

Terms of Publication.
THE TIOGA COUNTY AGITATOR is published every Wednesday Morning and mailed to subscribers at the very reasonable price of ONE DOLLAR PER ANNUM, in advance. It is intended to notify every subscriber when the term for which he has paid shall have expired, by the figures on the printed label on the margin of each paper. The paper will then be stopped until a further remittance is received. By this arrangement no man can be brought in debt to the printer.
The AGITATOR is the Official Paper of the County, with a large and steadily increasing circulation reaching into every neighborhood in the County. It is sent free of postage to any Post Office within the county limits, but where most convenient post office may be an adjoining County.
Business Cards, not exceeding 5 lines, paper included, \$5 per year.

BUSINESS DIRECTORY.
JAS. LOWREY & S. F. WILSON,
ATTORNEYS & COUNSELLORS AT LAW, will attend the Court of Sessions and Meekans counties. (Wellsboro, Feb. 1, 1853.)
C. N. DART, DENTIST,
OFFICE at his residence near the Academy. All work pertaining to his line of business done promptly and warranted. [April 22, 1853.]
DICKINSON HOUSE
CORN IN G. N. Y.
M. A. FIELD, Proprietor.
Guests taken to and from the Depot free of charge.

J. C. WHITTAKER,
Hydroptic Physician and Surgeon.
ELKLAND, TIOGA CO., PENNA.
Will visit patients in all parts of the County, or receive them for treatment at his house. [June 14.]
J. EMERY,
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW, Wellsboro, Tioga Co., Pa. Will devote his time exclusively to the practice of law. Collections made in any of the Northern counties of Pennsylvania. nov21, 60

PENNSYLVANIA HOUSE,
Corner of Main Street and the Avenue, Wellsboro, Pa.
J. W. BIGONY, PROPRIETOR.
This popular Hotel, having been re-fitted and re-arranged throughout, is now open to the public as a first-class house.

IZAAK WALTON HOUSE,
H. C. VERMILYEA, PROPRIETOR.
GAINES, Tioga County, Pa.
THIS is a new hotel located within easy access of the best fishing and hunting grounds in Northern Pa. No pains will be spared for the accommodation of pleasure seekers and the traveling public.
April 12, 1860.

H. D. COLE,
BARBER AND HAIR-DRESSER.
SHOP in the rear of the Post Office. Everything in his line will be done as well and promptly as it can be done in the city. Preparations for coloring hair, dressing and beautifying the hair, for sale cheap. Hair and whiskers dyed any color. Call and see. Wellsboro, Sept. 22, 1853.

THE CORNING JOURNAL.
George W. Pratt, Editor and Proprietor.
Published at Corning, Steuben Co., N. Y., at One Dollar and Fifty Cents per year, in advance. The Journal is published every week, and has a circulation reaching into every part of Steuben County. Those desirous of extending their business into that and the adjoining counties will find it an excellent advertising medium. Address as above.

FURS! FURS! FURS!
FURS.—The subscriber has just received a large assortment of furs for ladies wear, consisting of FISH CAPES & VICTORINES, FRENCH SABLE CAPES & VICTORINES, RIVER MINK CAPES & MUFFS, ROCK MARTIN CAPES & VICTORINES. These comprise a small quantity of the assortment, but have been bought at low prices and will be sold at extremely low prices for cash, at the New Hat Store in Corning, N. Y. S. P. QUICK.

TO MUSICIANS.
A CHOICE LOT of the best imported Italian and German VIOLIN STRINGS.
Bass Viol strings, Guitar strings, Tuning Forks Bridges, &c., just received and for sale at ROY'S DRUG STORE.

WELLSBORO HOTEL,
WELLSBOROUGH, PA.
S. S. FARR, PROPRIETOR.
(Formerly of the Upper States Hotel)
Having leased this well known and popular House, solicits the patronage of the public. With attentive and obliging waiting, and with the Proprietor's knowledge of the business, he hopes to make the stay of those who stop with him both pleasant and agreeable.
Wellsboro, May 31, 1860.

PICTURE FRAMING.
TOILET GLASSES, Pictures, Certificates
Engraving, Needles, &c., &c., framed in the best manner, in plain and ornamented gilt. Rose Wood, Black Walnut, Oak, Mahogany, &c. Persons leaving any article for framing, can receive them next day, framed in any style they wish and hung for them. Specimens at SMITH'S BOOK STORE.

E. B. BENEDICT, M. D.,
WOULD inform the public that he is permanently located in Elkland Boro, Tioga Co., Pa., and prepared by thirty years' experience to treat all diseases of the eyes and their appendages on a scientific basis, and that he can cure without fail, the St. Vitus' Dance, called St. Vitus' Dance, (Chorea Sancti Viti), and will attend to any other business in the line of Physic and Surgery.
Elkland Boro, August 5, 1860.

MCINROY & BAILEY,
WOULD inform the public that having purchased the Mill property, known as the "GOLVER MILL," and having repaired and applied it with new bolts and machinery, are now prepared to do CUSTOM WORK
to the entire satisfaction of their patrons. With the aid of our experienced miller, M. J. D. Mitchell, and the repairing efforts of the proprietors, they intend to keep up an establishment second to none in the county. Cash paid for wheat and corn, and the highest market price given.
March 15, 1860. J. W. MCINROY, J. W. BAILEY.

TIOGA REGULATOR.
GEORGE F. HUMPHREY has opened a Jewellery Store at Tioga Village, Tioga County, Pa.
Where he is prepared to do all kinds of Watch, Clock and Jewellery repairing, in a workmanlike manner. All work warranted to give entire satisfaction.
We do not pretend to do a better than any other man, but we can do as good work as can be done in the cities or elsewhere.
Tioga, Pa., March 15, 1860. (ly.) GEORGE F. HUMPHREY.

NEW HAT AND CAP STORE.
The Subscriber has just opened in this place a new Hat and Cap Store, where he intends to keep a large and general assortment of Fashionable Hanks and Cassimere Hats, of my own manufacture, which will be sold at hard prices.
SILK HATS
made to order on short notice.
The Hats sold at this Store are fitted with a French Conformation, which makes them soft and easy to the head without the trouble of breaking your head to break the hat. Store in the New Block opposite the Dickinson House. S. P. QUICK.
Corning, Aug. 15, 1859.

THE AGITATOR.

Devoted to the Extension of the Area of Freedom and the Spread of Wealthy Reform.

WHILE THERE SHALL BE A WRONG UNRIGHTED, AND UNTIL "MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN" SHALL CHASE, AGITATION MUST CONTINUE.

VOL. VII. WELLSBORO, TIOGA COUNTY, PA., WEDNESDAY MORNING, DECEMBER 12, 1860. NO. 19.

From the Erie City Dispatch.
THE PERILS AND BEAUTIES OF A BALLOON VOYAGE.
BY B. F. H. LYNN.
A few years ago, while sailing under the euphonious title of Professor, (of Aeronautics), and making myself famous in certain localities by having my name and intended exploits posted in glaring capitals on board fences and brick walls and by being extensively advertised and noticed in the newspapers, I was sojourning for a time in a populous city in the south, where I had once arisen above my fellow mortals and looked down upon them with composure and a certain degree of defiance from an elevation of twelve thousand feet, and where, through an unintended and purely accidental exploit of daring! and skill! in connection with my last ascension, I had become a lion of considerable magnitude, especially among small boys and country people.

In consequence of the confidence with which I had inspired the community in my ability to walk the air, I was employed by three scientific gentlemen—who were suddenly taken with a disposition to blaze upon the public like a stray comet—to carry them zenithward, dangling beneath my balloon. The terms and conditions being agreed upon, my next anxiety was to provide myself with gas—an important element in affairs aloft as well as affairs terrestrial. I wanted sixty thousand cubic feet, but owing to some derangement of the works from which the city received its supply I could get but forty thousand feet from that source within a given time. I would have to manufacture hydrogen to make up the deficiency, and arranged my plans accordingly.

On the evening before the day appointed for the ascension I congratulated myself upon having my arrangements all complete, my preparations all made. My balloon had received an additional coat of varnish and was in splendid order—the enclosure with seats, had been erected—and my retorts and materials for the manufacture of gas, and my ballast, were all on the ground.

After an interview with my passengers I withdrew to my room at the hotel to deliberate upon to-morrow's proceedings before retiring for the night. Lighting a cigar and fixing myself upon a chair, with my feet out through an open window, I gave the subject the most impartial attention, and finally resolved that this should be my last ascension—that, after reaching terra firma with my passengers, I would let the balloon go off into the air (whither it might, without a commander, and thus get it off my hands).

The morning came, beautiful and bright, and my barometer convinced me that I would have as fair a day for my experiments as could be desired. A cup of coffee and a hot roll answered for my breakfast, and with entire confidence in the success of my proposed voyage, I proceeded to my labors without the least nervous trepidation or anxious commotion of mind. My assistants were instructed, tickets sent to editors and special friends, the inflation commenced, and every thing went off with the utmost system and precision. I had proceeded with caution to insure success, as well for the gratification of my passengers as to sustain my reputation and add to the means of my purse. My gas apparatus had been arranged to act effectually, and now, at 1 o'clock, was in full operation. The water in the casks was fast decomposing, and the gas from the two sources was pouring in volumes into the balloon, which was fast raising and assuming its globular form quivering with impatience as if anxious to throw off its bondage and bound away into the upper air.

Hundreds of people were within the enclosure and a brass band was playing lively airs. We were soon ready. The balloon was filled, with an ascensive power of nearly fifteen hundred pounds, and was gradually let up and the gay wicker-car attached. Overcoats, philosophical instruments, wines and refreshments, newspapers, carrier pigeons, flags, ballast, &c., were duly arranged in the car, and the passengers taking their seats in a kind of pleasing bewilderment in the focus of hundreds of eyes, the word was given, and amid redoubled cheers, the waving of handkerchiefs, and the music of the band, we arose aloft inhabitants of air.—The upturned faces below indicated high beating hearts, and cheer after cheer followed us. The buzz of the assembly soon gave way to a more silent enthusiasm, but as I leaned over the side of the car and waived my country's colors the huzzas from the crowds on the street and house-tops were again renewed.

None but those who have experienced the feeling can possibly realize the state of mind caused by being the object of gaze for a multitude of eyes and the cause of an enthusiasm in a multitude of hearts; and the sensation is heightened and the pulses quickened by the magnificent sight which burst so soon upon you. The rarer atmosphere excited the spirits, and rushing into the lungs caused them to dance under the influence of its invigorating oxygen, while the scene below is past realization or description.

We arose to an altitude of over two miles almost perpendicularly, neither moving to the right or left except seemingly by inherent volition. Objects below were definitely visible in miniature. The business hum arose in sounds sharp and distinct, but rapidly died away until they came to us only as the last murmuring vibrations of distant bells. We let off a pigeon with a card fastened to it upon which was written our altitude and the state of the barometer. The bird hesitated, and upon being pushed off fluttered after us, but we outsped it in ascending, and it made a curved course for the earth. Except with the faint echoes from deep beneath we were alone—alone in the abyss of light, air, and cloud—alone in ether's subtle elements, where is formed the rain to water the earth and the waters under the earth—alone where the stars sing together, and the lightnings revel as they rush from their hidden depths and furrow the skies in vivid light—alone where the meteors stream and the moon lights up the space with a religious lustre—alone, hanging like a bubble with nature and with God.

All this was realized by my passengers, as they gazed upon the scenes and at each other with mingled feelings of delight and awe.

Now we would pass through a light cloud and the earth would be momentarily hid from our view, or be overshadowed by one, and the atmosphere would become cold and damp.—Now we were moving with a breeze from the west, and as we danced along merrily, higher, lower, further, the sun shining upon the aerostat, and an eddying wind giving the balloon a rotary motion, our bark seemed like an undefined atmosphere around particles of the elements of immensity, through which we claved our way.

To the south and below us, light clouds were drifting lazily. Far in the west a storm-cloud had gathered and burst, sending the last notes of a thunder peal to our ears, and as if panting with fatigue, an alternate light and shade broke from the dying tempest, displaying a beautiful array of colors; and the sun breaking through the opening clouds, sent its brilliant rays away along the mist and fleecy haze, painting prisms of gold and ruby, until the stormy elements were entirely absorbed by its heat.

Thrice we neared the earth and hailed the inhabitants below, as we passed over villages, rivers, hills and valleys, and were responded to by cheers and the waving of hats. The landscape was spread out before us grand and beautiful, without a blemish to mar its beauty and no spot to discredit the handiwork of the great Creator. Like the arch above, it seemed concaved to the center, and wore a face illuminated with a grandeur not to be conceived from any point but from the heavens.

Discharging ballast we would arise again among the clouds, where it lacked but the grandeur of thunder rolling at our feet, and the lightnings shooting fiercely from the embrace of their mother elements, to complete the most magnificent scene which mortal ever beheld.

Thus we proceeded until after 7 o'clock. We had been up four hours and had not traveled to exceed one hundred and fifty miles, when, after taking an inventory of my stock in gas and ballast, it was resolved to continue the voyage into the night. We had seen the sun going down in the west, and the moon and stars were just coming out, but the night scene was to be abridged, and in a manner we had not dreamed of—in moments of awful suspense.

I discovered that a number of the suspending cords which sustained the car were rotting.—By the carelessness of some assistant in the preparations for inflation vitriolic acid had been spilled on them, and they were parting, a number of them being already divided, and many more only retained the rotten strength of a single strand. In twenty minutes the car would break loose from the balloon and go to the earth. Without communicating the discovery to my passengers I seized the valve-cord and gave it a violent pull, intending to discharge gas and alight immediately. In my desperation I pulled too suddenly and broke the cord far above my reach! Horror of horrors! My consternation became apparent and alarmed my companions. Without satisfying their inquiries I ordered them to be quiet, demanding their obedience if they valued life. What was to be done? To explode the balloon, with the cord attached for the purpose, would be madness, as with so much weight in the car we would go down with a rapidity which the balloon if it formed a parachute would not retard, and which would cause the friction of air to kill us in the descent. To climb up the net and make an opening in the gas envelope through which the gas would escape, would be equally mad. The weight of my body on the side of the balloon would carry it in and cause extra tension on some of the already weakened suspension cords, and break them off; or perhaps caven the balloon over and throw my passengers out of the car.

In an instant the fate of the many unfortunate aeronauts since the death of M. Romain and Pilatre de Rozier, in their attempt to cross the English Channel, in 1785, up to that time, flashed through my mind. What was to be done? We must up up to come down—reach an altitude in the rarier air above where the gas would expand and flow out through the neck below. Over went the ballast, thirty, sixty, ninety pounds. Up, up, went our frail craft with the speed of thought, trembling in every cord, our flags and indicators fluttering downward as if in gay mockery of our situation. Soon the speed slackened. The aerostat was distended to its fullest capacity, but yet no gas had escaped! Another and another cord had parted. Over went more ballast, our sand, instruments, overcoats, boots, provisions, and up again we flew. Our heads were soon enveloped in a white mist, as the gas poured out from above us, and by inhaling it we sickened. The excitement, and the fumes of the gas, was rendering my companions frantic and helpless. Children never were weaker. By this time I had climbed to the concentrate hoop and was holding the neck of the balloon off to avoid direct contact with the escaping gas. We arose to an immense altitude. Breathing became an agony. Our eyes seemed to be forcing from our heads—the blood oozed from our ears and nostrils—our bodies puffed out like cushions, and seemed numb and paralyzed with cold. An involuntary prayer was uttered by every one of us. Soon our ascent was stopped. We had reached our greatest height and a decent halt was inevitably followed. A balloon in the air does not float in the same line of altitude to the earth, and thank Heaven we must go down!—Torturous suspense!—three minutes longer and we cannot live without vitalized air. But few of the suspending cords remain and in six minutes at most the basket will break away!—Climbing into the hoop again I tied the explosive cord firmly around the neck of the balloon and around my body under my arms, to relieve the car from my weight and to save me from going with it if it should break away. Any death but that, to be whirled through the air from such a height. We were falling, faster, and faster, and when within sight of the landscape so beautifully spread out in the moonlight, the basket broke away! and with screams the most agonising and intense that mortal ever uttered, my companions went down, down, spirally, to strike the earth and be dashed to pieces! After being relieved of their weight

I felt myself rising again, and then a sudden jar, and I awoke, and found that I had fallen from my chair in my room at the hotel, and was nearly suffocated from fire that had communicated to my clothing during my dream from the cigar I had been smoking.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

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

Why is it, then, that discontent now so extensively prevails, and the Union of the States, which is the source of all these blessings, is threatened with destruction? The long continued and interperate 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, too 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 innocent and violent agitation of the slavery question throughout the North for the last quarter of a century, has at length produced its malign influence on the slaves, and inspired them with vague notions of freedom. Hence a sense of security no longer exists around the family altar. This feeling of peace at home has given place to apprehensions of servile insurrection. Many a 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, whether real or imaginary, extend and intensify itself until it shall pervade the masses of the Southern people, then disunion will become inevitable. Self-preservation is the first law of nature, and has been implanted in the heart of man by his Creator for the wisest purpose; and no political union, however fraught with blessings and benefits in all other respects, can long continue, if the necessary consequence be to render the homes and the 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 General Jackson, "to stimulate them to insurrection, and produce all the horrors of a servile war. This agitation has ever since been continued by the public press, by the proceedings of State and county conventions, and by abolition sermons and lectures. The time of Congress has been occupied in violent speeches on this never-ending subject, and appeals in pamphlet and other forms, endorsed by distinguished names, have been sent forth from this central point, and spread broadcast over the Union.

How easy would it be for the American people to settle the slavery question, forever, and to restore peace and harmony to this distracted country. They, and they alone, can do it. All that is necessary to accomplish the object, and all for which the slave States have ever contended, is to be let alone, and permitted to manage their domestic institutions in their own way. As sovereign States, they, and they alone, are responsible before God and the world for the slavery existing among them. For this, the people of the North are not more responsible, and have no more right to interfere, than with similar institutions in Russia or in Brazil. Upon their good sense and patriotic forbearance I confess I still greatly rely. Without their aid, it is beyond the power of any President, no matter what may be his own political proclivities, to restore peace and harmony among the States. Wisely limited and restrained as is his power, under our Constitution and laws, he alone can accomplish but little, for good or for evil, on such a momentous question.

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

It is said, however, that the antecedents of the President elect have been sufficient to justify the fears of the South that he will attempt to invade their constitutional rights. But are

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

It is alleged as one cause for immediate secession that the Southern States are denied equal rights with the other States in the common Territories. But by what authority are these denied? Not by Congress, which has never passed, and I believe never will pass, any act to exclude slavery from these Territories; and certainly not by the Supreme Court, which has solemnly decided that slaves are property, and like all other property, their owners have a right to take them into the common Territories, and hold them there under the protection of the Constitution.

So far, then, as Congress is concerned, the objection is not to anything they have already done, but to what they may do hereafter. It will surely be admitted that this apprehension of future danger is no good reason for an immediate dissolution of the Union. It is true that the territorial legislature of Kansas, on the 23d of February, 1860, passed in great haste an act, over the veto of the Governor, declaring that slavery "is, and shall be, forever prohibited in this Territory." Such an act, however, plainly violating the rights of property secured by the Constitution, will surely be declared void by the judiciary whenever it shall be presented in a legal form.

Only three days after my inauguration the Supreme Court of the United States solemnly adjudged that this power did not exist in territorial legislatures. 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 of our highest constitutional tribunal to popular assemblies would, if they could, invest a territorial legislature with power to annul the sacred rights of property. This power Congress is expressly forbidden by the Federal Constitution to exercise. 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 a Territory represented in a convention of delegates for the purpose of framing a constitution preparatory to admission as a State into the Union. Then, and not until then, are they invested with power to decide the question whether slavery shall or shall not exist within their limits. This is an act of sovereign authority, and not of subordinate territorial legislation. Were it otherwise, then indeed would the equality of the States in the Territories be destroyed, and the rights of property in slaves would depend, not upon the guarantees of the Constitution, but upon the shifting majorities of an irresponsible territorial legislature. Such a doctrine, from its intrinsic unsoundness, cannot long influence any considerable portion of our people, much less can it afford a good reason for a dissolution of the Union.

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

Rates of Advertising.
Advertisements will be charged \$1 per square of 10 lines, one or three insertions, and 25 cents for every subsequent insertion. Advertisements of less than 10 lines considered as a square. The subjoined rates will be charged for Quarterly, Half-Yearly and Yearly advertisements:
3 months. 6 months. 12 months.
Square, \$3.00 \$4.50 \$6.00
do. 5.00 6.50 8.00
do. 7.00 8.50 10.00
2 column, 8.00 9.50 12.00
do. 15.00 20.00 25.00
do. 25.00 35.00 50.00
Advertisements not having the number of insertions desired marked upon them, will be published until ordered and charged accordingly.
Posters, Handbills, Bill-Heads, Letter-Heads and all kinds of Jobbing done in country establishments, executed neatly and promptly. Justices, Constables and other BLANKS constantly on hand.

every contested case since the commencement of the present administration; though often it is to be regretted, with great loss and inconvenience to the master, and with considerable expense to the government. Let us trust that the State legislatures will repeal their unconstitutional and obnoxious enactments. Unless this shall be done without unnecessary delay, it is impossible for any human power to save the Union.

The Southern States, standing on the basis of the Constitution, have a right to demand 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 willfully violated by one portion of them in a provision essential to the domestic security and happiness of the remainder. In that event, the injured States, after having first used all peaceful and constitutional means to obtain redress, would be justified in revolutionary resistance to the Government of the Union.

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

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

Such a principle is wholly inconsistent with the history as well as the character of the Federal Constitution. After it was framed, with the greatest deliberation and care, it was submitted to conventions of the people of the States for ratification. Its provisions were discussed at length in these bodies, composed of the first men of the country. Its opponents contended that it conferred powers upon the Federal Government dangerous to the rights of the States, whilst its advocates maintained that under a fair construction of the instrument there was no foundation for such apprehensions. In that mighty struggle between the first intellects of this or any other country, it never occurred to any individual, either among its opponents or advocates, to assert, or even to intimate, that their efforts were all vain labor, because the moment that any State felt herself aggrieved she might secede from the Union. What a crushing argument would this have proved against those who dreaded that the rights of the States would be endangered by the Constitution. The truth is, that it was not until many years after the origin of the Federal Government that such a proposition was first advanced. It was then met and refuted by the conclusive arguments of General Jackson, who in his message of 16th January, 1835, transmitting the nullifying ordinance of South Carolina to Congress, employs the following language:—"The right of the people of a single State to absolve themselves at will, and without the consent of the other States, from their most solemn obligations, and hazard the liberty and happiness of the millions composing this Union, cannot be acknowledged. Such authority is believed to be utterly repugnant both to the principles upon which the Federal Government is constituted and to the objects which it was expressly formed to attain."

It is not pretended that any clause in the Constitution gives countenance to such a theory. It is altogether founded upon inference, not from any language contained in the instrument itself, but from the sovereign character of the several States by which it was ratified. But is it 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 the States—that is, by the people in each of the States, acting in their highest sovereign capacity; and formed consequently by the same authority which formed the State constitutions."

"Nor is the Government of the United States, created by the Constitution, less a Government in the strict sense of the term, within the sphere of its powers, than the government created by the constitutions of the States are, within their several spheres. It is, like them, organized into legislative, executive, and judiciary departments. It operates, like them, directly on persons and things; and, like them, it has as command a physical force for executing the powers committed to it."

It was intended to be perpetual, and not to be annulled at the pleasure of any one of the contending parties. The old articles of Confederation were entitled "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States;" and by the 13th article it is expressly declared that "the articles of this Confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State, and the Union shall be perpetual." The preamble to the Constitution of the United States, having express reference to the articles of Confederation, recites that it was established "in order to form a more perfect union." And yet it is contended that this "more perfect union" does not include the essential attribute of perpetuity.

But that the Union was designed to be perpetual appears conclusively from the nature and extent of the powers conferred by the Constitution on the Federal Government. These powers embrace the very highest attributes of national sovereignty. They place both the sword and the purse under its control. Congress has power to make war, and to make