

# THE COLUMBIA SPY.

SAMUEL WRIGHT, Editor and Proprietor.

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### Selections.

#### The Lucky Hand.

I'll tell you the queerest thing that ever happened to me in business. One evening, about twenty years ago, I was going home along the City Road to my own home at Penontville Hill. It was near the end of December. I had staid balancing accounts in my office some time after the Stock Exchange closed. A frosty night, with a half fog in it, had fallen; and there was a rather valuable pocket-book safely buttoned up in the breast-pocket of my great coat, for I had that day sold five hundred Western Canal shares, which, in common with all such property, the railways were rapidly bringing down. They belonged to one of my best customers, had been advantageously disposed of, and I was carrying home the bank notes, thinking my own house was a safer place than the office, as the gentleman had not passed to mention his banker.—The City Road is not a solitary place at 5 P. M. I walked on, summing up the day's transactions and the probabilities of the morrow, looking into the windows of all news-men and stationers for the evening paper. I thought most reliable, and occasionally saw that my great coat was securely buttoned.

I was engaged in the latter occupation within sight of that notable inn, the Angel, Islamabad, when I became conscious of being watched and followed by a man who seemed determined to keep his eyes on me. His dress and appearance belonged to the shabby respectable; himself and everything around him looked as if they had been better days. His figure was tall and thin, his face long and sharp; his hair was perfectly gray yet I felt convinced that his years did not much exceed my own, and I was then in the sunny side of fifty. It was this man, I pursued, but he did not seem to be following me; indeed, there was nothing sly or cunning-looking about the man.—Still, I had my pocket-book to take care of, and as we reached a quiet part of the road skirting the New River Company's Water Works, I resolved to let him know he was observed, by turning abruptly and facing him in the full light of a street lamp.

Had it been any description of womanhood, instead of a gray-haired and evidently not well to do man, I should have gone home to Mrs. Rogly more puffed up with vanity and self-conceit than the honest woman was accustomed to find me, for the best dressed specimen of beauty and fashion in all Belgravia could not have been greeted with a gaze of greater admiration and delight than that bestowed on my cane-colored whiskers and almost carryall hair. The man had, he did not look to be either; there was an appearance of perfect earnestness and sincerity in his demonstrations, as if his whole heart was in the business, and he neither thought nor cared for anything else. "Do you do anything in the Stock Exchange, sir?" said he, before I could make up my mind what proceedings to take.

"Yes," said I, astonished out of all my wits. "Why do you ask?" "Because, sir, I want a little business done in that way. It's not much, but I'll pay you any commission I can;" and he pressed so near that I laid my hand on his breast buttons. "If you will be so good as to tell me your office, or anywhere you like to see me, I'll come to-morrow forenoon."

"Here's my address," said I, "I'm always glad to see people in the way of business; in the meantime, I am in haste to get home, and wish you a very good night."

ness, alias the small and dingy room which serves gentlemen of my profession in the neighborhood of Capel Court, he came to the point without giving me time to ask it, by producing a pocket-book with as many marks of better days and hard service as himself, turning it over so as to let me see a very few notes, reading a memorandum for his own instruction, and then requesting me to buy for him three hundred shares in a certain Scotch railway.

The line is now one of the best paying in Britain, but, for prudential reasons, which one ought to have in speaking of anything Scotch, I will not give its particular designation. It had been commenced in the first fervor of railway making, when the public mind having awakened to the utility of the iron road, for which George Stephenson and his supporters had fought so tough a battle, rushed into companies and scrip in every direction, and would have laid down rails between John O'Groats and the Land's End. The line in question was not quite so unpromising, but, from local causes, as well as a temporary reaction of the ferment, its scrip was going rapidly down. I was aware that interested parties were doing their best to keep up the shares, and brokers who had none to sell called it a bad speculation.—Perhaps I ought to claim credit for conscientiousness beyond the wont of Capel Court men, but my would-be customer looked so hard-up, so earnestly ent on turning his few notes to the best advantage that I could not help telling him my mind on the subject, and seriously advising him to have nothing to do with the Scotch railway. He heard me with a look of quiet but immovable obstinacy.

"It may be all true, sir I am sure it is, for I have heard as much from all quarters; but buy the three hundred shares for me—they are down fifty per cent. now. I have got a hundred pounds here, and I'll pay you the rest within a fortnight."

"You'll lose your money," said I, "the line will never pay."

"It will pay and I won't lose!" said the man, his eye kindling with a fire so bright and wild that it made me think of our conclusions over night.

"I don't care if I tell you, though some people might think it silly to believe in such things, that I had a dream about that railway, sir. My uncle was a first-rate speculator, a Lancashire man, one of the earliest that came out strong for George Stephenson, you have heard of him, perhaps?—and he named a gentleman well known to me the first railway was, but then I dreamed for some years. He brought me down, and would have left me his shares in the Northwestern, but I displeased him by marrying against his will, and my uncle never forgave anybody. I don't repeat that yet; my wife's the best woman in the world, and a prettier face I never saw; but we've been poor, sir, very poor, and nothing has succeeded with me, though I have tried a good many things. When my uncle died, five years ago, he left his shares, bank stock, and all to a housekeeper he had. I'm told they're Liverpool good try now; but I had not seen him for seventeen years, till one night last month. I had a dream; it must have been near daybreak. The old man appeared to come into my room, looking as he used to do when we were good friends, and bringing with him a person whom I never saw before. 'Tom,' said he, 'this gentleman is a stock broker; get him to buy you three hundred shares in the ——— Railway, and you'll be a rich man before seven years.' He said a few more words which don't matter just at present, then walked away, and I awoke up so sure of the whole business that I struck a light, and looked round the room for the man he had brought. The dream occurred every night for a week after. I got up all the money I could muster, and went over London, looking for the stock broker, but I never saw him till yesterday evening, when I was going home, and, sir, you are the very man my uncle brought with him. I would know your face among twenty thousand, and, if you will buy me the shares, it will be better for us both."

Mrs. Rogly, at least, gave me credit for sense and discretion; but the singular story, the fact that he had recognized me, and the man's own faith in his dream, made me give up reasoning against the Scotch Railway, and consent to buy the shares. They had another fall that very day; and, knowing they were still in the descending line, I bought them in slowly, so that by the end of the week the three hundred shares were secured with little more than the contents of my friend's pocket-book. The man had interested me. You perceive it is possible to interest even a stock broker; and, while buying up the shares, I made inquiries after his antecedents. There was not a broker in the Exchange who could not tell me something about him, and their accounts confirmed his own—that he had tried a good many things, and succeeded in nothing.—There was no speculation—mine, canal, dock, or railway—in which he had not first dabbled; and the most popular speculation in Capel Court was, that whatever he bought shares in was sure to go to the dogs, except he sold out immediately, when it was equally certain to rise in the market. There were tales of stock-brokers who had made their fortunes, and those of their customers, by the guidance of that curious rule. As the natural consequence of so much ill-luck and determination to speculate, I also heard

that he was in the habit of owing and borrowing, and that his funds and his credit were now at a very low ebb. Nobody could imagine were he got the hundred pounds, except from his relations in Lancashire, on a promise to embark for Australia, to which safe distance their united endeavors had not been sufficient to send him and his wife, though employed to that end for the last ten years. Whether fortunately or otherwise I cannot say, but he had no children; but, in spite of his unsuccessful stock-jobbing, the pair were said to live in affectionate harmony, not always found in better supplied homes. There, at the time of my story, was a second floor in Cummin Street, Penontville. Their name was Razworth, and there was at once a contrast and a resemblance between them; while he was a tall man, she was a little woman; but both were gray before the time, very thin, and looked as if they were always expecting something.

Faith is infectious. When I had bought the shares, delivered them to Mr. Razworth, and above all, talked over the matter with Mrs. Rogly, she and I felt so persuaded that something would come of the dream that we kept our eyes on the Razworths, took a deep interest in their welfare, and would have been friendly with them but for an unexpected obstacle. On the evening after I had bought up the last of the shares and we were settling money matters in the back-room of a coffee-house, where Razworth insisted on treating me to a steak and porter because I would charge him no commission. One pot followed another, till my friend's eyes began to twinkle, and his words followed rapidly. He told all he would do when his fortune was made by the ——— Railway; of the relations he would cut dead for looking down on him and Sally; of the house he would build overlooking Birkenhead, and to which he would take her home in her own carriage, to spite people who thought little of her for being a dressmaker's girl, though anybody who saw Sally knew she was born to be a lady.

"No doubt of it," said I, my own heart getting warm. "I am sure Mrs. Rogly would like to know her; we'll call on you some day this week."

"No, if you please," said Razworth, starting back with a blank terror in his look.—"I beg your pardon, Mr. Rogly; it would be a great pleasure to my wife and me; in fact, we are too poor acquaintances for you. But don't come, sir, don't come to our house at all. After what the old man said, that might be true, as well as the rest of the dream."

"What did the old man say, Mr. Razworth?" said I, laying down my pot with my whole stock of determination.

"Well, sir, I should have told you before, but I thought you would not buy the shares for me. My uncle, after he told me about the making of my fortune, and the hand you were to have in it, said a few words more, and they were the strangest of all:—'Take care of him, for he will kill your wife.' Now, sir, I don't believe you would do the like, but it was all in the same dream; that was the last thing my uncle said. Don't come to the house, sir, nor have anything more to do with us!"

Razworth believed in what he told me, and I did not tell that part of his dream to Mrs. Rogly; but I made him a solemn promise, and took a fixed resolution, to avoid their domicile, which, under one excuse or another, I kept to the letter.

In pursuing this policy, I gradually lost sight of the man of the three hundred shares. I saw him in Capel Court sometimes, occasionally met him going home, heard of him first as an agent for somebody's unadulterated coffee, then as a traveler for a patent pill, and lastly of his subscribing a pictorial Bible. They had removed from Cammin street to a humberly lodging in Clerkenwell, and his wife was taking in plain work. To say the truth, I had no wish to see the poor man. In spite of his dream, the ——— Railway had gone utterly and totally to the dogs; the most sanguine speculators pronounced it a bad job; its shares were declared to be nowhere at all; and many a time Mrs. Rogly and I lamented over poor Razworth and his three hundred.

In the cares of one's family, and the ups and downs of one's business, time slips away wonderfully. It was five years after I had bought the said shares; there had been a panic, bad times, a settling down, and clearing up again, when, to the amazement of the whole stock Exchange, there was a resurrection of the ——— Railway. Somebody from Glasgow had taken it in hand.—The gentlemen had a large capital and rich cousins. The newspapers began to talk of what immense utility the line would be to northern towns and the agricultural districts; the shares came into the market and went up every day. Where was Razworth? I could not make out, till one day he appeared in my office, looking grayer and more shabby than ever, but with the same earnest eyes.

"They're going up, Mr. Rogly!" was his first salutation. "Yes," said I. "You'll get back your hundred pounds yet."

No arguments could shake that resolution, and I did not try to do it; the matter was beyond my Capel Court experience; but for once Razworth was not mistaken.—The shares went up higher and higher—such a run upon a railway was never known. At last they reached cent. per cent., and then he sent me a brief note to sell out immediately, and buy him six hundred shares in the Southwestern. Razworth had got above my reasoning. Henceforth I obeyed his mandates without question, they always came by post. Somehow, whatever he bought, whatever he sold, success and profit attended his speculations. I knew him net five thousand by a venture that same year, and he doubled it within the next. His luck became as proverbial among the brokers as his want of it had been before. He was now a comparatively rich man. I was aware of his having a considerable deposit in the Bank of England, besides owning railway stock to a greater amount; when I saw him again, Razworth looked as shabby, as careworn, and as earnest as he had looked when I was going to congratulate him on the prospect of getting back his hundred pounds. He settled with me liberally, promised the continuance of his patronage, told me he had bought the grounds for his house overlooking Birkenhead, and that Sally and he would enjoy their money; but he could not understand her, she was growing so strange like, and taking on so many odd ways.

To bring my story to an end, it turned out that the sudden accession of wealth, after such long poverty and frequent disappointment, upset poor Mrs. Razworth's brain. The strangeness and odd ways resulted in frantic madness, and she died a few years ago in a private asylum. Her husband still lives, and speculates; his capital is now immense, though he has not always won at the same rate. His house has been built, and is let, for he never inhabited it, nor set up his carriage. I can see no change in his appearance from the day he came to tell me "They were going up." Once, after a long reckoning, he asked me if the old man had spoken true in his dream. "Only," said he, "we did not understand it right about Sally; but that could not be helped, and nothing can Mr. Rogly. Never mind, I have a great respect for you, because I know you to be a lucky hand."

That was all I ever heard him say on the subject which had troubled him so much in his poverty-stricken days, when he begged me not to come to the house nor have anything to do with them, lest his uncle's prophecy about the killing of Sally should come to pass. I suppose the killing of her mind by the fortune which came through me must have been the proper interpretation of the dream, if it had any, and was not all a downright invention of Razworth's fancy, running, as it always did, on stocks and shares. At all events; he made money and that makes people take everything else uncommonly easy; yet, somehow, there is nobody's business I care less for doing, and I know he employs me only for being a lucky hand, which is a character worth having in the Stock Exchange.

#### Inaugural Address of President Lincoln, delivered March 4, 1861.

Fellow-Citizens of the United States: In compliance with a custom as old as the Government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly, and to take, in your presence, the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States to be taken by the President before he enters on the execution of his office.

I do not consider it necessary at present to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement. Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the States that by the accession of a Republican administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered.

There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you.—I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so."

Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations, and had never recanted them; and more than this—they placed in the platform for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:

"Resolved, That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions, according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend, and we denounce the lawless invasion, by armed force, of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as the gravest of crimes."

Administration. I add, too, that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given, will be cheerfully given to all the States, when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause— cheerfully to one section as to another.

There is much controversy about the delivering up of fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions: "No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended by those who made it for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves; and the intention of the law-giver is the law.

All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution—to this provision as much as to any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves whose cases come within the terms of this clause "shall be delivered up," their oaths are unanimous. Now, if they would make the effort in good temper, could they not, with nearly equal unanimity, frame and pass a law by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath?

There is some difference of opinion whether this clause should be enforced by national or by State authority, but surely that difference is not a very material one. If the slave is to be surrendered, it can be of but little consequence to him, or to others, by which authority it is done. And should any one, in any case, be content that his oath shall go unkept on a merely unsubstantial controversy as to how it shall be kept? Again, in any law upon this subject, ought not all the safeguards of liberty known in civilized and humane jurisprudence to be introduced, so that a free man not be in any case surrendered as a slave? And might it not be well, at the same time, to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the Constitution which guarantees that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States?"

I take the official oath to-day with no mental reservations, and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws by any hypocritical rules. And while I do not choose now to specify particular acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest that it will be much safer for all, both in official and private stations, to conform to and abide by all those acts which stand un-repeated, than to violate any of them, trusting to find impunity in having them held to be unconstitutional.

It is seventy-two years since the first inauguration of a President under our National Constitution. During that period fifteen great and distinguished citizens have, in succession, administered the Executive branch of the Government. They have conducted it through many perils, and all generally with great success. Yet with all this scope for precedent, I now enter upon the same task, for the brief constitutional term of four years, under great and peculiar difficulty. A disruption of the Federal Union, heretofore only menaced, is now formidably attempted.

I hold that, in the contemplation of universal law, and of the Constitution, the Union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our National Constitution, and the Union will endure forever, it being impossible to destroy it, except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself.

Again, if the United States be not a Government proper, but an association of States in the nature of contract merely, can it, as a contract, be peacefully unmade by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate it—break it, so to speak; but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it?

Descending from these general principles, we find the proposition that, in legal contemplation, the Union is perpetual, confirmed by the history of the Union itself. The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed in fact by the Articles of Association in 1774. It was renewed and continued by the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured and the faith of all the then thirteen States expressly pledged and engaged that it should be perpetual, by the Articles of Confederation in 1778.

And finally, in 1787, one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution, was "to form a more perfect Union." But if destruction of the Union by one or by a part only of the States, be lawfully possible, the Union is less perfect than before, the Constitution having lost the vital element of perpetuity.

It follows from these views that no State, upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union—that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void, and that acts of violence within any State or States against the authority of the United States, are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances. I therefore consider, that in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken, and to the extent of my ability I

shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part, and I shall perform it so far as practicable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means, or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary.

I trust that this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of the Union that it will Constitutionally defend and maintain itself. In doing this there needs to be no bloodshed or violence, and there shall be none, unless it be forced upon the national authority.

The power conferred to me will be used to hold, occupy and possess the property and places belonging to the Government, and to collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere.

Where hostility to the United States, in any interior locality, shall be so great and so universal as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding the Federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people for that object.

While the strict legal right may exist in the Government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating, and so nearly impracticable withal, that I deem it better to forego for the time the use of such offices. The mails, unless repelled, will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union. So far as possible, the people everywhere shall have that sense of perfect security which is most favorable to calm thought and reflection.

The course here indicated will be followed, unless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper, and in every case and exigency my best discretion will be exercised, according to circumstances actually existing, and with a view and a hope of a peaceful solution of the national troubles, and the restoration of fraternal sympathies and affections.

That there are persons in one section or another who seek to destroy the Union at all events, and are glad of any pretext to do it, I will neither affirm nor deny; if there be such, I need address no word to them. To those, however, who really love the Union, may I not speak?

Before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our national fabric, with all its benefits, its memories and its hopes, would it not be wise to ascertain precisely why we do it?

Will you hazard so desperate a step, while there is any possibility that any portion of the ill you fly from have no real existence? Will you—while the certain ill you fly to are greater than all the real ones you fly from—will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake?

All profess to be content in the Union, if all Constitutional rights can be maintained. Is it true then that any right, plainly written in the Constitution, has been denied? I think not. Happily the human mind is so constituted that no party can reach to the audacity of doing this. Think, if you can, of a single instance in which a plainly-written provision of the Constitution has ever been denied.

If, by the mere force of numbers, a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written Constitutional right, it might, in a moral point of view, justify revolution—certainly would, if such a right were a vital one. But such is not our case. All the vital rights of minorities and of individuals are so plainly assured to them by affirmations and negations, guarantees and provisions in the Constitution, that controversies never arise concerning them. But no organic law can ever be framed with a provision specifically applicable to every question which may occur in practical administration. No foresight can anticipate, nor any document of reasonable length contain express provisions for all possible questions. Shall fugitives from labor be surrendered by national or State authority? The Constitution does not expressly say—May Congress prohibit slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say—Must Congress protect slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say—

From questions of this class spring all our controversies, as we divide upon them into majorities and minorities. If the minority will not acquiesce, the majority must, or the Government must cease. There is no other alternative; for continuing the Government is acquiescence on one side or the other.—If a minority in such case will secede rather than acquiesce, they make a precedent which, in turn, will divide and ruin them. For a minority of their own will secede from them whenever a majority refuses to be controlled by such minority. For instance, why may not any portion of a new Confederacy, a year or two hence arbitrarily secede again, precisely as portions of the present Union now claim to secede from it? All who cherish disunion sentiments are now being educated to the exact temper of doing this. Is there such a perfect identity of interests among the States to compose a new Union, as to produce harmony only, and prevent new secession? Plainly, the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy.

A majority held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only

true sovereign of a free people; who ever rejects it does of necessity fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is impossible. The rule of a minority as a permanent arrangement is wholly inadmissible, so that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism in some form is all that is left.

I do not forget the position assumed by some that Constitutional questions are to be decided by the Supreme Court. Nor do I deny that such decisions must be binding in any case, upon the parties to a suit, as to the object of that suit, while they are also entitled to very high respect and consideration in all parallel cases by all other departments of the Government. And while it is obviously possible that such decision may be erroneous in any given case, still the evil effect following it, being limited to that particular case, with the chance that it may be overruled and never become a precedent for other cases, can better be borne than could the evils of a different practice.

At the same time the candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the Government upon vital questions affecting the whole people, is to be irrevocably fixed by the decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions, the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal.

Nor is there, in this view, any assault upon the Court or the Judges. It is a duty from which they may not shrink, to decide cases properly brought before them, and it is no fault of theirs if others seek to turn their decisions to political purposes.

One section of our country believes slavery is right, and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong, and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute.

The Fugitive Slave clause of the Constitution, and the law for the suppression of the Foreign Slave Trade, are each as well enforced, perhaps, as any law can be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself.

The great body of the people abide by the dry legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, cannot be perfectly cured, and it would be worse in both cases after the separation of the sections than before. The foreign slave trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived without restriction in one section, while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the other.

Physically speaking, we cannot separate. We cannot remove our respective sections from each other nor build any impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other—but the different parts of our country cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face, and intercourse either amicable or hostile must continue between them.

As it possible then to make that intercourse more advantageous, or more satisfactory, after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends?

Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you.—This country with its institutions belongs to the people, who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing Government they can exercise their Constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it.

I cannot be ignorant of the fact that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the National Constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendments, I fully recognize the rightful authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself, and I should under existing circumstances, favor, rather than oppose, a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it.

I will venture to add, that to me the Convention mode seems preferable, in that it allows amendments to originate with the people themselves, instead of only permitting them to take or reject propositions originated by others not especially chosen for the purpose, and which might not be precisely such as they would wish to either accept or approve.

I understand that a proposal I amendment to the Constitution, which amendment, however, I have not seen, has passed Congress, to the effect that the Federal Government shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of the States, including that of persons held to service.

To avoid misconception of what I have said, I depart from my purpose not to speak of particular amendments, so far as to say that, holding such a provision to now be implied Constitutional law, I have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable. The Chief Magistrate derives all his authority from the people, and they have conferred none upon him to fix terms for the separation of the States. The people themselves can do this also if they choose, but the Executive, as such, has nothing to do with it. His duty is to administer the present government as it came to his hands,