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ANNUAL MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT BUCHANAN.

Fellow Citizens of the Senate and
House of Representatives:

Throughout the year, since our last meeting, the country has been eminently prosperous in 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 prosperous with energy and industry, and have yielded fair and 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 a very recent period.

Why is it, then, that discontent now 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, or the Territorial Legislatures, 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 apply the remedy. The immediate peril arises not so much from these causes as from the fact that the violent attacks of the Slavery question throughout the North, for the last quarter of a century, have at length produced its malign influence on slaves, and inspired them with vague notions of freedom. Hence security no longer exists around the family altar. The feeling of peace at home has given place to apprehensions of servile insurrection; many a matron throughout the South retires at night in dread of what may befall herself and her children before the morning. Should this apprehension of domestic danger, which the real or imaginary, extend and intensify itself until it should pervade the masses of the Southern people, then disunion will be inevitable.

Self-preservation is the first law of nature, and has been implanted in the heart of man by his Creator for the wisest purposes; and no political Union, however fraught with blessings and benefits in all other respects, can long continue, if the necessary consent be given by the States to homes and firesides 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 Gen. Jackson, to "stimulate them to insurrection, and produce all the horrors of a civil war." The 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 the 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 may it be for the American people to settle the Slavery question forever, and to restore peace and harmony to this distracted country. They alone can do it. All that is necessary to accomplish this object, and all which the Slave States have ever contended for, is to 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 Brazil. 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 political proclivities, to restore peace and harmony among the States.

Widely limited and restrained as is his power under our Constitution and laws, he alone can accomplish but little for good or 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 just 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 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 power, 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 and 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 a 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 his high responsibilities, he must necessarily be conservative. The stern duty of administering the trust and complicated councils 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 execute its laws, and it is a remarkable fact in our history that, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of the anti-Slavery party, not a single act has ever passed Congress, unless we may possibly except the Missouri Compromise, impairing in the slightest

degree the right of the South to their property in slaves in it. And it may also be observed, judging from present indications, that no probability exists of the passage of such an act by 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 a never man spake, "Sufficient to 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, this 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 not good reason for an immediate dissolution of the Union. It is true, that the Territorial Legislature of Kansas, on the 23d of February, 1850, passed in great haste an act over the veto of the Governor, declaring that slavery is and shall be forever prohibited in that 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 legal form. Only three days after my inauguration, the Supreme Court of the United States 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 angry political conflicts throughout the country. Those who have appealed from this judgment to our highest constitutional tribunal, to popular assemblies where they could, invite Territorial Legislatures with power to annul the sacred rights of property. This power Congress is expressly forbidden by the Federal Constitution to exercise. Every 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 the 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 until then, are they vested with power to decide the question, whether slavery is, or shall not, exist within their limits. This is an act of sovereign authority, and not of subordinate Territorial legislation for it; otherwise, then indeed would the equality of the States in the Territories be destroyed, and the right 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 unreasonableness, cannot long induce any 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, consist in the acts of certain 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 be justly held responsible, having been passed in violation of the Federal Constitution. They are therefore null and void. All the Courts, both State and National, have upon the question long since 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 appellate tribunal, but has not with such universal approbation, that there can be no danger from it, as a precedent. The validity of the 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 another, under the acts of 1793 or 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 the clear case is presented, in which it is the duty of the next President, if he has been empowered 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 in advance that he will thus violate his duty? This would be at war with every principle of justice, and 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, 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 this 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 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 a revolutionary resistance to the Government of the Union.

I have purposely confined my remarks to revolutionary resistance, because it has been claimed, within the few past years, that any State, when over it shall be her 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 became 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 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, privations, and blood to establish. Such a principle is wholly inconsistent with the history, as it was framed with the greatest deliberation and care. It was submitted to Conventions of the people of the several States for ratification. Its opponents contended that it conferred power 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 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 the 16th of 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 from the contract of union with the other States, from their most solemn obligations, hazards the liberty and happiness of the millions composing this Union, and 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, which purports to confer 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 bound consequently by the same authority which formed the State Constitution." Nor is the Government of the United States, created by the Constitution, less a Government within the strict sense of the term, within the sphere of its powers, than the Governments created by the Constitutions of the States are within several spheres. It is, like them, organized into legislative, executive, and judicial 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 of the contracting parties of the Confederation—a perpetual Union between the States; and by the thirteenth article, it is expressly declared that the articles of this Confederation shall be forever preserved by every State, and the Union shall be perpetual.

The preamble of the Constitution of the United States, having express reference to the articles of Confederation, states it was established in order to form a more perfect Union; though this does not include the essential attributes of sovereignty, it is a power which was designed to be perpetual, appears conclusive from the nature and extent of the powers conferred by the Constitution on the Federal Government. These powers—the highest attributes of national sovereignty—place both the sword and the purse under its control.

Congress has power to make war, and to make peace, 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 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. It is performed in a State where no right to lay and collect duties on imports, and, in common with the States, to lay and collect other taxes. 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, expressly declared, that a State shall enter into any treaty, alliance or confederacy, grant letters of marque and reprisals, coin money, emit bills of credit, making none but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts, pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or laws impairing the obligations of contracts; moreover, without the consent of Congress, no State shall levy any impost or duties on any imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws, or if they exceed that amount, the excess shall belong to the United States, and shall not, without consent of Congress, lay any duty on tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, or enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded or so much imminent danger as will not admit of further delay. In order still further to secure the uninterrupted exercise of these high powers against State interposition, it is provided, that the Court 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 supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitutions 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 the several States, shall be bound, by oath or

affirmation, to support the Constitution, in order to carry into effect these laws.

The Constitution has established a perfect government in all its forms, legislative, executive, and judicial, and the Government, to the extent of its powers, acts 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 refuse, and they often declined to comply with such requisitions. It then became necessary, for the purpose of removing the 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 drawing its authority from the sovereignty of each of the several States, has precisely the same right to exercise its power over the people of all 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 delegated powers. The Constitution of the United States is as much a part of the Constitution of each, and as binding on the people, as though it had been specifically inserted therein. This Government, therefore, is a great and powerful Federal Government, invested with all the attributes of sovereignty, and of the special subjects to which its authority extends. Its framers never intended to implant in its bosom the seeds of its own destruction, nor were they guilty of the absurdity of providing for its own dissolution; nor was it intended by its framers to be the "landless fabric of a vision," which, by the touch of the enchanter, would "vanish into thin air"—but a substantial and mighty fabric, capable of standing the slow decay of time, and defying the storms of ages. Indeed, many zealous patriots of that day have indulged fears that a government of such high powers might violate the reserved rights of the States, and finally they adopt the rule of a strict construction of those powers, to prevent the danger; and they did not fear, nor had they reason to imagine, that the Constitution would ever be so interpreted, to enable any State by her own act, and without consent of sister States, to discharge her people from all or any of their federal obligations.

We are asked, then, are the people of the States without redress against tyranny and oppression of the Federal Government? By no means. The right of resistance on the part of the governed, against oppression of their Government, cannot be denied. It exists, independent of all constitutions, and has been exercised at all periods of the world's history. Under it, old governments have been destroyed, and under it new ones have been replaced. It is embodied, in every age and country, in our own Declaration of Independence; but the distinction must ever be observed, that this is a 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 full in the face.

Secession is nothing more nor less than revolution, or it may not be justifiably resorted to; but still it is revolution. What, in the meantime, is the responsibility and true position of the Executive, bound by solemn oath before God and the country to take care that laws be faithfully executed. From this obligation he cannot be absolved by any human power. But what if performance of this duty, in whole or in part, has been rendered impracticable, by events 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 those laws can be carried into execution—have already resigned.

We have no longer a District Judge, or a District Attorney 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 February 25th, 1795, and March 3d, 1807. These authorities the President, after he shall have ascertained that the Marshal, with his posse comitatus, is unable to execute criminal process in any particular case, to call forth the militia and employ the army and navy to aid in performing the service, having first, by proclamation, commanded the insurgents to disperse and return peacefully to their respective abodes within a limited time. This duty cannot by any possibility be performed in a State where no judicial authority exists to issue process, and where there is no Marshal to execute, and where, even if there were such an officer, the entire population would combine in one solid column to resist him. The mere reference to 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 the power to decide whether the present laws 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 customs. The revenue still continues to be collected as heretofore, at the Custom House in Charleston; and should the Collector unfortunately resign, his successor may be appointed to perform this duty.

Then, in regard to the property of the United States in South Carolina, this has been purchased for a fair equivalent by the consent of the Legislature of the State, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, etcetera, and over these the authority to exercise executive legislation has been granted by the Constitution to Congress. It is not believed that an 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 and 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 in the premises; no power to change the relations heretofore existing between them,

much less to acknowledge the independence of that State; this would be to invest the mere executive officer with the power of recognizing the dissolution of the confederacy among the free sovereign States. It has no resemblance to the recognition of a foreign de facto government. Involving such responsibilities, 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 arrive 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 to fail to express an opinion on the important subject. The question, fairly stated, is: Has the Constitution delegated to Congress the power to force a State into submission, which is attempting to withdraw, or has already 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 instrument, that this is not among the specific and enumerated powers granted to Congress, and it is equally apparent that its exercise is not necessary and proper for carrying into execution any one of the powers. So far from this power having been delegated to Congress, it was especially refused by the Convention which formed the Constitution. It appears from the proceedings of that body on the 1st of May, 1787, that the Convention authorized an execution of the force of the whole Government against a delinquent State came up for consideration. Mr. Madison proposed 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 look more like 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 after, on the 8th of June, 1787, when incidentally adverted to this subject, he said, any government for the United States, founded on the supposed practicability of using force against non-commissioned provinces, would be a government of visionary and fallacious as the government of Congress; evidently meaning the then existing Congress of the old Confederation.

Without descending to particularize, it may be safely asserted, that the power to make war against a State is at variance with the whole spirit and intendment of the Constitution. Suppose such a power 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 a despotic power? In the nature of things, we could not 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 of a free State as a constitutional member of the Confederacy. But if we are possessed of the power, would it be wise to exercise it, under the existing circumstances? The object would be, doubtless, to preserve the Union, yet it would not only present the most effectual means of destroying it, but would banish all hopes of its peaceful reconstruction; besides, in the fraternal conflict, a vast amount of blood and treasure would be expended, rendering future reconciliation between the States impossible.

In the meantime, how can we forestall what would be the sufferings and privations 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 some day perish. Congress possesses many means of preserving, by conciliation; but the sword was not placed in their hands to preserve it by force. But may it 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 human 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; and the Union has already made as the most precious, and every long will, if preserved, tender as the most precious nation on the face of the earth. In every foreign region of the globe, an American citizen is held in the highest respect. When pronounced in foreign lands, it causes the hearts of our countrymen to swell with honest pride. Surely, when we reach the brink of a yawning abyss, we shall recoil with horror from the vast and perilous plunge. By such a dread catastrophe, the hopes of the friends of freedom, throughout the world, would be destroyed, and a long night of heathen despotism would pervade the nation. Our example for more than eighty years would not only be lost, but it would be quoted as conclusive proof that man is unfit for self-government.

It is not every wrong—may it be not every grievous wrong, which can justify such a fearful alternative. This ought to be the last desperate remedy of a despairing people, after every other Constitutional means of conciliation has been exhausted. We should reflect that under this free Government there is an incessant ebb and flow of public opinion. The slavery question, like everything human, has its day. I firmly believe that it has already reached and passed its culmination, but it is in the midst of the existing excitement the Union shall perish. The evil will then become irreparable. Congress can contribute much to arrest it, by passing and recommending to the Legislatures of the several States the remedy for existing troubles which the Constitution has itself provided for its own preservation. It was tried at different critical periods of our history, and always with eminent success.

It is to be found in the 5th article, providing for its own amendment. Under this article amendments have been proposed by two-thirds of both Houses of Congress, and been ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the States, and have consequently become parts of the Constitution. To this process the country is indebted for the clause prohibiting Congress from passing any law respecting an establishment of religion abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of petition. To this we are also indebted for the Bill of Rights, which secured the people against any abuse of power by Federal Government. Such were the apprehensions justly entertained by the friends of State Rights, at that period, as to have rendered it extremely doubtful whether the Consti-

PUGET SOUND HERALD.

STEILACOOM, W. T., Thursday Evening, Jan. 17, 1861.

LATEST FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC NEWS.

St. Louis, December 20. The Washington correspondent of the N. Y. Times says that conservative men find very little cause for confidence in the speech of Crittenden...

The messenger with the vote of Louisiana reports that the Legislature of that State refused almost unanimously to appoint Commissioners to the other States...

Mr. Hamlin, Vice-President elect, had a long conference with General Scott. The General expressed the hope that the present difficulties would be overcome and settled.

An article in the Richmond Enquirer recommends the seceding States to take Washington City, with the public buildings. It is laughed at in Washington City by Southern men...

The New York World learns that the British and French Consuls at Charleston have been approached by the Secessionists with a view to securing their co-operation...

In the Georgia Legislature one of the ablest Secessionists, (Hill) in a blaze of eloquence characterized separate action as the right way of accomplishing their own ends...

At a quarterly meeting of the Irish Charitable Society, of Boston, on the night of the 17th, all the transactions of business, strong Union resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Private advices from New York, published, represent the feeling prevailing there, if possible, worse than in Boston; the writer would not be surprised to see blood shed in those cities before long.

The Postmaster General will stop the South Carolina mails; the Postmaster at Charleston having signified his intention to resign after secession takes place, there can be no distribution there.

The St. Louis Democrat announced, on the authority of both Lincoln and Bates, that the latter will occupy a place in the new Cabinet, probably Secretary of the Interior.

A large meeting was held last night at Norfolk. Resolutions were adopted in favor of a National State Convention, opposing coercion, in favor of arming the State, and declaring against the re-opening of the African slave trade.

The Methodist Conference of South Carolina, on the 16th, passed resolutions favoring re-secession. About eighteen young ladies decided to leave the seminaries of New York and Pennsylvania, and passed through Washington yesterday.

The Governor of Alabama, in consequence of the present crisis, has assumed the responsibility of advising the Banks to suspend, and all have done so but three.

At a meeting of the Committee of Thirty-three, the proposition of Davis, of Maryland, requesting the several State Legislatures to revise their laws, and if any were found conflicting with the Constitution or laws of the United States, to repeal them, was adopted...

Davis of Missa unsuccessfully attempted to have the question of the Territories first disposed of. A proposition of Davis of Maryland, previously submitted, embodying a bill which requires the Marshal to deliver fugitives to the District Judge in the District of the State from which the fugitives escaped, for trial by jury, was referred to a sub-committee...

The Post-office Committee have the Pony Express matter under consideration for a contract with Russell & Co. to transmit dispatches. It is thought that it will pass, as the existence of the Express, it is said, depends on it.

In the Senate to-day the Pacific Railroad bill was received from the House. Gwin moved to make it the special order for the 2d of January. Bragg moved to refer it to a local committee.

On the 21st, the House was not in session. The Senate, on the 21st, reconsidered the vote excluding Jefferson Davis upon the Committee of Thirteen. On the motion, Davis said that owing to the applications of Southern friends, he would consent to serve.

At a meeting of the Committee of Thirteen, held on the 21st, Douglas said he was ready for any amendment to take slavery out of Congress, without regard to his previous action, and as if he had never made a speech or given a vote on the subject.

At a meeting of the Committee of Thirty-three a proposition was discussed for the admission of Kansas and New Mexico, which settles the difficulties in those territories. Nothing was done, and the Committee adjourned till Thursday next.

Subsequently the Republican members had a caucus, and concluded that no proposition satisfactory to the Constitution could be adopted by the people; therefore it was necessary to prepare.

In the House to-day, Cochrane introduced Union-saving resolutions, to which Hanks proposed to substitute an inquiry into South Carolina affairs. Nothing was done, and the House adjourned till Thursday.

In the House to-day, (Monday) the Speaker presented a letter from the South Carolina delegation, dissolving their connection with the House, since that State had assumed her sovereign capacity.

The Commissioners from South Carolina received their credentials on Saturday, on the way to Washington. The President will send a special message to Congress on their arrival.

Cushing had returned to Washington, and reports that South Carolina was acting with the view of the co-operation with all the slave States.

Toombs had telegraphed to Georgia that all his propositions of compromise were treated with derision and contempt by the Republican members of the Committee of Thirteen...

The Union Committee of New York received a letter from Fillmore, not yet permitted to be published. Senator Johnson was burned in effigy at Memphis, on Saturday night.

Seward spoke on Saturday night at a banquet of the Newfoundland Society, New York. He counseled fraternal forbearance, and said that the Secession feeling had been getting weaker since the election day.

In the Senate to-day, Pugh and Douglas submitted amendments to the Constitution, which were referred to the Committee of Thirteen.

The South Carolina Convention, on the 21st, was in secret session most of the day. The Convention adopted the Revenue and Postal laws of the United States, requiring the moneys collected to be deposited in the Bank of South Carolina...

In the South Carolina Legislature, on the 21st, the House entertained resolutions for the feeing and transportation of troops, and establishing telegraphic lines to exposed points, under the authority of the Governor, in case of war or apprehended invasion.

Another slave, with 900 Africans on board, had been captured. Col. Kuller has been pardoned. In Baltimore, secession has produced no sensation, one way or the other.

Nicholson made a speech on the Southern side; he had scarcely a hope that the demands of the South would be granted by the North.

Davis submitted an amendment to the Constitution, declaring the right of slave property. Two defections have been discovered in the Interior Department—one in Ind an Trust Bonds, and the other \$8,000 in cash.

Secretary Cass has resigned, on account of the refusal of the Cabinet to comply with Maj. Anderson's requisition for arms for the reinforcement of the forts at Charleston.

The President has issued a proclamation recommending the observance of the 4th of January as a day of humiliation, fasting and prayer. He says, hope seen to have destroyed the minds of men, and that God's arm alone can save us from the awful effects of our crimes and follies.

THE LEGISLATURE.

- OLYMPIA, JAN. 16th, 1861. The following Bills have passed both Houses: H. B. No. 20—An act to amend an act to incorporate the town of Olympia. H. B. No. 12—An act to authorize Sanford Owen and G. W. Anderson to establish a ferry across Snake River, at Fort Boise. H. J. R. No. 5—Relative to joint convention for election of Territorial officers. C. B. No. 23—An act to incorporate Van Over and Shure Road Company. H. B. No. 18—Relative to surveying public lands of Washington Territory. C. M. No. 12—Relative to post route and post offices at Muckletch, Tulalup Reservation, and the town of Snohomish, in Island, now Snohomish County. C. B. No. 21—An act to create and organize the County of Snohomish. H. B. No. 15—An act to dissolve the bonds of matrimony between John Cantwell and his wife. H. B. No. 47—An act to permanently locate the County seat of Kitsap county. H. B. No. 9—An act to amend an act relating to liens of mechanics. H. B. No. 5—An act to grant to Thos. Coupe the right to establish a ferry between Port Townsend and Whidly's Island. H. B. No. 45—An act relative to navigation of Oak Point Slough. H. J. R. No. 7—Relative to examining accounts of Auditor and Treasurer. H. B. No. 40—An act to amend an act entitled An act to amend the Common School systems. H. B. No. 39—An act to dissolve the bonds of matrimony between Thos. W. Avery and his wife. H. B. No. 8—An act to dissolve the bonds of matrimony between E. H. Thompson and his wife. H. B. No. 70—An act to incorporate the Alphan Literary Association of Olympia. H. B. No. 47—An act to incorporate the Vancouver Hibernian Benevolent Association. H. B. No. 68—An act to incorporate Kane Lodge of F. and A. Masons, at Port Madison.

THE LONE MOUNTAIN MURDER.—From various circumstances which have transpired, the police of San Francisco have traced the murder of Cook and the Johnson family to a man named Hineburg, who was working for Marran at the time of the occurrence. The following is the history of the matter as far as revealed.—That Cook had been at work for one Marran, a blackman, in the neighborhood of Johnson's; that Cook had been hired by Marran for \$25 per month, but Marran could not or would not pay him for his services; that Marran went into town (San Francisco) on the day of the murder, to get money; that he told Cook, on his return, that he could not pay him, that sharp wares were exhaled, and a that Cook attacked to sue him, and that Marran seized the axe in the possession of Cook and killed him with it; that the daughter of Johnson saw the murder; fled to the house to tell her mother; that the murderer followed her and killed her and her mother, and then set the house on fire to conceal his crime. Marran and his accomplice have been arrested and are now committed to await their trial.

MASSACHUSETTS PERSONAL LIBERTY BILL.—The Boston Transcript, a Republican paper, speaks thus sharply: "We believe the Personal Liberty Bill to be a disgrace to the Commonwealth. It was passed by Know Nothing, in a passion—it is to be sponged out of the Statute-book by those who know something, and in a calmer temper."

THE CHAPMAN FAMILY.—This troupe are performing nightly at the Washington Hotel in Olympia.

Miscellaneous.

Puget Sound DRUG STORES! STEILACOOM, W. T. NOW OPEN WITH AN ASSORTMENT OF DRUGS AND MEDICINES.

NO PHYSICIAN'S PRESCRIPTION NECESSARY for Gonorrhoea, Syphilis, and many other diseases, teeth extracted, and all other things attended to which belong to minor surgery.

D. R. C. ROWLANDS BEGINS LEAVE TO INFORM THE CITIZENS OF STEILACOOM, STEILACOOM, W. T. that he will attend to calls on TUESDAY and WEDNESDAY of each week.

AMBROTYPES. THE UNDERSIGNED, HAVING LATELY completed and fitted up a magnificent gallery in the rear of 14 Hillman street, in Steilacoom, is now prepared to take PICTURES in all the latest styles.

CARPENTERING. DOORS, WINDOW SASHES, BLINDS, ETC., MADE TO ORDER.

THE UNDERSIGNED, HAVING COMPLETED the finishing of his establishment, with the requisite machinery, is now prepared to execute with dispatch, in the most judicious manner, all orders in his line.

STEILACOOM ACADEMY. THE UNDERSIGNED, HAVING HAD SEVERAL years' experience as a Teacher in a High School in Portland, Me., is now opening a school in Steilacoom, for the instruction of the youth of both sexes.

NOTICE. THE UNDERSIGNED GIVE NOTICE THAT if they desire all persons indebted to them to call and make payment. With reference to payment, wheat, oats, &c., and cattle will be held on account, unless notified to the contrary.

CURE IS AT HAND! HOLLOWAY'S OINTMENT. Scorbatic Eruptions, as Sore Heads and Scrofulous Swellings.

If this powerful Ointment be well rubbed into the parts affected, all skin diseases will be speedily overcome. It is not only a cure for skin diseases, but a powerful system as well as rest, and operates not only on the skin, but on the whole system, and is a radical and complete cure.

The Kidneys. Stone and Gravel. In these complaints, the Ointment acts like a charm, providing it is very carefully rubbed over the regions of the kidneys, which it will penetrate and gradually dissolve the matter, while the urine is being expelled according to the printed directions, when the most extraordinary cures may be effected by this means.

Bad Legs, Bad Breasts, Scrofulous Sores and Glanular Swellings. In such cases the Ointment operates surely and with a rapidity that is almost magic. It should be rubbed into the parts affected, after they have been thoroughly washed with lukewarm water. The purifying and curative powers of this marvellous ointment have never failed. Any old sore, wound or ulcer, which is not cured by any other means, will be cured by this Ointment, its action is wonderful. Glanular swellings may soon be reduced by following the printed directions.

The Action of the Heart. Dropsy. This last named disease is commonly preceded by irregular action of the heart, and difficult respiration, which symptoms are always more, and ever increasing in proportion to the extent of the disease. It is not to be feared, if the Ointment be used, as it is a powerful and reliable remedy, and is a radical and complete cure.

Induration of Youth. Sore, ulcers, and swellings, can with certainty be cured, if the Ointment be thoroughly rubbed on all around the parts affected, and the patient is kept in bed, and the diet is strictly regulated. The Ointment is a powerful and reliable remedy, and is a radical and complete cure.

Count and Rheumatism. May be cured with the greatest certainty if large quantities of the Ointment be well worked into the complaint, and the patient is kept in bed, and the diet is strictly regulated. The Ointment is a powerful and reliable remedy, and is a radical and complete cure.

Both the Ointment and Pills should be used in the following cases: Bad Legs, Pains in the joints, Rheumatism, Sore Throat, Ulcers, Swellings, Scrofulous Sores, Glanular Swellings, Dropsy, Induration of Youth, Count and Rheumatism.

GLASS AND CROCKERYWARE. A Crockeryware for sale by BALCH & WEBBER.

Business Cards.

P. J. MOOREY, WHOLESALE AND RETAIL DEALER IN Foreign and Domestic Wines and Liquors, Dry Goods, Groceries, Boots, Shoes, &c., STEILACOOM, W. T.

FRANK CLARK, ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW. Office—Corner of Commercial and Main streets, STEILACOOM, W. T.

W. H. WALLACE, ATTORNEY AT LAW, STEILACOOM, W. T.

Wholesale and Retail Dealers in DRY GOODS, GROCERIES, BOOTS AND SHOES, READY-MADE CLOTHING, Head-wares, Tricorne, Cravats, &c., &c. N.B.—Liberal terms for cash. STEILACOOM, W. T.

GEORGE GALLAGHER, DEALER IN STOVES, HARDWARE, TINWARE, AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS, ETC. LAFAYETTE BLOCK. J. B. WEBBER, FORWARDING AND COMMISSION MERCHANTS, AND Wholesale and Retail Dealers in DRY GOODS, GROCERIES, PROVISIONS, READY-MADE CLOTHING, BOOTS, SHOES, &c., &c.

Offer for Sale, of Wholesale and Retail, Goods at low rates, such as Dried Apples, Raisins, Sugar, Coffee, Tea, &c., &c.

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GLASS AND CROCKERYWARE. A Crockeryware for sale by BALCH & WEBBER.

San Francisco.

LADIES' DRESS TRIMMINGS! THE ONLY REGULAR TRIMMING STORE IN San Francisco! Dress Trimmings, Hosiery, Hoop Skirts, Under Linen, Children's Clothes, Zephyrs, Woolls, &c., &c.

Together with a complete assortment of all goods for Ladies and Children's use. MRS. D. NORCROSS, No. 144 Sacramento st.

PACIFIC FRINGE, GIMP and TASSEL MANUFACTURING CO., D. NORCROSS, Proprietor, 144 Sacramento st., above Montgomery, San Francisco.

PREMIUM REGALIA! BEST PREMIUMS AWARDED BY STATE FAIR AND MECHANICS' INSTITUTE FOR THE BEST REGALIA, TO D. NORCROSS, San Francisco.

Knights Templars, Degree Lodges, Independent Order of Knighthood, Sons of Temperance, Temple of Honor, Independent Order of Good Templars, and all other Societies furnished with REGALIA, JEWELS, ROBES, COSTUMES, EMBLEMS.

And all other articles, used by the different Fraternities, furnished in full sets or to individual members, as FRINGES MUCH LOWER than can possibly be afforded by any other house, and cheaper than can be imported from the East; as we do our own manufacturing, and are not compelled to pay a profit to others.

Military Comrades supplied with full suits of UNIFORMS on very liberal terms. Military Bands, Gold and Silver Embroideries, Hags, Banners, &c., &c. at reduced rates. Orders, which will meet our prompt attention, are respectfully solicited.

D. NORCROSS, 144 Sacramento st., above Montgomery, San Francisco.

JOHN T. DALY'S OLD "Q" BRANDY! JOHN T. DALY'S OLD "Q" BRANDY is put up in cases of one dozen bottles each. It is a PURE ARTICLE OF FRENCH BRANDY, THE EXTENSIVE SALE OF THIS BRANDY IN CALIFORNIA, FOR THE PAST TEN YEARS, SUFFICIENTLY TESTS ITS REPUTATION.

THE CASES ARE BRANDED JOHN T. DALY'S OLD "Q" BRANDY. NONE OTHER IS GENUINE. Each bottle has an additional label with the fac simile signature of "Wm. H. Dalry". W.M. NEWELL & CO., 113 Broadway, San Francisco, Sole Agents.

Shipping. U. S. MAIL LINE FROM OLYMPIA TO SIMLAHMOO.

THE NEW AND SPLENDID STEAMER "OLYMPIA", THOMAS WRIGHT, Commander, will hereafter leave Olympia every Monday morning at 7 o'clock for Seattle, Port Townsend, Seattle, Port Gamble, Port Townsend, Newburgh, Bellingham Bay, San Juan Island, and Victoria, Vt.

THE ELIZA ANDERSON has been recently fitted, and now accommodates a full complement of passengers. Her facilities for carrying cargo, and cattle, produce, &c., will be carried at reduced prices. For further particulars, address JOHN H. SCRANTON, Olympia, May 4, 1860.

BALCH & WEBBER'S REGULAR LINE OF PACKETS BETWEEN Puget Sound AND SAN FRANCISCO.

Is composed of the following first-class vessels: Barque ORK, 300 Tons, A. V. FRANK, Commander; Brig W. D. BICE, 300 Tons, B'DINGTON, Commander.

And other vessels as the trade requires. The above vessels are commanded by experienced and gentlemanly captains, well known to the trade, and will regularly between Puget Sound (W. T.) and San Francisco, carrying Freight and Passengers.

Freight will be taken at San Francisco for all points on the Coast. Goods from the Atlantic States and Europe carefully received at San Francisco and promptly forwarded. BALCH & WEBBER, Pier 23, Market street, San Francisco.

LIVERY STABLE. THE UNDERSIGNED, HAVING TAKEN the Stable-keepers License kept by J. J. Westwick, in Olympia and Steilacoom, will always keep Noble Horses, Buggies, Teams, &c., to accommodate the public.

We will keep the best of everything in our line, and our aim will be to please and be pleased. Here we have at our stables to be kept will receive the best of care. Give us a call and get the worth of your money. WINSOR & LAMAN, 48-49

NOTICE. J. D. LAMAN is my DULY AUTHORIZED attorney to receive rents, arrears, &c., due and payable to me, will authorize him to sue for and collect the same, if not promptly paid. These notices will therefore take timely warning and spare themselves the costs and expense of a resort to legal proceedings.

J. D. LAMAN may be found at any time at the Stage Office in Steilacoom, on Commercial street, near Main. J. J. WESTWICK.

TO NON-RESIDENTS. CHILDREN RESIDING IN THE COUNTRY, AND BELONGING to the Steilacoom School, can obtain board at the residence of the lady teacher. Terms moderate. WINSOR & LAMAN, 48-49

San Francisco.

JONAS G. CLARK & CO., IMPORTERS AND MANUFACTURERS OF FURNITURE. 128 Washington st., SAN FRANCISCO.

We are now manufacturing our PATENT FURNITURE, and would invite the attention of the public to our present stock, the largest ever offered on the Pacific coast.

QUINCY HALL, 147, 149, and 151 Washington street, SAN FRANCISCO.

THE LARGEST CLOTHING ESTABLISHMENT In California! LEADER, WHEN YOU ARE IN SAN FRANCISCO, it is worth your while to pay a visit to the QuinCY Clothing House, and see the countless varieties of garments, of every style and texture, that fill the spacious show-rooms, and to make the amount of business transacted there.

The unprecedented success of the proprietors is attributed to their liberal and judicious advertising, and to the remarkably low prices at which the goods are sold.

REMOVAL! REMOVAL! NEW MUSIC STORE! GRAY & HERWIG. HAVE REMOVED TO RABE'S BUILDING, 103 Clay street, 3d door above Montgomery.

Pianos! Pianos! BALLEW & DAVIS' CELEBRATED WOODWARD & BROWN'S celebrated Pianos, BROWN, ALLEN & CO.'S celebrated Pianos, &c., &c. Just received, a fine assortment of instruments, which we offer at very low rates. Melodions, Harmoniums, &c., &c. Melodions? Melodions? Melodions? FROM G. A. FINCH & CO., New Music! New Music! New Music! Also, a general assortment of Musical Instruments, Sheet Music, &c., &c. 103 Clay street.

TOBACCO AND CIGARS! G. SUTRO & CO. HAVE REMOVED THEIR STORE FROM THE CORNER of Yates and Wharf streets to the Brick Warehouse on Yates street, between B and C streets, and Government street, Steilacoom, V. T., where they offer for sale in lots to retail purchasers.

100,000 FINE HAVANA CIGARS. Imported direct from Havana.

75,000 Hamburg and Bremen Cigars, Havana Cigars—a superior article—imported direct from Havana. 125,000 New York made Cigars—a good article. 150 cases of Tobacco, a choice quality. Our Own, Choice Cigars, &c., &c. 500 boxes Spanish Leaf Tobacco, such as Forest Leaf, Cream of Virginia, Heron's, Delmonico, Magnolia, Gold Leaf, &c., &c. Imported direct from Virginia. 150,000 Manila Cigars and Cheroots, imported direct from Manila. 500 dozen Silesia's best selected Corn-cob Smoking Pipes, Clay Pipes, Portland Pipes, Silver-clad Pipes and all other articles in the line. Every article will bring us additional in our stock, and our goods being imported direct, we can sell them at the lowest prices. Thirty per cent. cheaper than San Francisco. H. SUTRO & CO., 103 Clay street, between Wharf and Government streets.

HOTEL AND SALOON. WE WOULD RESPECTFULLY DRAW THE ATTENTION of Hotel and Saloon keepers in our line to the fact that we have a large stock of HAVANA CIGARS, which we will sell at the lowest prices. Thirty per cent. cheaper than San Francisco. H. SUTRO & CO., 103 Clay street, between Wharf and Government streets.

U. S. MAIL EXPRESS LINE. BETWEEN Puget Sound AND SAN FRANCISCO. THE OLYMPIA AND STEILACOOM.

THE UNDERSIGNED WILL RUN A LINE of stages between the above places, carrying the U. S. Mail, Express packages, and Passengers. The stages will leave Olympia on Monday, Thursday, and Saturday; returning to Steilacoom on Tuesdays, Fridays, and Sundays, punctually at 8 o'clock, A.M., each day, connecting with H. Winsor's line to the Columbia River.

H. WINSOR, and J. D. LAMAN, 48-49

THE WASHINGTON NURSERY. THE PROPRIETOR OF THE ABOVE NURSERY offers to the public, this season, a large and well-selected lot of Fruit Trees, which, in their growth and handsome forms, are of the best quality, and of the most improved varieties. I have a choice lot of Apples, comprising some fifty varieties, from two to four years old.

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