

From Washington.

CONGRESS. Our regular journal is in type, but the Valedictory, which was received after our columns were nearly full, excludes it. We can barely say that the INDEPENDENCE OF TEXAS is acknowledged and a MINISTER diplomatic appointed to that government; that Wright's TARIFF bill, and Walker's LAND bill were DEFEATED in the House; that the FORTIFICATION BILL, including the clause for distributing the SURPLUS, was DEFEATED in the Senate, and that the CURENCY bill, which was passed by more than two thirds in both Houses, was NOT signed by President Jackson.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT VAN BUREN.

FELLOW CITIZENS: The promise of all my predecessors imposes on me an obligation solemnly to accompany the first and noblest act of my public trust with an avowal of the principles which will guide me in performing it, and an explanation of my feelings on assuming a charge so responsible and vast. In imitating their example, I tread in the footsteps of illustrious men, whose example it is our happiness to believe, are not faded on the executive calendar of any country. Among them, we recognize the earliest and firmest pillars of the republic; those by whom our national independence was first declared; and those who, above all others, contributed to establish it on the field of battle; and those whose expanded intellect and patriotism constructed, improved and perfected the inimitable institutions under which we live. If such men, in the position I now occupy, felt themselves overwhelmed by a sense of gratitude for the highest of all marks of their country's confidence, and by a consciousness of their inability adequately to discharge the duties of an office so difficult and exalted, how much more must these considerations affect one who can rely on no such claims for favor or forbearance. Unlike all who have preceded me, the position that gave me existence as an individual, was achieved at the peril of my life; and while I contemplate with grateful reverence that memorable event, I feel that I belong to a later age, and that I may not compare my countrymen to weigh my actions with the same kind and partial hand.

So sensibly, fellow citizens, do these circumstances press themselves upon me, that I should not dare to enter upon my path of duty, did I not look to the generous aid of those who will be associated with me in the various and co-ordinate branches of the Government; did I not repose, with unwavering reliance on the patriotism, the intelligence, and the kindness of a people who never yet deserted a public servant honestly laboring in their cause; and, above all, did I not permit myself humbly to hope for the sustaining support of an ever watchful and beneficent Providence.

The confidence and consolation derived from these sources, it would be ungrateful not to add those which spring from our present fortune in condition. Though not altogether exempt from embarrassments that disturb our tranquillity at home and threaten it abroad, yet, in all the attributes of a great, happy and flourishing people, we stand without a parallel in the world. Abroad, we enjoy the respect, and, with scarcely an exception, the friendship of every nation; at home, while our Government quietly, but efficiently, performs the sole legitimate end of political institutions, in doing the greatest good to the greatest number, we present an aggregate of human prosperity rarely met elsewhere to be found.

How important, then, is the obligation imposed upon every citizen, in his own sphere of action, whether limited or extended, to exert himself in perpetuating a condition of things so singularly happy. All the lessons of history and experience must be lost upon us, if we are content to trust alone to the peculiar advantages we happen to possess. Position and climate, and the bounteous resources that nature has scattered with so liberal a hand—even the diluted intelligence and elevated character of our people—will avail us nothing, if we fail to exert ourselves in upholding those political institutions that were wisely and deliberately formed, with reference to every circumstance that could preserve, or might endanger, the blessings we enjoy. The thoughtful framers of our constitution, which legislated for the country as they found it, looking ahead with the eyes of statesmen and of patriots, they saw all the sources of rapid and wonderful progress; but they saw also that various habits, opinions, and institutions, peculiar to the various portions of so vast a region, were deeply fixed. Distinct characteristics were in actual existence, whose removal would be essential to the welfare and happiness of all. Between many of them there was, at least to some extent, a real diversity of interests, liable to be exaggerated through sinister designs; they differed in size, in population, in wealth and in actual and prospective resources and power; they varied in the character of their industry and staple productions; and in some existed domestic institutions which, inevitably disturbed, might endanger the harmony of the whole. Most carefully were all these circumstances weighed, and the foundations of the new government laid upon principles of reciprocal concession and equitable compromise. The resolution which the smaller States might entertain of the power of the vast empire, was met by a rule of representation, confessedly unequal at the time, and destined forever to remain so. A natural fear that the broad scope of general legislation might bear upon and unawakened control particular interests, was counteracted by limits strictly drawn around the action of the federal authority; and to the people and the States was left unimpaired their sovereign power over the innumerable objects embraced in the federal government of a just republic, exempting such only as necessarily appertain to the concerns of the whole confederacy, or its intercourse, as a united community, with the other nations of the world.

This provident forecast had been verified by time. Half a century, teeming with extraordinary events, and elsewhere producing astonishing results, has passed away; but on our institutions it has left no injurious mark. From a small community, we have risen to a people powerful in numbers and in strength; and with our increase has gone hand in hand, the progress of just principles; the privileges, civil and religious, of the humbled individual are as fully and as securely protected at home; and while the noble and virtuous of our people have recovered from the slightest apprehension of foreign power, they have not yet induced us, in a single instance, to forget what is right. Our commerce has been extended to the remotest nations; the value and even nature, of our productions has been greatly changed; a wide

difference has arisen in the relative wealth and resources of every portion of our country; yet the spirit of mutual regard and of faithful adherence to existing compacts, has continued to prevail in our councils, and never long been absent from our conduct. We have learned by experience a fruitful lesson: that an implicit and undeviating adherence to the principles on which we set out, can carry us prosperously onward through all the conflicts of circumstances, and the vicissitudes inseparable from the lapse of years.

The success that has attended our great experiment, is, in itself, a sufficient cause for gratitude, on account of the happiness it has actually conferred, and the example it has unwaveringly given. But to me, my fellow citizen, looking forward to the far distant future, with ardent prayers and confident hopes, this retrospect presents a ground for still deeper delight. It impresses on my mind a firm belief that the perpetuity of our institutions depends upon ourselves; that if we maintain the principles on which they were established, they are destined to confer their benefits on countless generations yet to come; and that America will present to every friend of mankind the shining proof that a popular government, wisely formed, is wanting in no element of endurance or strength. Fifty years ago, its rapid failure was boldly predicted. Lament and uncontrollable causes of dissolution were supposed to exist, even by the wise and good; and not only did unfriendly or speculative theorists anticipate for us the fate of past republics, but the fears of many an honest patriot overclouded his sanguine hope. Look back on these forebodings, not hastily, but reluctantly, and see how, in every instance, they have been completely failed.

An imperfect experience, during the struggles of the revolution, was supposed to warrant a belief that the people would not bear the taxation requisite to discharge an immense public debt already incurred, and to defray the necessary expenses of government. The cost of two wars has been paid, not only without a murmur, but with unqualified alacrity. No one is now left to doubt that every burden will be cheerfully borne that may be necessary to sustain our civil institutions, or guard our honor or our welfare. Indeed, all experience has shown that the willingness of the people to contribute to these ends in cases of emergency, has uniformly outrun the confidence of the representatives.

In every stage of the new Government, when all felt the imposing influence, as they recognized the unequalled services of the first President, it was a common sentiment, that the great weight of his character could alone bind the discordant materials of our government together, and save us from the violence of conflicting factions. Since his death, nearly forty years are gone. Early exasperation has been often carried to its highest point; the virtue and the fortitude of the people have sometimes been greatly tried; yet our system, purified and enhanced in value by all it has encountered, still preserves its spirit of free and fearless discussion, blended with unimpairing national feeling.

The capacity of the people for self government, and their willingness, from a high sense of duty, and without those exhibitions of coercive force so generally employed in other countries, to submit to all the necessary restraints and exacting municipal law, have also been favorably exemplified in the history of the American States. Occasionally, it is true, the ardor of public sentiment outrunning the regular progress of the judicial tribunals, has led to such cases, as have been denounced as criminal by the existing law, has displayed itself in a manner calculated to give pain to the friends of free government, and to encourage the hopes of those who wish for its overthrow. These occurrences, however, have been far less frequent in our country than in any other equal position; and with the diffusion of intelligence, it may well be hoped that they will constantly diminish in frequency and violence. The generous patriotism and sound common sense of the great mass of our fellow citizens, will, assuredly, in time, produce this result: in every assumption of illegal power, not only wounds the majesty of the law, but furnishes a pretext for abridging the liberties of the people, the latter have the most direct and permanent interest in preserving the great landmarks of social order and maintaining, on all occasions, the inviolability of the constitutional and legal provisions which they themselves have made.

In a supposed selfishness of our institutions for these hostile emergencies which no country can always avoid, their friends found a fruitful source of apprehension, their enemies a hope. While they were thus less prompt to govern than to govern, they were more prompt to quarrel than to unite. In a government so differently formed, they overlooked the far more important consideration, that with us war could never be the result of individual or irresponsible will, but must be a measure of redress for injuries sustained, voluntarily resorted to by those who wish to leave the necessary sacrifice, who, consequently feel an individual interest in the contest, and whose energy would be commensurate with the difficulties to be encountered. Actual events have proved their errors the last war, far from impairing, gave new confidence to our Government; and an American people, who, in the midst of a civil conflict, saw that the energies of our country would not be wanting in ample season to vindicate our rights. We may not possess, as we should not desire to possess, the extended and ever ready military organization of other nations; we may occasionally suffer in the course of the war, but among ourselves, all doubt upon this great point is a contrary opinion from having aggression from abroad.

Certain dangers were foreseen from the extension of our territory, the multiplication of states, and the increase of population. Our system was supposed to be adapted only to boundaries comparatively narrow. There have been widens beyond conjecture; the members of our confederacy are already more than thirty in number, and the people are rapidly increasing. The alleged causes of danger have long surpassed anticipation, but none of the consequences have followed. The power and influence of the republic has risen to a height unknown to all mankind; respect for its authority was not more apparent in its early years than it is present; and its present and its inexhaustible source of general prosperity have been opened; the effects of distance have been averted by the inventive genius of our people, developed and fostered by the spirit of our institutions; and the enlarged variety and amount of interests, productions and pursuits, have strengthened our chain of mutual dependence, and formed a circle of mutual benefits too apparent ever to be overlooked. In justly balancing the powers of the federal and state authorities, difficulties nearly insurmountable were the result of the original plan. The colonies were deemed inalienable. And that, it was scarcely to be believed possible that a scheme of government, so complex in construction, could remain unimpaired. From time to time embarrassments have certainly occurred; but how just is the confidence of future safety imparted by the knowledge that each successive occasion has been happily relieved. Overlooking partial and temporary evils as inseparable from the practical operation of all human institutions, and looking only to the general sense, every patriot has reason to be satisfied. While the Federal Government has successfully performed its appointed functions in relation to foreign affairs, & secure, evidently national, that every State has remarkably improved in protecting and developing local interests and individual welfare; and if the vibrations of authority have on occasional occasions, tended towards one or the other, it is impossible to deny that the ultimate operation of the entire system has been to strengthen all the existing institutions, and to elevate our whole country in prosperity and renown.

The last, perhaps the greatest, of the prominent sources of discord and disaster supposed to lurk in our political condition, was the institution of domestic slavery. Our forefathers were deeply impressed with the delicacy of this subject, and they treated it with a forbearance so evidently wise, that, in spite of every sinister foreboding, it has, in the present period, disturbed the tranquillity of our common country. Such a result is sufficient evidence of the justice and the patriotism of their course; it is evidence not to be mistaken, that an adherence to it in the present all circumstances, would be as injurious as from every other anticipated cause of difficulty. Have not recent events made it obvious to the slightest reflection, that the least deviation from this spirit of forbearance is injurious to every interest, that of humanity included? Amidst the vio-

lence of exciting passions, this generous and fraternal feeling has been sometimes disregarded; and, standing as I now do before my countrymen in this high place of honor and of trust, I cannot refrain from avowing my regret, that I have not been able to be deaf to its dictates. Perceiving, however, that the deep interest this subject was beginning to excite, I believed it a solemn duty fully to make known my sentiments in regard to it, and now, when every influence for interference has passed away, I trust they will be candidly weighed and understood. At least they will be my standard of conduct in the path before me. I then declared that, if the desire of those of my countrymen who were in favor of my election was gratified, I must go into the Presidential office, and I must go into it as the promoter of every attempt, on the part of Congress, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, against the wishes of the slave-holding States; and also with a determination equally decided to resist the slightest interference with it in the States where it exists. I transmitted also to my fellow-citizens, with fullness and frankness, the reasons which led me to this determination. The recent authorities me to believe that they have been approved, and are confirmed; by a majority of the people of the United States, including those whom they most immediately affect. It now only remains to add, that no bill conflicting with these views can ever receive my constitutional sanction. These opinions have been adapted in the firm belief that they are in accordance with the spirit that actuated the President of the United States, and that succeeding experience has proved them to be humane, patriotic, expedient, honorable, and just.

The agitation of the subject was intended to reach the stability of our institutions, enough has occurred to show that it has signally failed; and that in this respect, the confidence of the people in the Union and the hope of the nation, are destined to be disappointed. Here and there indeed scenes of dangerous excitement have occurred; terrifying instances of local violence have been witnessed; and a reckless disregard of the rights of our fellow-citizens has exposed individuals to popular indignation; but neither among the people, nor sections of the country, have been swayed from the devotion to the Union, and the principles that have underlain it. It will be over too soon. Such attempts at dangerous interference may periodically return, but with each the object will be better understood. That predominant affection for our political system which prevails throughout our territorial limits, that calm and enlightened judgment which always governs the people as one body, will always be at hand to resist every effort to injure or domesticate, which aims, or would lead to, to overthrow our institutions.

What can be more gratifying than such a retrospect as this. We look back on obstacles avoided, and dangers averted; on an expectation more than realized and prosperously performed. To the hopes of the people, the fears of the timid, and the doubts of the anxious, actual experience has given the conclusive reply. We have seen time gradually dispel every unfavorable forboding, and our confidence in the Union, in the stability of our institutions, and in the course that, administered in the true form, character, and spirit in which they are established, they are abundantly adequate to preserve to us and our children the rich blessings already derived from them; to make our whole country, as a united community, that chosen spot where happiness springs from a perfect equality of political rights.

For myself, therefore, I desire to declare, that the principle that will govern me in the high duty to which my country calls me, is a strict adherence to the letter and spirit of the constitution, as it was designed by those who framed it. Looking to it as a sacred instrument carefully and not easily framed, remembering that it was throughout a work of concession and compromise; viewing it as limited to national objects, regarding it as leaving to the people and their States, a power not explicitly parted with; I shall endeavor to treat it as such, and I do find it, by nationally referring to its provisions for direction in every action. To matters of domestic concernment which it has entrusted to the federal Government, and to such as relate to our intercourse with foreign nations, I shall devoutly devote myself—beyond those limits I shall never pass.

To enter, on this occasion, into a further or more minute exposition of my views on the various questions of domestic policy, would be as abusive as it would be unprofitable. Before the suffrage of my countrymen were conferred upon me, I submitted them, with great precision, my opinions on all the most prominent of these subjects. Those opinions I shall endeavor to carry out with my utmost ability. Our course of foreign policy has been so uniform and intelligible, as to constitute a rule of executive conduct which leaves little to my discretion, unless indeed, I were willing to run counter to the lights of experience and the known opinions of my constituents. We sedulously cultivate the friendship of all nations, and maintain a friendly and amicable intercourse with all; and the principles of our government, our welfare, and the principles of our peace. We desire commercial relations on equal terms, being ever willing to give a fair equivalent for advantages received. We endeavor to conduct our intercourse with uprightness and candor, and to maintain our rights and seeking to establish that mutual frankness which is as beneficial to nations as to men. We have no disposition, and we disclaim all right, to meddle in disputes, whether internal or foreign, that may molest other countries; regarding them in an actual state, as a social community, and preserving strict neutrality in all their contentions. Well knowing the tried valor of our people and our extensive resources, we neither anticipate nor fear any designed aggression, and in the consciousness of our own just conduct, we feel a security that we shall never permit an invasion of our rights without punishment or redress.

In approaching, then, in the presence of my assembled countrymen, to make the solemn promise that yet remains, and to pledge myself that I will faithfully and conscientiously discharge the duties of my office, I am constrained to say, that I bring with me a settled purpose to maintain the institutions of my country, which, I trust, will stand for the errors I may commit. In receiving from the people the sacred trust twice committed to my illustrious predecessor, and which he has discharged so faithfully and so well, I know that I cannot expect to perform the arduous task with equal ability and success. But, united as I have been in his councils, a daily witness of his unsurpassed devotion to his country's welfare, agreeing with him in sentiment which his countryman have so often expressed, and in the high regard I bear to his confidence, I may hope that somewhat of the same cheering approbation will be found to attend upon my path. For him, I but express with my own, the wishes of all—that he may yet long live to enjoy the brilliant evening of his well-earned repose, and that he may continue to desire, faithfully to serve my country; I throw myself without fear, on its justice and its kindness. Beyond that, I look to the generous protection of the Divine Being, whose strengthening support I humbly trust, and whom I devoutly pray, to look down upon us all. May he be so graciously disposed to his providence to bless our beloved country with peace and with length of days; may her ways be ways of pleasantness, and all her paths be peace.

It is proposed to erect a statue at Washington in J. C. Calhoun, for his "defense of the Constitution"—a nullifier. If any nation is to be put into the hands of the statue, we insist that it be a ponderous spear, pointed to the V. B. men of the last legislature for the change. Flour is higher now than it was in February 1811—12 and 1833.

Postmaster, G. W. Barker, Esq., has been appointed postmaster for this place, vice G. W. Hill. We suppose we are principally indebted to the V. B. men of the last legislature for the change. Flour is higher now than it was in February 1811—12 and 1833.



By Government Express! AND NOT EXPRESS from ROYALTON MASS. FAREWELL ADDRESS OF ANDREW JACKSON TO THE PEOPLE OF THE U. STATES.

Fellow citizens:—Being about to retire from public life, I beg leave to offer you my grateful thanks for the many proofs of kindness & confidence which I have received at your hands. It has been my lot, 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 interest 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 unbroken 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 have anxiously endeavored to serve; & at the moment when I surround myself with public trials, I leave this great people to prosper & 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, & 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 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 war with all the evils which precede in 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 have been so long retarded in their improvement by Indian tribes residing in the midst of them, are at length relieved from the evil; and the unhappy race—the original dwellers of 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 are rapidly hastening while they remain in the States; and while the safety and comfort of our 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 parental 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 full 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 have 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 speaks of it in his address; but an experiment upon the success of which the best hopes of his country depended, and he all knew 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 formed it. Every quarter of the widely extended nation has felt its blessings, and shared in the general prosperity produced by its adoption. But amid the general prosperity, and splendid successes, 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 the 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 our republics.

What have you to gain by division and dissensions? Do not delude 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 the 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, & that nothing but harmony and concord would be found in the new associations formed upon the dissolution of the Union.—Local interests would still be found there, and unclashed ambition. And if the recollection of common danger, 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 property 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 the 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 buy arms and leaders; seeking and 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 to state 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 them 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 a patriotic people; and no citizen who loves his country as well, 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; or 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 result 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 accrue to them the blessings 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; in the security it gives to life, liberty, character and property, in every quarter of the country; and in the fraternal attachment which the citizens of the several States bear to one another or 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; & they should form upon any proceedings within their own borders likely to disturb the tranquillity of their political brethren in other portions of the Union. In a country so extensive as the U. S. 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 their 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 which 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 exert claims upon their institutions, and all measures calculated to disturb their rights of property, or to put in jeopardy their peace and internal tranquillity, 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 unscrupulous interference; and weak men may persuade themselves for a moment, 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 and 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, & in every measure of the General Government, justice to every portion of the U. S. 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 mere 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, to detect & defeat every effort to gain undue advantages over them; and when such designs are discovered, it naturally provokes resentments which cannot always be easily allayed.—Justice, full and ample justice, to every portion of the U. S. should be the ruling principle of every legislator, & 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 power 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 out 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 anything 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 to 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 & 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