

A. N. RANKIN,
PUBLISHER AND PROPRIETOR.

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PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:—

Throughout the year since our last meeting, the country has been eminently prosperous in all its material interests. The general health has been excellent, our harvests have been abundant and plenty smiles throughout the land. Our commerce and manufactures have been prosecuted with energy and industry, and have yielded fair and a ample returns. In short, no nation in the tide of time has ever presented a spectacle of greater material prosperity than we have done until within a very recent period.

Why is it, then, that discontent now so extensively prevails, and the Union of the States, which is the source of all these blessings, is threatened with destruction? The long-continued and intemperate interference of the Northern people with the question of slavery in the Southern States has at length produced its natural effects. The different sections of the Union are now arrayed against each other, and the time has arrived, so much dreaded by the Father of his Country; when hostile geographical parties have been formed. I have long foreseen and often forewarned my countrymen of the now impending danger. This does not proceed solely from the claim on the part of Congress of the territorial legislature to exclude slavery from the Territories, nor from the efforts of different States to defeat the execution of the fugitive-slave law. All or any of these evils might have been endured by the South without danger to the Union (as others have been), in the hope that time and reflection might avert the remedy. The immediate peril arises not so much from these causes as from the fact that at the incessant and violent agitation of the slavery question throughout the North for the last quarter of a century, has at length produced its malignant influence on the slaves, and inspired them with vague notions of freedom.

Hence a sense of security no longer exists around the family altar. This feeling of peace at home has given place to apprehensions of servile insurrection. Many a nation throughout the South retires at night in dread of what may befall herself or her children before the morning. Should this apprehension of domestic danger, whether real or imaginary, extend and intensify itself until it shall pervade the masses of the Southern people, then dissolution will become inevitable. Self-protection is the first law of nature, and has been implanted in the heart of man by his Creator for the wisest purpose; and a political union, however fruitful with blessings and benefits in all other respects, as long continue, if the necessary consequence be to render the homes and fire-places of nearly half the parties to it habitually and hopelessly insecure. Sooner or later the bonds of such a Union must be severed. It is my conviction that this fatal period has not yet arrived; and my prayer to God is that He would preserve the Constitution and the Union throughout all generations.

But let us take warning in time, and remove the cause of danger. It cannot be denied that, for five and twenty years, the agitation at the North against slavery in the South has been incessant. In 1835 pictorial hand-bills, and inflammatory appeals, were circulated extensively throughout the South, of a character to excite the passions of the slaves; and, in the language of General Jackson, "to stimulate them to insurrection, and produce all the horrors of a servile war." This agitation has ever since been continued by the public press, by the proceedings of State and county conventions, and by abolition sermons and lectures. The time of Congress has been occupied in violent speeches on this never-ending subject; and appeals in pamphlet and other forms, endorsed by distinguished names, have been sent forth from this central point, and spread broadcast over the Union.

How easy would it be for the American people to settle the slavery question forever, and to restore peace and harmony to this distracted country. They, and they alone, can do it. All that is necessary to accomplish the object, and all for which the slave States have ever contended, is to be let alone, and permitted to manage their domestic institutions in their own way. As sovereign States, they, and they alone, are responsible before God and the world for the slavery existing among them. For this, the people of the North are not more responsible, and have no more right to interfere, than with similar institutions in Russia or in Brazil.

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Upon their good sense and patriotic forbearance I confess I still greatly rely.— Without their aid, it is beyond the power of any President, no matter what may be his own political proclivities, to restore peace and harmony among the States.— Wisely limited and restrained as is his power, under our Constitution and laws, he alone can accomplish but little, for good or for evil, on such a momentous question.

And this brings me to observe that the election of any one of our fellow-citizens to the office of President does not of itself afford any cause for dissolving the Union. This is more especially true if his election has been effected by a mere plurality, and not a majority, of the people, and has resulted from transient and temporary causes, which may probably never again occur.— In order to justify a resort to revolutionary resistance, the Federal Government must be guilty of "a deliberate, palpable and dangerous exercise" of powers not granted by the Constitution. The late Presidential election, however, has been held in strict conformity with its express provisions. How, then, can the result justify a revolution to destroy this very Constitution? Reason, justice, a regard for the Constitution, all require that we shall wait for some overt and dangerous act on the part of the President elect before resorting to such a remedy.

It is said, however, that the antecedents of the President elect have been sufficient to justify the fears of the South that he will attempt to invade their constitutional rights. But are such apprehensions of contingent danger in the future sufficient to justify the immediate destruction of the noblest system of government ever devised by mortals? From the very nature of his office, and its high responsibilities, he must necessarily be conservative. The stern duty of administering the vast and complicated concerns of this Government affords in itself a guarantee that he will not attempt any violation of a clear constitutional right. After all, he is no more than the chief executive officer of the Government. His province is not to make, but to execute, the laws; and it is a remarkable fact in our history, that notwithstanding the repeated efforts of the anti-slavery party, no single act has ever passed Congress, unless we may possibly except the Missouri Compromise, impairing, in the slightest degree, the rights of the South to their property in slaves.— And it may also be observed, judging from present indications, that no probability exists of the passage of such an act, by a majority of both houses, either in the present or the next Congress. Surely, under these circumstances, we ought to be restrained from present action by the precept of Him who spake as never man spake, that "sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." The day of evil may never come, unless we shall rashly bring it upon ourselves.

It is alleged as one cause for immediate secession that the Southern States are denied equal rights with the other States in the common Territories. But by what authority are these denied? Not by Congress, which has never passed, and I believe never will pass, any act to exclude slavery from these Territories; and certainly not by the Supreme Court, which has solemnly decided that slaves are property, and like all other property, their owners have a right to take them into the common Territories, and hold them there under the protection of the Constitution. So far, then, as Congress is concerned, the objection is not to anything they have already done, but to what they may do hereafter. It will surely be admitted that this apprehension of future danger is no good reason for an immediate dissolution of the Union. It is true that the territorial legislature of Kansas, on the 23d of February, 1860, passed in great haste an act, over the veto of the Governor, declaring that slavery "is, and shall be, forever prohibited in this territory." Such an act, however, plainly violating the rights of property secured by the Constitution, will surely be declared void by the judiciary whenever it shall be presented in a legal form.

Only three days after my inauguration the Supreme Court of the United States solemnly adjudged that this power did not exist in a territorial legislature. Yet such has been the factious temper of the times that the correctness of this decision has been extensively impugned before the people, and the question has given rise to a political conflict throughout the country. The highest constitutional tribunals of our highest assemblies would, if they could, invest a territorial legislature with power to annul the sacred rights of property. This power Congress is expressly forbidden by the Federal Constitution to exercise. Ev by its State legislature in the Union is forbidden by its own constitution to exercise it. It cannot be exercised in any State except by the people in their highest sovereign capacity when framing or amending their State constitution. In like manner, it can only be exercised by the people of a Territory represented in a convention of delegates for the purpose of framing a constitution preparatory to admission as a State into the Union. Then, and not until then, are they invested with power to decide

the question whether slavery shall or shall not exist within their limits.— This is an act of sovereign authority, and not of subordinate territorial legislation. Were it otherwise, then indeed would the equality of the States in the Territories be destroyed, and the rights of property in slaves would depend, not upon the guarantees of the Constitution, but upon the shifting majorities of an irresponsible territorial legislature. Such a doctrine, from its intrinsic unsoundness, cannot long influence any considerable portion of our people, much less can it afford a good reason for a dissolution of the Union.

The most palpable violations of constitutional duty which have yet been committed consists in the acts of different State legislatures to defeat the execution of the fugitive-slave law. It ought to be remembered, however, that for these acts, neither Congress nor any President can justly be held responsible. Having been passed in violation of the Federal Constitution, they are therefore null and void. All the courts, both State and national, before whom the question has arisen, have from the beginning declared the fugitive slave law to be constitutional. The single exception is that of a State court in Wisconsin; and this has not only been reversed by the proper appellate tribunal, but has met with such universal reprobation that there can be no danger from it as a precedent. The validity of this law has been established over and over again by the supreme Court of the United States with perfect unanimity. It is founded upon an express provision of the Constitution, requiring that fugitive slaves who escape from service in one State to another shall be "delivered up" to their masters. Without this provision it is a well known historical fact that the Constitution itself could never have been adopted by the convention. In one form or other under the acts of 1793 and 1850, both being substantially the same, the fugitive-slave law has been the law of the land from the days of Washington until the present moment. Here, then, a clear case is presented, in which it will be the duty of the next President, as it has been my own, to act with vigor in executing this supreme law against the conflicting enactments of State legislatures. Should he fail in the performance of this high duty, he will then have manifested a disregard of the Constitution and laws, to the great injury of the people of nearly one-half of the States of the Union. But are we to presume to advance that he will thus violate his duty? This would be at war with every principle of justice and of Christian charity. Let us wait for the overt act. The fugitive-slave law has been carried into execution in every contested case since the commencement of the present administration; though often it is to be regretted, with great loss and inconvenience to the master, and with considerable expense to the government. Let us trust that the State legislatures will repeal their unconstitutional and obnoxious enactments. Unless this shall be done without unnecessary delay, it is impossible for any human power to save the Union.

The Southern States, standing on the basis of the Constitution, have a right to demand the act of justice from the States of the North. Should it be refused, then the Constitution, to which all the States are parties, will have been willfully violated by one portion of them in a provision essential to the domestic security and happiness of the remainder. In that event, the injured States, after having first used all peaceful and constitutional means to obtain redress, would be justified in revolutionary resistance to the Government of the Union.

I have purposely confined my remarks to revolutionary resistance, because it has been claimed within the last few years that any State, whenever this shall be its sovereign will and pleasure, may secede from the Union, in accordance with the Constitution, and without any violation of the Constitutional rights of the other members of the Confederacy. That as each member parties to the Union by the vote of its own people assembled in convention, so any one of them may retire from the Union in a similar manner by the vote of such a convention.

In order to justify secession as a constitutional remedy, it must be on the principle that the Federal Government is a mere voluntary association of States, to be dissolved at pleasure by any one of the contracting parties. If this be so, the Confederacy is a rope of sand, to be penetrated and dissolved by the first adverse wave of public opinion in any of the States. In this manner our thirty-three States may resolve themselves into as many petty, jarring and hostile republics, each one retiring from the Union, without responsibility, whenever any sudden excitement might impel them to such a course. By this process a Union might be entirely broken into fragments in a few weeks, which cost our forefathers many years of toil, privation and blood to establish.

Such a principle is wholly inconsistent with the history as well as the character of the Federal Constitution. After it was framed, with the greatest deliberation and care, it was submitted to conventions of the people of the several States for ratification. Its provisions were discussed at length in these bodies, composed of the

first men of the country. Its opponents contended that it conferred powers upon the Federal Government dangerous to the rights of the States, whilst its advocates maintained that under a fair construction of the instrument there was no foundation for such apprehensions. In that mighty struggle between the first intellects of this or any other country, it never occurred to any individual, either among its opponents or advocates, to assert or even to intimate, that their efforts were all vain labor, because the moment that any State felt herself aggrieved she might secede from the Union. What a crushing argument would this have proved against those who dreaded that the rights of the States would be endangered by the Constitution. The truth is, that it was not until many years after the origin of the Federal Government that such a proposition was first advanced. It was then met and refuted by the conclusive arguments of General Jackson, who in his message of 19th January, 1833 transmitting the nullifying ordinance of South Carolina to Congress, employs the following language:—"The right of the people of a single State to absolve themselves at will, and without the consent of the other States, from their most solemn obligations, and hazard the liberty and happiness of the millions composing this Union cannot be acknowledged.— Such authority is believed to be utterly repugnant both to the principles upon which the Federal Government is constituted and to the objects which it was expressly formed to attain.

It is not pretended that any clause in the Constitution gives countenance to such a theory. It is altogether founded upon inference, not from any language contained in the instrument itself, but from the sovereign character of the several States by which it was ratified. But it is beyond the power of a State, like an individual, to yield a portion of its sovereign rights to secure the remainder? In the language of Mr. Madison, who has been called the father of the Constitution: "It was formed by the States—that is by the people in each of the States, acting in their highest sovereign capacity; and formed consequently by the same authority which formed the State Constitutions."

"Nor is the Government of the United States, created by the Constitution, less a Government in the strict sense of the term within the sphere of its powers, than the governments created by the constitutions of the States are, within their several spheres. It is, like them, organized into legislative, executive, and judiciary departments. It operates, like them, directly on persons and things; and, like them, it has at command a physical force for executing the powers committed to it." It was intended to be perpetual, and not to be annulled at the pleasure of any one of the contracting parties. The old articles of confederation were entitled "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States;" and by the 13th article it is expressly declared that "the articles of this Confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State, and the Union shall be perpetual." The preamble to the Constitution of the United States, having express reference to the articles of Confederation, recites that it was established "in order to form a more perfect Union." And yet it is contended that this "more perfect Union" does not include the essential attribute of perpetuity.

But that the Union was designed to be perpetual appears conclusively from the nature and extent of the powers conferred by the Constitution on the Federal Government. These powers embrace the very highest attributes of national sovereignty. They place both the sword and purse under its control. Congress has power to make war, and to make peace; to raise and support armies; and navies, and to conclude treaties with foreign governments. It is invested with the power to coin money, and to regulate the value thereof, and to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States. It is not necessary to enumerate the other high powers which have been conferred upon the Federal Government. In order to carry the enumerated powers into effect, Congress possesses the exclusive right to lay and collect duties on imports, and in common with the States to lay and collect all other taxes.

But the Constitution has not only conferred these high powers upon Congress, but it has adopted effectual means to restrain the States from interfering with their exercise. For that purpose it has, in strong prohibitory language, expressively declared that "no State shall enter into any treaty, alliance or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts." Moreover "without the consent of Congress, no State shall lay any imposts or duties on any imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws;" and, if they exceed this amount, the excess shall belong to the United States.

And "no State shall, without the consent of Congress lay any duty of tonnage; keep troops or ships of war, in time of

peace; enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power; or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

In order still further to secure the uninterrupted exercise of these high powers against State interposition, it is provided "that this Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

The solemn sanction of religion has been superadded to the obligations of official duty, and all senators and representatives of the United States, all members of State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, "both of the United States, and of the several States shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution."

In order to carry into effect these powers, the Constitution has established a perfect Government in all its forms, Legislative, Executive, and Judicial; and this Government, to the extent of its powers, acts directly upon the individual citizens of every State, and executes its own decrees by the agency of its own officers.

In this respect it differs entirely from the Government under the old Confederation, which was confined to making requisitions on the States in their sovereign character. This left it in the discretion of each whether to obey or to refuse, and they often declined to comply with such requisitions. It thus became necessary, for the purpose of removing this barrier, and "in order to form a more perfect Union," to establish a Government which could act directly upon the people, and execute its own laws without the intermediate agency of the States. This has been accomplished by the Constitution of the United States.

In short, the Government created by the Constitution, and deriving its authority from the sovereign people of each of the several States, has precisely the same right to exercise its power over the people of all these States, in the enumerated cases, that each one of them possesses over subjects not delegated to the United States but "reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people."

To the extent of the delegated powers the Constitution of the United States is as much a part of the constitution of each State, and is as binding upon its people, as though it had been textually inserted therein. This Government, therefore, is a great and powerful Government, invested with all the attributes of sovereignty over the special subjects in which its authority extends. Its framers never intended to implant in its bosom the seeds of its own destruction, nor were they at its creation guilty of the absurdity of providing for its own dissolution. It was not intended by its framers to be the baseless fabric of a vision which, at the touch of the enchanter, would vanish into thin air, but a substantial and mighty fabric, capable of resisting the slow decay of time, and of defying the storms of ages.

Indeed, well may the jealous patriots of that day have indulged fears that a government of such high powers might violate the reserved rights of the States, and wisely did they adopt the rule of a strict construction of these powers to prevent the danger! But they did not fear, nor had they any reason to imagine, that the Constitution would ever be so interpreted as to enable any State, by her own act, and without the consent of her sister States, to discharge her people from all or any of their Federal obligations.

It may be asked, then, are the people of the States without redress against the tyranny and oppression of the Federal Government? By no means. The right of resistance on the part of the governed against the oppression of their governments cannot be denied. It exists independently of all constitutions, and has been exercised at all periods of the world's history. Under its old governments have been destroyed and new ones have taken their places. It is embodied in strong and express language in our own Declaration of Independence. But the distinction must ever be observed, that this is revolution against an established government, and not a voluntary secession from it by virtue of an inherent constitutional right. In short, let us look the danger fairly in the face.— Secession is neither more nor less than revolution. It may or may not be a justifiable revolution, but still it is revolution.

What, in the meantime, is the responsibility and position of the Executive?— He is bound by solemn oath before God and the country "to take care that the laws be faithfully executed," and from this obligation he cannot be absolved by any human power. But what if the performance of this duty, in whole or in part, has been rendered impracticable by grants over which he could have exercised no control? Such, at the present moment, is the case throughout the State of South Carolina, so far as the laws of the United States to secure the administration of justice by means of the Federal Judiciary are concerned. All the Federal officers within its limits,

through whose agency alone these laws can be carried into execution, have already resigned. We no longer have a district judge, a district attorney, or a marshal in South Carolina. In fact, the whole machinery of the Federal Government, necessary for the distribution of remedial justice among the people, has been demolished; and it would be difficult, if not impossible to replace it.

The only acts of Congress on the statute-book, bearing upon this subject, are those of the 23d February, 1766, and 3d March, 1807. These authorize the President, after he shall have ascertained that the mode which his posse comitatus is unable to execute with his posse comitatus in any particular case, to call forth the militia and employ the army and navy to aid him in performing this service, having first by proclamation commanded the insurgents to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes, within a limited time. This cannot by possibility be performed in a State where no judicial authority exists to issue process, and where there is no marshal to execute it, and where, even if there were such an officer, the entire population would constitute one solid combination to resist him.

"The bare enumeration of these provisions proves how inadequate they are without further legislation to overcome a united opposition in a single State, not to speak of other States who may place themselves in a similar attitude.— Congress alone has power to decide whether the present laws can or cannot be amended so as to carry out more effectually the objects of the Constitution.

The same insuperable obstacles do not lie in the way of executing the laws for the collection of the customs. The revenue still continues to be collected, as heretofore, at the custom-house in Charleston; and should the collector unfortunately resign, a successor may be appointed to perform this duty.

Then in regard to the property of the United States in South Carolina. There has been purchased for a fair equivalent, "by the consent of the Legislature of the State," "for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, &c., and over these the authority "to exercise legislation" has been expressly granted by the Constitution to Congress. It is not believed that any attempt will be made to expel the United States from this property by force; but if in this I should prove to be mistaken, the officer in command of the forts has received orders to act strictly on the defensive. In such a contingency, the responsibility for consequences would rightfully rest upon the heads of the assailants.

Apart from the execution of the laws, so far as this may be practicable, the Executive has no authority to decide what shall be the relations between the federal government and South Carolina. He has been invested with no such discretion. He possesses no power to change the relations heretofore existing between them, much less to acknowledge the independence of that State. This would be to invest a mere Executive officer with the power of recognizing the dissolution of the Confederacy among thirty-three sovereign States. It bears no resemblance to the recognition of a foreign de facto government, involving no such responsibility.

Any attempt to do this would, on his part, be a naked act of usurpation. It is, therefore, my duty to submit to Congress the whole question in all its bearings. The course of events is so rapidly hastening forward that the emergency may soon arise, when you may be called upon to decide the momentous question whether you possess the power, by force of arms, to compel a State to remain in the Union. I should feel myself recreant to my duty, were I not to express an opinion on this important subject.

The question fairly stated is: Has the Constitution delegated to Congress the power to coerce a State into submission which is attempting to withdraw or has actually withdrawn from the Confederacy? If answered in the affirmative, it must be on the principle that the power has been conferred upon Congress to declare and make war against a State. After much serious reflection I have arrived at the conclusion that no such power has been delegated to Congress or to any other department of the Federal Government. It is manifest, upon an inspection of the Constitution, that this is not among the specific powers expressly granted to Congress; and it is equally manifest that its exercise is not "necessary and proper for carrying into execution" any one of these powers. So far from this power having been delegated to Congress, it was expressly refused by the Convention which framed the Constitution.

It appears, from the proceedings of that body, that on the 31st May, 1787, the clause "authorizing an exertion of the force of the whole against a delinquent State" came up for consideration. Mr. Madison opposed it in a brief but powerful speech; from which I shall extract but a single sentence. He observed: "The use of force against a State would amount to a declaration of war than an infliction of punishment; and would probably be considered by the party attacked as a dissolution of all previous compacts by which it might be bound."

Upon his motion the clause was unanimously postponed, and was never I believe again presented. Soon afterwards, on the 8th of June, 1787, when an incident arose respecting the clause, he said: "Any Government of the United States, formed on the supposed practicality of using force against the unconstitutional proceedings of the States, would prove as visionary and fallacious as the Government of Congress," evidently meaning the then-existing Congress of the old Confederation.

Without descending to particulars, it may be safely asserted, that the power to make war against a State is at variance with the whole spirit and intent of the Constitution. Suppose such a war should result in the conquest of a State, how are we to govern it afterwards? Shall we hold it as a province, and govern it by despotic power? In the nature of things we could not but by physical force control the will of the people and compel them to elect senators and representatives to Congress, and to perform all the other duties depending upon their own volition, and required from the free citizens of a free State as a constituent member of the Confederacy.

But, if possessed of this power, would it be wise to exercise it under existing circumstances? The object would doubtless be to preserve the Union. War would not only present the most effectual means of destroying it; but would banish all hope of its peaceable reconstruction. Besides, in the fraternal conflict a vast amount of blood and treasure would be expended, rendering future reconciliation almost impossible. In the mean time, who can foresee what would be the suffering and privation of the people during its existence?

The fact is, that our Union rests upon public opinion, and can never be cemented by the blood of its citizens shed in civil war. If it cannot live in the affections of the people, it must one day perish. Congress possess many means of preserving it by conciliation; but the sword was not placed in their hands to preserve it by force.

But may I be permitted solemnly to invoke my countrymen to pause and deliberate before they determine to destroy this, the grandest temple which has ever been dedicated to the freedom since the world began? It has been consecrated by the blood of our fathers, by the glories of the past, and by the hopes of the future. The Union has already made us the most

Repository and Transcript.

CHAMBERSBURG:

Wednesday Morning, Dec. 5, 1860.

GREAT INDUCEMENT.

The Proprietor hereby offers to those who subscribe in the new—and to those who pay for their paper in advance, who are desirous of procuring a copy—one copy of the Repository and Transcript and one copy of Petersons Magazine, one of the best and most desirable monthly Magazines published in the United States, for \$3.00—the cash must accompany each order. The price of the Periodical is \$2.00 and of our paper \$1.50—the subscriber for both is thus receiving the Magazine at its regular price, and our paper for the low price of \$1.00—less than the blank paper, upon which it is printed, costs.

THE MESSAGE.

Many were anxious to see the last annual message of James Buchanan to the American Congress; many were solicitous about this closing communication of the old man feeble to the Senate and House of Representatives. Some were so foolish as to suppose that in the closing hour of his official existence—for all know that James Buchanan is politically dead—the old reprobate might be disposed to do one act of justice to the great, industrious, intelligent, Free North; but all their hopes have been blasted. Not one word of sympathy, none of fraternal regard for the North, escaped from his cold, envious, icy heart. He is wedded to the black goddess—slavery—and all his prejudices are aroused against Freedom. Therefore, from him the goddess of Liberty will never be able to win one word of approbation. All his feelings are as much bound up in the bundle of despotism as if his whole life had been spent under the workings of a monarchical form of government—himself a member of a privileged class.

The message, which he sent to the two houses of Congress, last week, is nothing but a partisan epistle. There is nothing in it which displays the least approximation to statesmanship; nothing calculated to elevate our nation in the estimation of the nations of earth. If the old man were arraigned before a jury of his countrymen for some trifling offense, and he had undertaken his own defense, he could not resort to a system of special pleading more petty than that which characterizes what should have been a great state paper—his last annual message. We congratulate the country upon the fact that this is the last from this arch enemy to humanity. We have given room in this issue of our paper to this miserable abortion, so that our readers might preserve this last memento of Buchanan's folly.

He pretends to deprecate secession, and in the same breath gives aid and comfort to the traitors who threaten to destroy our beloved Union. He argues that there is no constitutional mode of dissolving the Union; yet declares his inability to prevent the disruption of the bonds which make one of many States. He acknowledges that secession is revolution—and revolution can only germinate from the seed of treason to an established form of government—and that the Constitution cannot remain inviolate if any State departs from the Confederacy; yet he swears to maintain and preserve that instrument from all harm—whether from traitors within its borders, or foes from without—and, notwithstanding his own solemn oath, he repudiates the idea of preserving the Constitution by means of the power of the government.

His tirade of abuse against the Freemen of the North, running back to 1835, when, he charges, "pictorial handbills and inflammatory appeals were circulated throughout the South, of a character to excite the passions of the slaves," is the poorest piece of sophistry we ever met with. If this be true, who circulated the "pictorial handbills and inflammatory appeals?" What was the nature of the appeals? Were they stump speeches made to the slaves? If so, who were the speakers? If they were printed "appeals," who printed them to the unlettered human chattels? What composed the "pictorial handbills?" Were they illustrations of the "blessings" of perpetual bondage? Were they scenes with which Northern Freemen are not familiar? the whipping post; the chain gang; the rending assunder of the tenderest of human ties; the auction block; the incessant toil in the cotton fields? Was it any of these, or what were the subjects of the horrible "pictorial handbills" which terrify old Mr. Buchanan, and cause his knees to smite against each other with abject fear? We cannot imagine anything better calculated to arouse a slave than a representation of some of these scenes; and yet these could scarcely pro-

duce that effect upon him; for he is too familiar with the reality. The aggressions of the North, upon the vested rights of the South, forms the whole theme of a large portion of his very long document. To read the Message, without knowing how full of falsehoods it is, one might suppose that the owners of slaves were the meekest, the most humble, humane creatures in this country; that the care of a shiftless, idle, lazy race of beings had been entailed upon them; that all their best efforts have been put forth for nearly a century in endeavors to get rid of the abomination, and that their enemies—the people of the North—were standing guard with drawn swords, at every avenue leading from the slave States, preventing the consummation of their earnest wishes.

The reverse of this picture, however, is the truth. The holders of slaves are the meanest tyrants on earth. They rule their helpless, defenseless slaves—of all ages, sexes and conditions—with a rod of iron, and no man dare interfere in any form whatever. Not only do the laws of a slave State allow a feud, in human form, to strip naked a tender, inoffensive female slave,—though no traces of African blood can be discovered; ay, she may be whiter than her tormentor—tie her to a whipping post and inflict upon her writhing body any number of lashes, without being accountable for the consequences of his brutality, and without any man being permitted to call him to account if she should die; but, according to the sentiments of the slavery propagandists, whose minion James Buchanan is, the Government of the United States was formed for the protection of the Slave-owner in his barbarity. According to Buchanan's message, the decisions of a pro-slavery Court must be regarded as the supreme authority of the land, and this body, recently showed their willingness to decide that the Constitution carries slavery everywhere; and that slaves have no rights which their masters are bound to respect. Everything for the tyrant; nothing for the oppressed—such is Buchannanism, Tancyism, Locofocism.

We wonder how James Buchanan could mention Kansas. Steeped in infamy as he is with regard this persecuted region of our land, how dared he introduce into his communication the name of this Territory? After having assisted the Border Ruffians, without avail, to fasten the curse of slavery upon an unwilling people; after having appointed to lucrative positions the pro-slavery murderers of Free-State men in Kansas, how could he, in his closing message to Congress, return to their abuse. True, in a short paragraph, at the end of the message, he commends to the consideration of Congress the starving thousands of Kansas, and asks them to send aid, "if any constitutional measure for their relief can be devised."

How careful and tender is he about the Constitution when the suffering in Kansas is the subject; but when traitors in South Carolina propose destroying that instrument he knows no remedy. Can one believe—yet it is too true—that, notwithstanding this hypocritical cant about the misery in Kansas, this hard-hearted man—James Buchanan—intends selling from those poor people their very homes; hoping, doubtless, that pro-slavery capitalists and speculators will become the purchasers.

From Buchanan's squeamishness about the Constitution, we doubt whether, if he were to see a citizen of Kansas drowning, he would throw him a— we had almost said rail, (but a rail he could not be prevailed upon to touch) until he first examined the Constitution—or had Jerry Black's astute opinion—to know whether that sacred instrument permitted the rescuing of a Kansas man from death.

HON. A. K. M'CLURE.

Our readers all know that our fellow-townsmen, whose name heads this article, was the commanding officer of the hosts of Freedom, in the old Keystone State, in the recent campaign, which resulted so gloriously for our cause; giving us a Republican Governor, a Republican President and Vice President, a Republican Legislature, with the certainty of a Republican United States Senator, for six months from the 4th of next March.

We last week an account of a dinner which the leading men of Philadelphia gave to our champion, on the evening of the 1st inst., at the Continental Hotel, in that city. We gave also the invitation, the reply of Col. M'Clure and two of the speeches—that of the Chairman of the meeting, Morton M'Michael, Esq., and the response of the Col. We were then altogether unable to give the speech of our Governor elect, Col. Andrew G. Curtin, but, with pleasure, spread it before our readers in this issue.

For marshalling the army of Locofocism to a triumphant victory, in 1856, his party did all in its power to elect him,

the chairman of its State Committee, Col. John W. Forney, to the United States Senate. We trust that the reward of Col. M'Clure's zeal and fidelity to the cause of Freedom and humanity, during the recent canvass, will be that he is not only almost but altogether elected to that high position—the Senate of the United States. He is every way worthy, every way qualified and infinitely the superior of the present incumbent—William Bigler.

We propose giving some little idea of the labor, perplexity and responsibility connected with the position of Chairman of the Executive Committee of a great party, for a State the size of Pennsylvania, in a presidential struggle—such as was that of 1860.

For more than six months Col. M'Clure, Chairman of Pennsylvania's State Committee, gave his whole time to the duties of the campaign—to the interests of the Republican party. During all that time he was to be found, with the exception of a very few days, at different periods, when his private business demanded his attention at home, at the head-quarters of the Committee, in the city of Philadelphia. After the Committee was fully organized it put all the labor of the canvass upon his shoulders, and the happy results show how faithfully he discharged the duties devolving upon him.

The manual labor of letter-writing, much of which he did, was no small matter of itself. The committee sent off between one and two hundred letters every day, during the Campaign. Many of these, like many to the Chairman, never reached their destination. Eight letters mailed about ten days before the October election, and plainly directed to different parts of the State, some to persons in Philadelphia, were sent to England, and returned a month afterwards with 24cts. postage marked upon them. How many more went to the other side of the Ocean there is no means of ascertaining—Eight, however, have been sent to Col. M'Clure, by the parties to whom he originally addressed them, since their return from Europe. He mailed two on the same day, one to the Bank of Chambersburg and the other to a Bank in Harrisburg, containing notes and checks, about his own private business, which were not mailed till the ninth day after being put into the post office at Philadelphia. Owing to the vast number of letters sent off by the Committee, there was no possibility of disguising the hand-writing upon them; but when special letters were to be mailed they were addressed by some person not connected with the Committee, or else mailed at some other Post Office. These perplexing circumstances give some little idea of the luxury of being Chairman of the State Committee, at a time and under circumstances such as the Col. has just passed through.

Fully appreciating the herculean efforts of Col. M'Clure, during the canvass, as Chairman of the State Committee, and not being content with the dinner, a number of the citizens of the metropolis of Pennsylvania assembled at the Girard House, on Monday evening, the 3d inst., and presented the Col. with an elegant Gold Watch—one of the finest we ever saw—and a massive Gold chain. Upon the inside case of the Watch is inscribed the following:

"FREEDOM AND PROTECTION." TO Col. Alexander K. M'Clure, FROM HIS PERSONAL AND POLITICAL FRIENDS OF PHILADELPHIA, FOR HIS ENERGY, ABILITY AND FIDELITY AS CHAIRMAN OF THE PEOPLE'S STATE COMMITTEE. 1860.

THE HOUSE, GARDEN, FARM AND STABLE.

With this issue we commence an enlarged department for those of our readers who are engaged in cultivating the soil, gardening, fruit-raising, management of horses and cattle, &c. Original and selected articles of merit and utility can only find a place here. In nearly all county papers having a department of this kind, selections are made here to fill up than with a view to benefit the reader. We are fully aware that we shall have to battle some against the strong tide of popular prejudice which exists against newspaper and book farming; but we hold, that the experience of practical men, as found recorded in this way, is worth the notice and consideration of men engaged in the pursuits above mentioned, and shall spare no labor to make this column interesting and instructive. We respectfully ask that our farmer friends will give us a helping hand by furnishing statements of their experience in one or more of the departments of practical farming, stock raising and whatever of interest and worth is at their command.

In making selections from Agricultural Journals, only such as are of a practical character will be chosen, so that whatever

is found here will be for the profit of the reader.

In the proper season, our lady readers will find full and practical directions for the raising and management of flowers, making garden ornaments and other interesting matter.

Family recipes will also form a feature. The greatest care will be taken in selecting receipts that can be relied upon, and to make this point sure, they will be examined by persons competent to judge of their safety and usefulness.

Of course we don't expect to make this department perfect in all respects, but our aim will be to make it a place where all can find something to interest and lead to thought, and from thought to practice and improvement.

There is a beaten path in which men have trodden for years, and in which the feet of their children are turned—as their fathers walked so walk they, and so teach they. If a stone has been at a certain place since the day their grandfather cleared the land, that stone must remain. It never hurls anybody, and it is less trouble to plow around it than to take it away. We shall endeavor to teach such that the stone can be made to pay by turning it into lime, and that the ground once disfigured by it, can be made to yield a return for the cost of removal. When a saving can be made and an advantage gained, we shall point it out, and if in any case we can be instrumental in leading men to think, we shall have accomplished part of our design and desire.

LOCAL ITEMS.

FOUND DEAD.—The body of an aged German named Leonard Axt aged Sixty seven years, was found yesterday morning (Tuesday dec. 11) on the Franklin Railroad a short distance north of Royer's lane, and about two miles from Greencastle.

The body lay several feet from the track where it was found and conveyed to this place by the morning train from Hagerstown. A coroner's jury was summoned by P. Hauman Esq. and an examination of the body made by Dr. James Hamilton. There were no marks about the body to show that foul play had caused the death of the old man, or that he had been killed by the Monday evening train. The only mark found on the body was under the chin a cut of about one inch in length. There were no bones broken and nothing about the case to show that he had been struck by them the evening before. It is probable that, he, being a feeble old man, the force of the current of air made by the cars may have knocked him down, and so stoned him that he died from exposure. The coroners jury consisted of the following gentlemen viz:—C. M. Duncan Esq. John S. Ludwig, W. Blair Gilmore, John Fisher, A. H. Newman, James M. Brown, John R. Orr Esq. Jacob S. Brown A. J. Brand, D. K. Wunderlick, R. P. Hazlet, George Jarrett. The verdict of the Jury was in accordance with the above facts.

REVIVAL OF RELIGION.—There is an interesting revival of Religion at present in progress in the Presbyterian church of this place. There has been for some time a growing interest in serious matters among the youths who have been attending upon the ministrations of the pastor of that church, the Rev. S. J. NICCOLLS; as well among those whose parents do not belong to his church as among those whose parents do belong. The fervent zeal, and plain, earnest manner of the preacher reaches the hearts of his hearers. There is no wild excitement, such as sometimes follows the efforts of flashy pulpet orators, attending these exercises—all is deep earnestness, and serious anxiety about the salvation of immortal souls.

The earnest prayer of every pious heart is, that the good may go on, till every knee shall bow before, and every tongue confess the Lord Jesus; that it may extend to every branch of the Redeemer's church in town; that every pastor may receive many souls for his hire—may be an instrument in God's hands for doing much good.

GLOOMY.—At this writing (Monday noon) there is nothing to be seen over head but clouds filled with water, which now and then tips over, and the water runs down to Earth in different sized Streams. The Whole face of the earth around here is covered with Snow and Mud—particularly the Streets with Mud. The crossings are in deplorable condition, and serve only to soil Boots and Shoes and display "Balmors." There is a general complaint about rain, mud, and money, the two former being too plenty and the later too scarce. For the purpose of replenishing the Borough Bank, we advise the sale of the mud in lots to suit purchasers. The people on West Market St. want light. They seem to think that the broken lamp post dont shine well at night. Let the authorities place a "dip" on the post until after the sale.

TURKEYS.—It is said that Turkeys have not been as plenty in this section for years as this season. Many persons have very large broods, and as corn is not scarce, they are brought to Market in fine order. If any of our friends wish to be remembered at Christmas put one in our coop.

RETURN OF THE HUNTERS.—Messrs McDowell, Fletcher and Hershberger, returned on Monday from their hunt in the mountain. They met with some success, having killed three fine Deer and a number of Wild Turkeys and lesser game.

F. F. C.—At a meeting of the Friendship Fire Company, held on Monday evening last, the following officers were elected for the ensuing six months:

- President—B. Latrobe Maurer. Vice President—Jacob L. Dechert. Secretary—Jacob Jarrett. Treasurer—Solomon Huber. Directors—D. H. Seibert, George W. Fisher, John A. Seiders. Chief Engineer—George Ludwig. Assistant Engineers—George W. Fisher, R. H. Perry. Hose Attaches—R. H. Perry, George Ludwig, Peter A. Snider, Thomas W. Merklein, Leonard Falkenstein. Auditors—David H. Seibert, D. B. Kirby, J. L. Dechert. Hose Guards—George Heide, Christian Kance, John Michaels, William Smith, Christian Henneberger. Aze Men—J. Warren Seibert, J. L. Dechert, D. H. Seibert. Standing Committee—B. L. Maurer, D. B. Kirby, J. L. Dechert, Samuel F. Greenawalt, George W. Fisher. Collector—Jacob Jarrett. Superintendent—Christian Henneberger.

IS IT SAFE?—This question is asked in regard to the speed at which the Franklin R.R. Road cars pass the crossings on Market and Queen Streets. We do not know whether the Company or the Borough have any regulations or laws in relation to the rate of speed at which the trains as they pass through the Borough can move. One thing however we do know, and that is, that they move too fast for Safety to persons who find their way in and out of town by the above crossings. As yet no accident has occurred but it is hard to tell how soon one may, and it is well enough to use every means to prevent sacrifice of human life. There are plenty outlets from this without the terrible one of being crushed out by a Railroad train. The Company should oblige their employees to use the whistle more as they approach a crossing, as the rattling of wagon or carriage prevents the hearing of a bell.

ESTON ELLIOT, Esq.—The old ex-Sheriff of Franklin County, was in town a few days since, and looks remarkably healthy and active for a man of his years. Upon inquiry, we learn how he voted for President during his long and eventful life. It is as follows: For Thomas Jefferson, last Term; for James Madison, 2 Terms; for James Monroe, 2 Terms; for Gen. Andrew Jackson, both Terms, and when there was no choice, making 3 times; for Gen. W. H. Harrison, in 1836, when he was beaten, and in 1840, when he was elected; for Gen. Zachary Taylor, once; for Gen. Winfield Scott, once, and last for Abraham Lincoln. In 1856, Mr. E. was sick and unable to attend the polls consequently did not vote that year.

MR. Hugh Maxwell, twenty years ago well known in Pennsylvania as one of the most energetic and accomplished journalists, and since that time retired from the active duties of life, died recently at an advanced age, at the residence of his son, Dr. Maxwell, near Marion, this county. Mr. Maxwell was connected for many years with newspapers in Lancaster county. He was the owner and editor of the Lancaster Journal, after it passed from the hands of John Reynolds, so long the intimate and confidential associate and friend of the present President of the United States. He wrote with equal facility and vigor, was an industrious and critical reader, a profound thinker, and a bold party leader.

FOUND AT LAST.—A cure for headache! what is it. Spalding's Cephalic Pills. Spalding's Prepared Glue mends all kind of broken furniture and glass ware. Get the Pills and Glue at Miller & Henshey's Drug Store.

ASTONISHING!—The quantity of Pepper and Spices Miller & Henshey sell. They have the best fresh ground Pepper, Coriander Seed, Sweet Marjoram and other Spices in town.

KEROSENE LAMPS, Kerosene Oil, pure Drugs, Tobacco, Segars, Glass, Putty, Oils, Dye-Staffs, Horse and Cattle Powder in quantities to suit purchasers, at Miller & Henshey's Drug Store on the diamond.

VERY PROLIFIC.—A cow belonging to our esteemed friend WILLIAM McCausland, Esq. of Southampton township, gave birth to two calves of ordinary size, on the 3d of January, 1860. On the 4th of the present month—11 months and one day from the date of the former births—she gave birth to two more. They are all alive and doing well—any one of them is as large as an ordinary sized calf.

LARGE TURNIP.—We are obliged to Mrs. Jacob Stinger, near Loudon, in this county, for a present of a very large Turnip, which she sent us by our friend Sheriff McGrath. It weighs 8 lbs., and measures 2 1/2 feet in circumference. The variety is what is called the Flat White.

SUDDEN DEATH.—On the evening of the 4th inst., in Hagerstown, at the supper table, at Doyle's Hotel, of apoplexy, Mr. Levi Moore, of Clearspring district, Washington County, Md., aged about 60 years.

AGENTS WANTED.—The attention of persons in want of employment, is directed to an advertisement in another column, for canvassers for township and Local Laws of this State. For full particulars call upon Shryock & Smith.

Baltimore Markets. BALTIMORE, Dec. 11, 1860.—Flour is firmer. Sales of Ohio at \$4.62, which is an advance of 12 cts; Howard Street at the same price; City Mills \$4.50.

Wheat is advancing, quotations 3 cts higher—red \$1.16 @ 1.18, white \$1.25 @ 1.35. Corn has advanced 3 @ 5 cts. Sale at 48 @ 50 cts, for yellow, 61 @ 66 for white.

Whiskey is steady at 17 1/2 @ 17 3/4 cts @ gallon.

MR. AULT'S Sermon next week.

LATEST NEWS.

BY TELEGRAPH.

CONGRESSIONAL. WASHINGTON, Dec. 11 1860. SENATE.—The House bill to provide for the payment of outstanding Treasury notes, to authorize a loan, etc., was called up. Mr. Rice, Minn. objected to taking it up. Mr. Cameron, Pennsylvania, in favor of considering it. The bill was taken up by a vote of 39 yeas to 37 nays.

The million Treasury note bill was received from the House. Mr. Rice moved its passage to the Committee on Finance. A yeas to 39, nays to 37. The resolution of Mr. Postell, referring that part of the President's message relating to domestic affairs to a select committee, was taken up.

Mr. Hale, N. H., offered a resolution instructing the Committee on Military affairs to inquire whether the expenses of that branch of the public service cannot be reduced without detriment to the safety, and if so, they be further instructed to report to what extent and what particular branch or branches can be dispensed.

Mr. Bigler, Pa., then took the floor, having yielded in yesterday for an adjournment. He said he would go with the Senator from Illinois Mr. Douglas, and with the men of every party who will devote themselves to the great work of resisting the impending danger. Mr. President, through veal or woe, I am a Union man. I am for the Union as made by our fathers; I am for the constitution and the Union.

HOUSE.—Mr. Cobb, Ala., said he did not rise to make a speech, but to express his anxiety desire that the select Committee should commence business and present the result of its deliberations in some tangible form. His hope was, however, faint as to any useful result. If anything was to be done to save his State from secession, it must be done at once, the election for delegates to the State Convention takes place on the 24th inst., and the Convention meets on the 7th of January. What means these crowded galleries? His answer was, the excitement which pervaded the public mind, not only here, but throughout the Country—all looking to Congress to do something. He hoped the House would stop this debate and do something, if possible, to produce harmony among the people. There was a pure gleam of light from Boston, which may ultimately have a good effect in the public mind. Let the North show a returning sense of justice, and the question which now agitates all will be taken into the hands of the people for proper adjustment. He trusted that the Committee would do something to harmonize the distracted public mind. He knew that Alabama would not remain in the Confederacy longer than the 15th of January, unless something be speedily done. He was not a secessionist. He desired peace, predicated on the principles of the Constitution. If we could have that, you would help us to remain in the Union as long as the sun should shine, and my prayer shall be sent forth for the perpetuity of this government.

Mr. Davis, of Miss., only gave the reason why he should serve on the Union Committee. He might be blamed or censured, but in acting where conscience approved he defied the opinion of the World. He stood here not as the Representative of his own preference, but of the interests of his constituents. He regretted that the resolution, under which the Committee was raised came from the distinguished Son of Virginia. He had entertained the opinion that the Southern members should withdraw and leave the Republicans to submit a report for consideration, but this could not be done. The Constitution was sufficient for the protection of Southern rights, if executed in the right spirit. If our government rests for its continuance on the public opinion, he could have no hope from that source, nor that it could be preserved by compromising or the use of the sword. The Republic was destroyed the only bond which can bind the Union—the subject matter referred to the Committee did not belong to this house. It grew out of principles, not systems in the Northern States directly at war with the safety and material interests of the South. If any action is taken at all, it should originate in the Northern States. The House then voted and refused to excuse Mr. Hawkins—yeas 95, nays 101. Mr. Hawkins, Fla.—Lest silence should be construed into consent to serve on the Committee, he wished to say, with all deference and good feeling for those who voted against his request, that he would not serve. Mr. Bryce, S. C., asked to be excused from serving on the Committee.

Louisiana Legislature. BATON ROUGE, La., Dec. 10, 1860.—The extra session of the Louisiana Legislature met today. The Governor's message exerts calmness and deliberation, and says that the election of Lincoln shows that the Northern mind is poisoned against the South. That the wise counsels of our fathers are forgotten and the fraternal remonstrances of the South disregarded. He recommended a convention, and says that Louisiana ought not to refuse to meet her sister slaveholding states in council to demand from the North the repeal of obnoxious legislation and a guarantee against future similar measures. He says that these questions should be met before the inauguration of Lincoln, because the self respect and honor of the State does not comport with her remaining under a Black Republican President.

A resolution has been presented for the erection of a military Board, and asks an appropriation of \$5,000 for the purchasing of arms for the Volunteer Companies.

Resignation of Secretary Cobb. WASHINGTON, Dec. 11 1860. The Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Toucey, was to-day requested by the President to act as Secretary of the Treasury, in addition to his present duties, until a successor to the retiring Secretary of the Treasury shall be appointed.

Mr. Cobb today formally took leave of the President. The interview being pleasant and of a private character. The House Union Committee held their first meeting today and organized.

Philadelphia Markets. PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 11, 1860.—Flour sells only in small way at \$4.75 @ 5.12 for common and good brand, \$5.25 @ 5.37 1/2 for extra, \$5.52 @ 6.00 for fancy. Wheat has declined 2 cents. Sales of 1500 bbls at \$1.16 @ 1.25 for red, and \$1.30 @ 1.35 for white. Corn is held firm, 3,000 bushels of old yellow sold at 65 @ 66 cts @ bus. Whiskey is dull at 18 @ 18 1/2 cts @ gallon.

