

THE AGITATOR.

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

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

VOL. VII. WELLSBORO, TIOGA COUNTY, PA., WEDNESDAY MORNING, MARCH 13, 1861. NO. 32.

Rates of Advertising.

Advertisements will be charged per square of 10 lines, one or three lines, and cents for every subsequent line. Advance payment is required. The following rates will be charged for Quarterly, Half-Yearly and Yearly advertisements:

	3 MONTHS.	6 MONTHS.	12 MONTHS.
Square	\$4.00	\$6.00	\$8.00
do. 2 columns	7.00	10.00	13.00
do. 3 columns	9.00	12.50	16.00
do. 4 columns	11.00	15.00	19.00
do. 5 columns	13.00	17.50	22.00
do. 6 columns	15.00	20.00	25.00
do. 7 columns	17.00	22.50	28.00
do. 8 columns	19.00	25.00	31.00
do. 9 columns	21.00	27.50	34.00
do. 10 columns	23.00	30.00	37.00

Advertisements not being the number of insertions desired marked upon them, will be published until ordered out 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.

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 insertion of a printed label on the margin of each paper. The paper will then be stopped until further remittance be 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 subscriber within the county limits, but whose most convenient post office may be in an adjoining County.

Business Cards, not exceeding 3 lines, paper included, 55 per year.

BUSINESS DIRECTORY.

JAS. LOWREY & S. F. WILSON,
ATTORNEYS & COUNSELLORS AT LAW, will attend the Court of Tioiga, Potter and McKean counties. (Wellsboro, Feb. 1, 1861.)

C. N. DARTT, DENTIST,
OFFICE at his residence near the Academy. All work pertaining to his line of business done promptly and warranted. (April 22, 1858.)

DICKINSON HOUSE
CORNING, N. Y.
MRS. A. FIELD, Proprietor. Guests taken to and from the Depot free of charge.

J. C. WHITTAKER,
Hydroptic Physician and Surgeon.
ELLERLAND, TIOGA CO., PENNA.
Will visit patients in all parts of the County, or receive them for treatment at his house. (June 14.)

J. EMBRY,
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW
Wellsboro, Tioiga 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-furnished throughout, is now open to the public as a first-class house.

ISAAC 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 Pennsylvania. No pains will be spared for the accommodation of pleasure seekers and the traveling public. April 22, 1860.

H. O. 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 any city or town. Preparations for removing dandruff, and beautifying the hair, for sale hair and whiskers dyed any color. Call and see. Wellsboro, Sept. 22, 1859.

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 Republican in politics and has a circulation reaching into every part of Steuben County. These desirous of extending their business into that and the adjoining counties will find it an excellent advertising medium. Address as above.

FURS! FURS! FURS!
The subscriber has just received a large assortment of Furs for ladies wear, consisting of FITCH CAPES & VICTORINES, FRENCH SABLE CAPES & VICTORINES, RIVER MINK CAPES & MURS, KOOK MARTIN CAPES & VICTORINES. These comprise a small quantity of the assortment. They have been bought at low prices and will be sold at extremely low prices for cash, at the New Hat Store in Cornning, N. Y. S. P. QUICK.

CHOICE LOT of the best imported Italian and German.

VIOLIN STRINGS.
Bass Viol strings, Guitars strings, Tuning Forks &c., just received of the NEW DRUG STORE.

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

PICTURE FRAMING.
TOILET GLASSES, Perf. sets, Pictures, Certificates &c. Engravings, Needles, Pins, and all other goods in the most desirable manner, in silk and ornamented Gilt. Blue 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, Tioiga Co., Pa., and is prepared by thirty years' experience to treat all diseases of the eyes and their appendages on scientific principles, and that he can cure without fail, the Venereal disease, called "St. Vitis" Disease. (Chorea Serena) and will attend to any other business in the line of Physic and Surgery. Elkland Boro, August 8, 1860.

McINROY & BAILEY,
WOULD inform the public, that having purchased the Mill property, known as "McGILLVER MILL," and having received the machinery, they are now prepared to do

CUSTOM WORK
to the entire satisfaction of their patrons. With the aid of our experienced miller, M. L. D. Mitchell, and the co-operation of the proprietors, they intend to keep up an establishment second to none in the county. They will pay for wheat and corn, and the highest market prices given. E. W. McINROY, J. W. BAILEY. March 15, 1860. ft.

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

NEW HAT AND CAP STORE.
The Subscriber has just opened in this place a new Hat and Cap Store, where he intends to manufacture and keep on hand a large and general assortment of Fashionable Silk and Cassimere Hats, and all my own manufacture, which will be sold at hard times prices.

SILK HATS
made to order on short notice.
The Hats made at this Store are fitted with a French Confomature, which makes them soft and easy to the head without the trouble of breaking your head to the hat. Store in the New Block opposite the Dickinson House. S. P. QUICK.
Cornning, Aug. 15, 1859.

10,000 lbs. Pork for Sale.
WILL sell extra HEAVY MESS PORK at \$19.75 per barrel, or retail by the pound at 10 cts., and warranted the best in town. M. M. CONVERSE.
June 14, 1860.

AN INDEPENDENT FARMER.

Let sailors sing of the windy deep,
Let soldiers praise the armor,
But in my heart this (oast I'll keep,
The Independent Farmer;
When first the sun, in robe of green
Unfolds its crimson lining,
And 'round his cottage porch is seen
The honey-suckle twining;
When banks of bloom their sweetness yield
To bees that gather honey,
He drives his team across the field,
Where skies are soft and balmy.

The black bird culls behind his plow,
The quail pipes loud and clearly,
You orchard hides behind its boughs
The dove loves so dearly;
The gray old barn whose doors unfold
His ample store in measure,
More rich than heaps of hoarded gold,
A precious, blessed treasure;
But yonder in the porch there stands
His wife, the lovely charmer,
The sweetest rose on all the lands—
The Independent Farmer.

THE MAIL ROBBER.

Fourteen years ago I drove from Littleton, a distance of forty-two miles, and, as I had to wait the arrival of two or three coaches, did not start until after dinner; so I very often had a good distance to drive after dark. It was in the dead of winter, and the season had been a tough one. A great deal of snow had fallen, and the drifts were plenty and deep. The mail that I carried was not due at Littleton, but the contract, until one o'clock in the morning, but that winter the postmaster was very often obliged to sit up a little later than that for me.

One day in January, when I drove up for my mail at Danbury, the postmaster called me into his office.

"Pete," says he, with an important, serious look, "there's some pretty heavy money packages in that bag;" and he pointed to the bag as he spoke. He said the money was from Boston to some land agents up near the Canada line. Then he asked me if I'd got any passengers who were going through to Littleton. I told him I did not know, but "suppose I harn't," says I.

"Why," says he, "the agent of the lower route came in to-day, and he says that there have been two suspicious characters on the stage that came up last night; and he suspects that they have an eye upon the mail, so that it will stand you in hand to be a little careful."

He said the agent had described one of them as a short, thick set fellow, about forty years of age, with long hair, and a thick heavy clump of beard under the chin, but none on the side of his face. He didn't know anything about the other. I told the old fellow I guessed there was not much danger.

"Oh, no not if you have got passengers through; but I only told you this so you might look out for your mail, and look out for it when you change horses."

I answered that I should do so, and then took the bag under my arm and left the office. I stowed the mail under my seat a little more careful than usual, placing it so that I could keep my feet against it; but beyond this I did not feel any concern. It was past one when I started, and I had four passengers, two of whom rode on to my first stopping place. I reached Gowen's Mills at dark, when we stopped for supper, and where my other two passengers concluded to stop for the night.

About six o'clock in the evening I left Gowen's Mills alone, having two horses and an open pump.

I had seventeen miles to go—and a hard seventeen it was too. The night was quite clear, but the wind was sharp and cold, the long snow flying in all directions, while the drifts were deep and closely packed. It was slow, tedious work, and my horses soon became leg weary and restive. At the distance of six miles I came to a settlement called Bull's Corners where I took fresh horses. I'd been two hours going that distance. Just as I was going to start a man came up and asked if I was going through to Littleton. I told him I should go through if the thing could possibly be done. He said he was very anxious to go, and as he had no baggage, I told him to jump in and make himself as comfortable as possible. I was gathering up my lines when the hostler came up and asked me if I knew that one of my horses had cut himself badly? I jumped out and went with him, and found that one of the animals had got a deep cork cut on the off fore foot. I gave such directions as I considered necessary, and was about to turn away when the hostler remarked that he thought I came alone. I told him I did.

"Then were did you get that passenger?" said he.

"He just got in," I answered.

"Got it from where?"

"I don't know."

"Well now," said the hostler, "that's kind o' curious. There ain't no such man been at the house, and I know there ain't been none at any of the neighbor's."

"Let's have a look at his face," said I, "we can get that much at any rate. Do you go back with me, and when I get into the pump, just hold your lantern so that the light will shine into his face."

He did as I wished, and as I stepped into the pug I got a fair view of such portions of a passenger's face as were not muffled up. I saw a short, thick frame; full, hardy features, and I could see that there was a heavy beard under the chin. I thought of the man whom the postmaster had described to me; but I didn't think seriously upon it until I had started. Perhaps I had got a half a mile when I noticed that the mail bag wasn't in its old place under my feet.

"Hallo!" says I, holding up my horses a little, "where's my mail?"

My passenger sat on the seat behind me, and I turned toward him.

"under my feet," he said, giving it a kick, as though he'd shoved it forward.

Just at this moment my horses lumbered into a deep snow-drift, and I was forced to get out and tread the snow down ahead of them, and lead through it.

This took me all of fifteen minutes, and when I got in again I pulled the mail bag forward and got my feet upon it. As I was doing this I saw the man take something from his lap, beneath the buffalo, and put it in his breast pocket. At first I thought it was a pistol—I had caught a gleam of the barrel in the star light, and when I had time to reflect, I knew I could not be mistaken.

About this time I began to think somewhat seriously. From what I had heard and seen, I soon made up my mind that the individual behind me not only meant to rob the mail, but he was prepared to rob me of my life. If I resisted him he would shoot me, and perhaps he meant to perform that delicate job at any rate. While I was pondering, the horses fell into another deep snow-drift and I was again forced to get out and tread down the snow before them. I asked my passenger if he would help me, but he said he didn't feel very well, would't try it; so I worked alone, and was all of a quarter of an hour getting my team through the drifts. When I got into the sleigh again, I began to feel for the mail bag with my feet, and found it where I had left it; but when I attempted to withdraw my feet, I discovered that it had become entangled in something. I thought it the buffalo, and tried to kick it clear; but the more I kicked the more closely was it held. I reached down my hand and after feeling about a few minutes, I found that my foot was in the mailbag! I felt again, and found my hand among the packages of letters and papers, I ran my fingers over the edges of the opening, and became assured that the stout leather had been cut with a knife.

Here was a discovery. I began to wish I had taken a little more forethought before leaving Danbury; but as I knew that making such wishes was only a waste of time, I quickly gave it up, and began to consider what I had best do under the existing circumstances. I wasn't long in making up my mind upon a few essential points. First, the man behind me was a villain; second he had cut open the mail bag and robbed it of some valuable matter. He must have known the money letters by their size and shape; third, he meant to leave the stage on the first opportunity; and fourthly, he was prepared to shoot me if I attempted to arrest or detain him.

I revolved these things over in my mind, and pretty soon I thought of a course to pursue. I knew that to get my hands safely upon the rascal, I must take him unawares, and this I could not do while he was behind me for his eyes were upon me all the time, so I must resort to stratagem. Only a little distance ahead of me was a house. An old farmer named Lougee lived there, and directly in front of it was a large snow bank, stretched across the road, through which a track for wagons had been cleared with shovels.

As we approached the cot I saw a light in the front room, as I felt confident I should, for the old man generally sat up until the stage went by. I drove on, and when nearly opposite the dwelling, stood up, as I had frequently done when approaching difficult places. I saw the snow bank ahead, and could distinguish the deep cut which had been shoveled through it. I urged my horses to a good speed, and when near the bank forced them into it.

One of the runners mounted the edge of the bank, after which the other ran into the cut, thus throwing the sleigh over about as quick as though lightning had struck it. My passenger had not calculated on any such movement, and wasn't prepared for it; but he had calculated, and was prepared. He rolled out into the deep snow, with a heavy buffalo robe about him, while I lighted upon my feet directly on the top of him. I punched his head in the snow and then sang out for old Lougee. I did not have to call a second time, for the farmer had come to the window to see me pass, and as soon as he saw my sleigh overturned, he had lighted his lantern and hurried out.

"What's to pay," asked the old man, as he hurried out.

"Lead the horses into the track, and then come here," said I.

As I spoke I partially loosened my hold upon the villain's throat, and he drew a pistol from his bosom; but I saw it in season, and jammed his head into the snow again, and got the weapon away from him. By this time Lougee had led the horses out and came back, and I explained the matter to him in a few words as possible. We hauled the rascal out into the road, and upon examination we found about twenty packages of letters which he had stolen from the mailbag, and stowed away in his pockets. He swore and threatened and prayed; but we paid no attention to his blarney. Lougee got some stout cord, and when we had securely bound the villain, we tumbled him into the pug. I asked the old man if he would accompany me to Littleton, and he said "of course." So he got his overcoat and muffler, and ere long we started.

I reached the end of my route with my mail safe, though not as snug as it might have been, and my mail bag a little the worse for the game he had played upon it. However, the mail robber was secure, and within a week he was identified by some officers from Concord as an old offender, and I'm rather inclined to the opinion, that he's in the State's prison at the present moment. At any rate, he was there the last I heard of him.

A widow lady, sitting by a cheerful fire in a meditative mood, shortly after her husband's decease, sighed out: "Poor fellow, how he did like a good fire. I hope he has gone where they keep good fires!"

"Ah, Doctor, how is my wife to day?" The Doctor shook his head and said: "You must prepare for the worst." "What!" exclaimed the alarmed husband, "is she likely to recover?"

Unsocial old snarl says that love is a combination of diseases—an affection of the heart and an inflammation of the brain.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

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 for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement.

Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern 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 a 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 the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as the gravest of crimes.

I now reiterate these sentiments, and in doing so I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace and security of no section are to be in anywise endangered by the new incoming 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, as 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 lawgiver is the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole constitution, to this provision as much as 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 by little consequence to him or to others by which authority it is done. And should any one, in any case, be content that this 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 be not, 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 the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." I take the official oath today with no mental reservations, and with no purpose to construe the constitution or laws by any hypercritical 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 unrepented, 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 different and greatly distinguished citizens have in succession administered the executive branch of the government. They have conducted it through many perils, and 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 difficulties. A disruption of the federal Union, heretofore only menaced, is now fearfully attempted. I hold that, in 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 government proper never 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 a contract merely, can it as a contract be peaceably annulled 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 matured and continued in 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 the destruction of the Union by one or by a part only of the States be lawfully possible, the Union is less 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 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. I shall perfectly perform it, so far as is practicable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisition, or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary. I trust 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 need be no bloodshed or violence, and there shall be none, unless it is 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 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 amongst the people anywhere.

Where hostility to the United States 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 that object. While the strict legal right may exist of 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 uses 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 accordingly to the 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. But 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 well to ascertain if we do it, will you hazard so desperate a step while there is any portion of the ills you fly from that have no real existence? Will you, while the certain ills 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 right were a vital one. But such is not the case.

All the vital rights of minorities and of individuals are so plainly assured to them by affirmations and negations, guarantees and prohibitions, 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 by State authority? 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 constitutional controversies, and 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 alternative for continuing the government but acquiescence on the one side or the other. If a minority in such a case will secede rather than acquiesce, they make a precedent which in turn will ruin and divide them, for a minority of their own will secede from them whenever a majority refuses to be controlled by such a minority. For instance, why 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 perfect identity of interests among the States to comprise a new Union as to produce harmony only and prevent renewed secession. Plainly, the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy.

A majority held to restraint by constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinion and sentiments, is the only true sovereignty of a free people. Whoever 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 parted in their own, unless 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 into political questions. 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; and 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 ever 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 an 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. Is 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 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, 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 freely recognize the full 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 specially chosen for the purpose, and which might not be precisely such as they would wish themselves to accept or refuse. I understand a proposed 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 States, including that of persons held to service. To avoid misconstruction of most 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 upon him to fix the terms for the separation of the States.—The people themselves can also do this, 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, and to transmit it unimpaired by him to his successor. Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? In our present differences, is either party without faith of being in the right? If the Almighty ruler of nations, with His eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth and that justice will surely prevail by the judgment of this great tribunal—the American people. By the frame of the government under which we live, this same people have wisely given their public servants but little power for mischief, and have, with equal