have disregarded these sage counsels. With this class the triumph of party or the success of schemes at variance with the Constitution has been of higher consideration than the unity of the government, upon which rests national independence and the security of the privileges, immunities and blessings which we have regarded as the crowning features of our institutions in comparison with those of any other nation, and which have been our boast and pride.

It must be accepted as a hopeful sign when a President elected upon a sectional platform calls upon his countrymen to read, consider, and be guided by the advice of one who was the cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night to the patriotic ancestry who achieved Independence after a seven years struggle. WASHINGTON well knew that the Constitution and the Union were the result of compromise and concession, and that the spirit and the agencies which founded the Government were necessary to preserve and perpetuate it. Equal diversity and conflict of interests existed in that day as now. Without compromise there could have been no Union then, and without concession there can be no Union hereafter. If the President did not intend to characterize his administration with the conservatism that WASHINGTON inculcated and practised he would not have so earnestly recommended the people to read his "Immortal Farewell Address." There is hope in the future if the spirit of WASHINGTON guides the Administration through the difficulties and dangers which environ the nation.

The Constitution of 1789.

Now, as in the years that preceded the formation of the American Constitution, the question is presented to the people of this country, shall we have a Union under the Constitution of 1789? This question is not forced on us by events. The war through which we are passing was commenced, and has been prosecuted solely for the Union. The question of disunion is not presented to the Northern people by the army, by their Government, by their condition. For the year the North has been spending its fortunes, its best blood for the Union. But suddenly, here and there among us, the proposition is heard, now only hinted or muttered, now broadly announced and avowed, that the war should be changed in its object, and the Union for which it has been prosecuted, should be destroyed by the war power.

Six months ago, if a man had uttered in the open streets the sentiments that a Massachusetts Senator now advocates on the floors of Congress; he would have been mobbed as a traitor. The doctrine that a State can secede is identical with the doctrine that thirty three States can rescind one, or that the present Senate and House of Representatives can declare certain States dead by their own acts. When the seceding States sent commissioners to Washington to negotiate terms of separation, it was truly and clearly affirmed by Mr. Buchanan's administration, with the approval of the entire North, that there did not exist any power in Congress, or in the Constitutional Government of the United States to recognize the secession of a State, or to treat with a seceded State. Suddenly we are told, at this late day, by the Massachusetts Senator, that this doctrine was all wrong, that the act of secession was suicide, and the Government of the United States may at once treat the soil of the seceded State as territory, and of course may cede it to inhabitants as easily as it can cede an island on the Oregon coast to England; in effect, that the Government may treat States as foreign powers. The worse claim of the Southern States' right disunionist thus finds a backer and apologist in a Northern Abolition Senator, and is indorsed and approved by his immediate admirers. It is contended by Mr. Sumner that the Government may at any time when it regards an act of a State rebellious, treat the State as no longer within the constitutional provisions, and subject thereafter to the mere will of the central Government!

It has not escaped observation that this strange plunge of a New England Senator into the worst form of Southern nullification doctrines has been brought about by his anxiety to attack slavery. Nor will it fail to attract attention that the enemies of the Constitution, at the North, are the anti-slavery men. They constantly seek to avoid the true issue which we present, by charging that defenders of the Constitution are influenced solely by a desire to perpetuate slavery. It happens that the State of New York, or the Washington Government, cannot interfere with slavery, *as a system*, without violating the Constitution. The defenders of the Constitution are necessarily the defenders of the rights of States, so far as the Constitution guarantees them. It, therefore, occurs that, to defend the Constitution, is to defend the laws of slave States over slavery against unconstitutional interference; and to advocate the immediate abolition of slave laws, and the principles of slaveholding, by any other than State authority, leads the Abolitionist necessarily to attack the Constitution. It might occur that Southern and slaveholding principles would gain great ascendancy in Congress, so that parties would seek by act of Congress, or proclamation, or otherwise, to force a slave code on New York or Massachusetts. The defenders of the Constitution would be then, as now, the stern opponents of such attempts.

But since, for the present, Abolitionism sees no method of attacking slavery so long as the Constitution stands in the way, its open or insidious assaults are directed toward that, and the leader of the radical men now presents in the Senate of the United States the open question, Will you have a Union of these States under the Constitution of 1789? Mr. Sumner opposes it. The Abolitionists oppose it. The leaders of the Southern rebellion oppose it.

When the same question was discussed in the States seventy years ago, it was felt by patriotic men North and South that to form a Union great concessions of feeling must be made. Perhaps no one was satisfied with everything in the Constitution. But the Union was worth more than the wishes that they yielded.

History has already recorded of these men that they were among the wisest of politicians the world has known. That they were patriots, noble, self-sacrificing, far seeing into that future which has since proved so glorious. In agreeing to that Constitution they founded the most beneficent, prosperous and successful Government that the world has seen, and their names are honored and cherished, and will be honored when brazen records are effaced by time.

But what shall history record of the Northern and Southern enemies of that Constitution who breathe the air they breathed and live by by their graves, on whose headstones the mosses have not had time to grow? The present trial will result in their infamy, whatever be the end. Should they succeed in destroying the Constitution of 1789, the attempt to erect on its ruins another Government will prove utterly vain. Higher law doctrines, nullification doctrines, the vague notion of liberty which characterize modern radicalism, all these are the elements of enmity to the Constitution as it now is, and of course will forbid any new Union when the old one is destroyed. Amid the wreck of the great fabric will be seen for a little while the distorted features of those who crushed themselves in their mad plans of ruin, and then they will be forgotten, with all the fanatics of all ages, who have been enemies to the best interests of the race.

On the other hand, if, as the loyal American heart hopes and prays, the Constitution is to come out of this trial with new strength and new vigor for a race of a thousand years, then the best hope for the present plotters against it will be that history may mercifully leave their names unrecorded in the story of this foul plot against that Constitution which the fathers made, and which Washington commended to the care of the nation, to whom, as his only children, he left the Union as an inheritance of honor, and a trust for the benefit of future ages.—*New York Journal of Commerce.*

A Letter from the Secretary of War.

To the Editor of the N. Y. Tribune:

SIR: I can not suffer undue merit to be ascribed to my official action. The glory of our recent victories belongs to the gallant officers and soldiers that fought the battles. No share of it belongs to me.

Much has recently been said of military combinations and organizing victory. I hear such phrases with apprehension. They commenced in infidel France with the Italian campaign, and resulted in Waterloo. Who can organize victory? Who can combine the elements of success on the battle field? We owe our recent victories to the Spirit of the Lord, that moved our soldiers to rush into battle and filled the hearts of our enemies with terror and dismay. The inspiration that conquered in battle was in the hearts of the soldiers and from on high; and wherever there is the same inspiration there will be the same results. Patriotic spirit, with resolute courage in officers and men, is a military combination that never failed.

We may well rejoice at the recent victories, for they teach us that battles are to be won now and by us in the same and only manner that they were ever won by any people, or in any age, since the days of Joshua, by boldly pushing and striking the foe. What, under the blessings of Providence, I conceive to be the true organization of victory and military combination to end this war, was declared in a few words by Gen. Grant's message to Gen. Buckner: *"I propose to move immediately on your works!"*

Yours truly, EDWIN M. STANTON.

Special correspondence of the Chicago Times.

From Washington.

Release of State Prisoners by the Secretary of War—A General Exchange of Prisoners Effected by the same Functionary—Re-enlistment of the Confederate Troops—Effect at the South of the Recent Union Victories—Plans of the Conservative Members of Congress for the Establishment of Provisional Governments in the Southern States—Where is Jim Lane's "Staff?"

WASHINGTON, Feb. 16.

Not a day passes without bringing to light some new evidence of the wisdom and eminent administrative abilities of the new Secretary of War. Among his first official acts was the exercise of a course of policy which has resulted in arrangements for a systematic exchange of prisoners. He has now gone a step further in his course of fearless magnanimity, by giving orders for the immediate release of all State prisoners. This will set at liberty scores of persons who have been incarcerated for weeks, and many even for months, for no offense whatever, but merely on suspicion, and on the strength of charges secretly and maliciously made by personal enemies. The loyalty of the persons to whom I allude is unquestioned. No one dare openly charge them with disloyal acts. They have been the victims of secret malignity and of official tyranny, and have been cruelly denied the poor boon even of proving their innocence (a difficult task, since no charges have ever been brought against them.) They owe their release now, and their restoration to liberty, to the conviction in the mind of the Secretary of War that they were being unjustly detained, and that no good purpose could be subserved by the continuance of their imprisonment.

The "order" for their release is a remarkable one. In half a column the Secretary of War gives the most lucid and graphic description of the peculiar circumstances attending the secession of the Southern States that has ever appeared in print. The last sentence implies that the President does not deem it necessary any longer to suspend the operation of the writ of *habeas corpus*, and that, in all future ordinary arrests, the privileges of that writ will be allowed. The "extraordinary arrests" mentioned, which are to "be made hereafter under the direction of the military authorities alone," will put a stop to the tyrannical proceedings of Mr. Seward in that direction. The subjects of such arrests will not, it is supposed, have the benefits of the *habeas corpus*. But it will be because the public good requires such a course, and not to gratify private malignity. There are some among the prisoners who will refuse to accept the President's proffered amnesty, on the ground that they are not guilty of treason, have committed no crime and therefore can not be pardoned. But they will take the parole, and will be released with the rest.

The Secretary of War is highly gratified at the auspicious termination of the mission of the Commissioners sent by him to Richmond to alleviate the condition of the Union soldiers who are now prisoners in the South. The Confederate leaders thought that the most effective alleviation of their condition would be to send them home to their relatives. And this they proposed to do if we would release an equal number of Confederate soldiers as soon as the fortune of war should place them in our hands. The Commissioners wisely acceded to this generous proposal. The prisoners at Richmond were accordingly released and are expected to arrive at Baltimore to day or to-morrow. The recent Union victories gained since this arrangement was made, have placed in our hands a great many more prisoners than we shall have returned to us. And, as the new prisoners have had no experience of prison life, it is not unlikely that the overplus will be detained to taste the sweets of captivity in Northern dungeons, until the Southerners have some prisoners to exchange for them.

The Richmond and Petersburg newspapers of yesterday confirm the accounts I had previously received of the progress of the re enlistment of the Confederate troops. The names of nearly fifty regiments are given which have re enlisted for the war, and that all that are now in the service will do so. Furloughs have been granted to all who desire it, and they have gone home to visit their families. The papers say that "the terrible alternative is presented, of re enlistment or subjugation." From other sources of information, it is clear that the recent reverses have not broken the spirit of the Southern people, or altered their determination. They are fond of recurring to old revolutionary times, when the country was overrun by the British armies, and when New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Charleston and other cities were occupied by the British. Yet they say, after being beaten in many battles, our fathers triumphed at last, and drove the invaders out of the country. Such are the precedents wherewith they encourage themselves now.

The plans of the conservative members of Congress for the government of reclaimed insurgent States have been put in shape by Mr. Harris, one of the Senators from New York. His bill provides for the establishment of provisional governments in all such States, and has the merit of being practical and comparatively just. The bill expressly stipulates that the President shall have power to suspend the operations of the provisional government created by it, which shall not, in any event, continue in force longer than three months after Congress first meets after the war is over. The real strength of the conservative element of the Senate will be determined by the reception which this bill meets in that body.

The official report of Gen. Burnside and Gen. Halleck, of the victories in North Carolina and Kentucky, made to the General-in Chief of the army, are bitter pills to the New York *Tribune* people, who have asserted for weeks past that all reports would be made to the Secretary of War.

If it was a matter of any consequence, people here would really like to know whether Jim Lane is a Senator or a Brigadier General? If the former (as the telegraph now says he has not accepted his Brigadiership, and that Gen. Hunter and staff paid visits of ceremony to *Senator* Lane at Leavenworth on the 12th,) where is his numerous "staff," whose names were paraded so conspicuously; and what is to become of them? One thing is certain: if Jim does not eat humble pie, and swallow his prize with his pastry, his appointment as a Brigadier will be canceled. That flat has gone forth from the White House, and bears the signature of the President.

What the Army Thinks.

Col. ROBERT L. MCCOOK, of Ohio, who made the gallant charge upon the enemy at the battle of Mill Springs, made a speech at Columbus a few days ago in which he made the following telling points upon the manner affairs had been conducted at Washington:

But there are other deels to be done. There are men to be called to account in the ranks of Government officers far worse than the poor men pressed into the army in the Southern Confederacy. We must look this matter in the face. I differ from friend Stanton, who does not wish to speak frankly on this subject. The sooner we do so, the sooner we will have the Government restored. Such men as Simon Cameron who have insinuated themselves into the graces of the Government, must be looked after; and there are thousands of other just such thieves.

On the morning the paper was put into my hands announcing that Cameron was removed and Stanton put in his place, I felt like a new man. When told that the prince of thieves was kicked from the Cabinet, and the man who had been brought up among the hills of Ohio, where I was raised, was appointed, I felt we had honesty there, and that the contest would soon be brought to an end. I felt that I was not only fighting for my country, but also for my friend.

THE CONFEDERATE STEAMER VANDERBILT.—A Washington dispatch to the Philadelphia *Gazette* says:

The rumored running of the Mississippi blockade by the rebel steamer Vanderbilt is confirmed. She left the port of Havana the latter part of December, and after a run of about one week landed her cargo, passengers and mails in New Orleans. Her cargo, it is said, consisted of powder, clothing and miscellaneous articles, which were taken into Havana by a sailing vessel, from Nassau, and then transhipped on the Vanderbilt. As the Vanderbilt did not leave New Orleans for Havanna until early in December, she had thus made the run safely out and back, with a valuable cargo each way, in about one month.

☞ We would call the attention of all having business in Minnesota to the card of J. W. McClung, attorney at law. Mr. McClung can give the best of city reference, and will be the very best man to attend to any business in Minnesota. dawlt

From Rev. Mr. McMullen, Pastor of Roberts Chapel

INDIANAPOLIS, October 5, 1857.

DR. C. W. BORACK—Dear Sir: I have used your Blood Purifier for a nervous affection, from which I have suffered much at times. While it is pleasant to the taste, it certainly has a happy effect upon the nerves. Please accept my thanks for your kind regards, and believe me

Yours, J. W. T. MCMULLEN.

Washington's Farewell Address

—TO THE—

PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Friends and Fellow Citizens:

The period for a new election of a citizen, to administer the Executive Government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation, which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives, which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice, that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty, or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that, in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions, with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the Government the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications; experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied, that, if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment, which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude, which I owe to my beloved country for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging, in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that your Union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free Constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained; that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virture; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection and adoption of every nation, which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which can not end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be afforded to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of Government, which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquility at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very Liberty, which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to forsee, that, from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national Union to your collective and individual happiness that you should cherish a cordial, habitual and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the Palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion, that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of Patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together; the Independence and Liberty you possess are the work of joint counsels, and joint efforts, of common dangers sufferings and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those, which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the Union of the whole.

The *North*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *South*, protected by the equal laws of a common Government, finds, in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The *South*, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the same agency of the *North*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the *North*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and, while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The *East*, in a like intercourse with the *West*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The *West* derives from the *East* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort, and, what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the *secure* enjoyment of indispensable *outlets* for its own productions to the weight, influence and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest *as one nation*. Any other tenure by which the *West* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connexion with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in Union, all the parts combined can not fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from Union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same government, which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to Republican Liberty. In this sense it is, that your Union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope, that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to Union, affecting all parts of our country, 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 bands.

In contemplating the causes, which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by *Geographical* discriminations, *Northern* and *Southern*, *Atlantic* and *Western*, whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief, that there is a real difference of local interests and views, one of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You can not shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings, which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those, who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our Western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head; they have seen, in the negotiation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event, throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the General Government and in the Atlantic States unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi; they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them everything they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the Union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a Government for the whole is indispensable. No alliance, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions, which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a Constitution of Government better calculated than your former for an intimate Union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their Constitutions of Government. But the Constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish Government pre-supposes the duty of every individual to obey the established Government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force: to put, in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common counsels, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying, afterwards, the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Toward the preservation of your Government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the Constitution, alterations, which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what can not be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that, for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the State, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally.

The spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but, in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissensions, which in different ages and countries has perpetuated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries, which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of Public Liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight,) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party, are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the Public Councils, and enfeeble the Public Administration. It agitates the Community with ill founded jealous and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another, foments occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the Government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion, that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the Government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of Liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in Governments of a monarchical cast, Patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in Governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And, there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of the love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the Guardian of the Public Weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our own country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment, in the way which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for, though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free Governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit, which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits, which lead to political prosperity, Religion and Morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of Patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of Men and Citizens. The mere Politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connexions with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, Where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation *desert* the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in Courts of Justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that natural morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, indeed, extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who, that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is, to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts, which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burthen, which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should cooperate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be Revenue; that to have Revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised, which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment, inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties,) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all Nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and Morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be, that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great Nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt, but, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages, which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a Nation with its Virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential, than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular Nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The Nation, which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The Nation, prompted by ill will and resentment sometimes impels to war the Government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The Government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at