

# 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 CHASE, AGITATION MUST CONTINUE.

VOL. IX. WELLSBORO, TIOGA COUNTY, PA., WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 1, 1863. NO. 46.

Advertisements will be charged \$1 per square of 10 lines, one or three insertions, and 20 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.
1 Square,.....	\$3.00	\$4.50	\$8.00
2 do. ....	5.00	6.50	8.00
3 do. ....	7.00	8.50	10.00
1 Column,.....	5.00	6.50	8.00
2 do. ....	15.00	20.00	25.00
3 do. ....	25.00	35.00	40.00

Advertisements not having 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.

**The Tioga County Agitator:**  
BY M. H. COBB.  
Published every Wednesday morning, and mailed to subscribers at ONE DOLLAR AND FIFTY CENTS per year, always IN ADVANCE.  
The paper is sent free to county subscribers, though they may receive it at post-office in the county immediately adjoining, for convenience.  
The Agitator is the official paper of Tioga Co., and circulates in every neighborhood therein. Subscriptions being on the advance-pay system, it circulates among a class most to the interest of advertisers to reach. Terms to agents as liberal as those offered by any paper of equal circulation in Northern Pennsylvania.  
A cross on the margin of a paper, denotes that the subscription is about to expire.  
Papers will be stopped when the subscription time expires, unless they agent orders their continuance.

**JAS. LOWRE & S. F. WILSON,**  
ATTORNEYS & COUNSELLORS AT LAW,  
Wellsboro, Pa.  
Will attend the courts of Tioga, Potter and McKean counties.

**JOHN S. MANN,**  
ATTORNEY & COUNSELLOR AT LAW,  
Connersport, Pa., will attend the several Courts in Potter and McKean counties. All business entrusted to his care will receive prompt attention. He has the agency of large tracts of good settling land, and will attend to the payment of taxes on any lands in said counties.  
Jan. 28, 1863.

**J. CAMPBELL, JR.,**  
Knoxville, Tioga County, Pa.  
ATTORNEY & COUNSELLOR AT LAW.  
Prompt attention given to the procuring of Pensions, Back Pay of Soldiers, &c.  
Jan. 7, 1863.—6m.

**DICKINSON HOUSE,**  
CORNING, N. Y.  
Proprietor.  
MAY A. FIELD, Proprietor.  
GUESTS taken to and from the Depot free of charge.  
[Jan. 1, 1863.]

**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 hotel.  
[Jan. 1, 1863.]

**IZAAK WALTON HOUSE,**  
Gaines, Tioga County, Pa.  
H. C. VERMILY, Proprietor.  
THIS is a new hotel, within easy access of the best of the game and hunting grounds in Northern Pennsylvania. No pains will be spared for the accommodation of present seekers and the traveling public.  
[Jan. 1, 1863.]

**EAGLE'S HOUSE,**  
THOMAS GRAVE, Proprietor.  
THIS Hotel, kept for some time by David Hart, is being repaired and furnished anew. The subscriber has leased it for a term of years, where he may be found ready to wait upon his old customers and the traveling public generally. His table will be provided with the best of the market. At his bar may be found the choicest brands of liquors and cigars.  
[Wellsboro, Jan. 21, 1863.—1f.]

**WELLSBORO HOTEL,**  
B. B. HOLIDAY, Proprietor.  
THE Proprietor has taken possession of the above Hotel, and is now open to the public. The subscriber has leased it for a term of years, where he may be found ready to wait upon his old customers and the traveling public generally. His table will be provided with the best of the market. At his bar may be found the choicest brands of liquors and cigars.  
[Wellsboro, Jan. 21, 1863.—1f.]

**A. FOLEY,**  
Watches, Clocks, Jewelry, &c., &c.,  
REPAIRED AT LOW PRICES.  
POST OFFICE BUILDING,  
NO. 5, UNION BLOCK.  
Wellsboro, May 20, 1863.

**E. B. BLACK,**  
BARBER & HAIR-DRESSER,  
SHOP-OVER G. WILCOX'S STORE,  
NO. 4, UNION BLOCK.  
Wellsboro, June 24, 1863.

**MARBLE SHOP.**  
I AM now receiving a STOCK OF ITALIAN and RUTLAND MARBLE, (bought with cash) and am prepared to manufacture all kinds of  
**TOMB STONES**  
and MONUMENTS at the lowest prices.  
HARVEY ADAMS, my authorized agent and will sell Stone at the lowest prices at the shop.  
WE HAVE BUT ONE PRICE.  
Tioga, May 29, 1862.—1f. A. D. COLE.

**FLOUR AND FEED STORE,**  
WRIGHT & BAILEY  
HAVE had their mill thoroughly repaired and are receiving fresh ground flour, feed, meal, &c., every day at their store in town. Cash paid for all kinds of grain.  
Wellsboro, April 29, 1863.

**Q. W. WELLINGTON & CO'S BANK,**  
CORNING, N. Y.  
(LOCATED IN THE DICKINSON HOUSE.)  
American Gold and Silver Coin bought and sold.  
New York Exchange, do.  
Current Money, do.  
United States Demand Notes "old issue" bought.  
Collections made in all parts of the Union at Current rates of Exchange. The disbursements of the Particulars will be taken to accommodate our patrons from the Tioga Valley. Our office will be open at 7 A. M., and close at 7 P. M., giving parties passing over the Tioga Railroad ample time to transact their business before the departure of the train in the morning, and after its arrival in the evening.  
Q. W. WELLINGTON, President.  
Corning, N. Y., Nov. 12, 1862.

**HOMESTEAD.**  
A NEW STOVE AND TIN SHOP HAS  
Just been opened in Tioga, Penna., where may be found a good assortment of Cooking, Parlor and Box Stoves, of the most approved patterns, and from the best manufacturers. The HOMESTEAD is admitted to be the best "Heated Oven Stove" in the market.  
"GOLDEN AGE" and "GOOD HOPE" are square, flat top light stoves, with large ovens, with many advantages over any other stove before made. Parlor Stoves, The Signet and Capstan are both very neat and superior stoves.  
Also Tin, Copper and Sheet Iron work, kept constantly on hand and made to order of the best material and workmanship, all of which will be sold at the lowest figures for cash or ready pay.  
Job work of all kinds attended to on call.  
Tioga, Jan. 14, 1863. QUERNSBY & SMEAD.

**Wool Carding and Cloth Dressing.**  
THE subscriber informs his old customers and the public generally, that he is prepared to card, wash and dress cloth, the old stand, the coming season, having secured the services of Mr. J. PEET, a competent and experienced workman, and also intending to give his personal attention to the business, he will warrant all work done at his shop.  
Wool carded at five cents per pound, and cloth dressed at from ten to twenty cents per yard per color and finish.  
J. I. JACKSON.  
Wellsboro, May 6, 1863.—1f.

**JOHN A. ROY,**  
DEALER IN DRUGS AND MEDICINES,  
Chemicals, Blinds, Paints, Dyes, Soaps, Perfumery, Brushes, Blinds, Toys, Fancy Goods, Pure Wines, Bragades, &c., and other Liquors for medicinal use. Agent for the sale of all the best Patent Medicines of the day. Medicines warranted genuine and of the best quality.

**BEST QUALITY.**  
The best Patented Medicines accurately compounded. The best Patented Pills, which is superior to any other for burning in Kerosine. Also, all other kinds of Oils usually kept in a first-class Drug Store.  
FANCY DYE COLORS in packages all ready compounded, for the use of private families. Also, Pure Leaf Sugar for medicinal compounds.  
Wellsboro, June 21, 1863.—1f.

## Original Poetry.

[For the Agitator.]  
**CONCEALING AND REVEALING.**  
"Never laughing, never weeping, only smiling,"  
Hidden—Heart—thy path is lonely!  
Answered thou by smiling wanly,  
Ever smiling, smiling only.  
But it seemeth bitter smiling;  
Better frowns the hours beguiling,  
Rather pain the moments whiling,  
For a change. What is it, eating  
Ripeness from thy lip? This heating  
Throbbing heart? This sudden heating,  
Glowing, of thy neck and forehead?  
"Thy one wild-flower borrowed,  
Light and life, from one, the Torrid!  
Unforgiving! One has said it—  
And 'tis well that we should heed it,  
Times enough in which we need it."  
"Sinful, quite as any craven,  
Flapping black wings like a raven,  
Heart, unfit to be forgiven!"  
Bitter fruit Pride's tree is bearing—  
Still you smile as if unconscious—  
Thy soul is sackcloth wearing.  
Thank the Father!—now you're weeping;  
All thy hidden feelings, sleeping,  
Into consciousness are leaping.  
Now your arms are round me twining—  
Ah, this sweet, sweet undarming!  
Now you tell me all your pining,  
And the birds are singing sweeter,  
And the brooks are running faster,  
And our joy is the completer,  
That the clouds before the shower,  
High the sunlight from our bowers;  
Sands of gold enfame this hour.

## Political.

### PRESIDENT LINCOLN ON ARBITRARY ARRESTS.

The President of the United States, in answer to a memorial of the meeting held at Albany on the 16th, to protest against the seizure and confinement of Mr. Vallandigham, has addressed a remarkable letter to Hon. Erastus Corning and other representatives of the meeting. The resolutions of this meeting declare that Democrats are determined, in despite of adverse and disheartening circumstances, to devote every energy to sustain the cause of Union, and to secure peace through victory, but demand that the Administration shall be true to the Constitution, and everywhere outside of the lines of necessary military occupation, exert all its powers to maintain the supremacy of civil over military law. The President's reply, characterized by his well-known sincerity, answers the question of the necessity, constitutionality, and patriotism of his acts:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,  
WASHINGTON, June 12, 1863.  
Hon. Erastus Corning, and others:  
GENTLEMEN: Your letter of May 19, enclosing the resolutions of a public meeting held in Albany, New York, on the 16th of the same month, was received several days ago.

The resolutions, as I understand them, are resolvable into two propositions—first, the expression of a purpose to sustain the cause of the Union, to secure peace through victory, and to support the administration in every constitutional and lawful measure to suppress the rebellion; and secondly, a declaration of censure upon the Administration for supposed unconstitutional action, such as the making of military arrests. And, from the two propositions, a third is deduced, which is that the gentlemen composing the meeting are resolved on doing their part to maintain our common Government and country, despite the folly or wickedness, as they may conceive, of any Administration. This position is eminently patriotic, and as such, I thank the meeting, and congratulate the nation for it. My own purpose is the same, so that the meeting and myself have a common object, and can have no difference, except in the choice of means or measures for effecting that object.

And here I ought to close this paper, and would close it, if there were no apprehension that more injurious consequences than any merely personal to myself might follow the censures systematically cast upon me for doing what, in my view of duty, I could not forbear. The resolutions promise to support me in every constitutional and lawful measure to suppress the rebellion; and I have not knowingly employed, nor shall I knowingly employ, any other. But the meeting, by their resolutions, assert, and argue that certain military arrests, and proceedings following them, for which I am ultimately responsible, are unconstitutional. I think they are not. The resolutions quote from the Constitution the definition of treason, and also the limiting safeguards and guarantees therein provided for the citizen on trials for treason, and on his being held to answer for capital or otherwise infamous crimes, and in criminal prosecutions, his right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury. They proceed to resolve "that these safeguards of the rights of the citizen against the pretensions of military power were intended more especially for his protection in times of civil commotion." And, apparently to demonstrate the proposition, the resolutions proceed: "They were secured substantially to the English people after years of protracted civil war, and were adopted into our Constitution at the close of the Revolution." Would not the demonstration have been better if it could have been truly said that these safeguards had been adopted and applied during the civil wars and during our Revolution, instead of after the one and at the close of the other? I, too, am devotedly for them after civil war and before civil war, and at all times, "except when, in cases of rebellion and invasion, the public safety may require" their suspension. The resolutions proceed to tell us that these safeguards "have stood the test of seventy-six years of trial, under our republican system, under circumstances which show that, while they constitute the foundation of all free government, they are the elements of the enduring stability of the Republic." No one

denies that they have stood the test up to the beginning of the present rebellion, if we except a certain occurrence at New Orleans; nor does any one question that they will stand the same test much longer after the rebellion closes. But these provisions of the Constitution have no application to the case we have in hand, because the arrests complained of were not made for treason; that is, not for the treason defined in the Constitution, and upon the conviction of which, the punishment is death; nor yet were they made to hold persons to answer for any capital or otherwise infamous crimes; nor were the proceedings following, in any constitutional or legal sense, "criminal prosecutions." The arrests were made on totally different grounds, and the proceedings following accorded with the grounds of the arrests. Let us consider the real case with which we are dealing, and apply to it the parts of the Constitution plainly made for such cases.

Prior to my installation here it had been intimated that any State had a lawful right to secede from the national Union, and that it would be expedient to exercise the right when the devotees of the doctrine should fall to elect a President to their own liking. I was elected contrary to their liking; and, accordingly, so far as it was legally possible, they had taken seven States out of the Union, had seized many of the United States forts, and had fired upon the United States flag, all before I was inaugurated, and, of course, before I had done any official act whatever. The rebellion thus began soon ran into the present civil war; and, in certain respects, it began on very unequal terms between the parties. The insurgents had been preparing for it more than thirty years, while the Government had taken no steps to resist them. The former had carefully considered all the means which could be turned to their account. It undoubtedly was a well-pondered reliance with them that in their own unrestricted efforts to destroy Union, Constitution, and law, all together, the Government would, in great degree, be restrained by the same Constitution and law from arresting their progress. Their sympathizers pervaded all departments of the Government and nearly all communities of the people. From this material, under cover of "liberty of speech," "liberty of the press," and "habeas corpus," they hoped to keep on foot amongst us a most efficient corps of spies, informers, suppliers, and aiders and abettors of their cause in a thousand ways. They knew that in times such as these were inaugurating, by the Constitution itself, the habeas corpus might be suspended; but they also knew they had friends who would make a question as to who was to suspend it; meanwhile their spies and other might remain at large to help on their cause. Or, if, as has happened, the Executive should suspend the writ, without ruinous waste of time, instances of arresting innocent persons might occur, as are always likely to occur in such cases; and then a clamor could be raised in regard to this, which might be, at least, of some service to the insurgent cause. It needed no very keen perception to discover this part of the enemy's programme, so soon as by open hostilities their machinery was fairly put in motion. Yet, thoroughly imbued with a reverence for the guaranteed rights of individuals, I was slow to adopt the strong measures which by degrees I have been forced to regard as being within the exceptions of the Constitution, and as indispensable to the public safety. Nothing is better known to history than that courts of justice are utterly incompetent to such cases. Civil courts are organized chiefly for trials of individuals, or at most, a few individuals acting in concert, and this in quiet times, and on charges of crimes well defined in the law. Even in times of peace bands of horse-thieves and robbers frequently grow too numerous and powerful for the ordinary courts of justice. But what comparison in numbers have such bands ever borne to the insurgent sympathizers, even in many of the loyal States? Again, a jury too frequently has at least one member more ready to hang the panel than to hang the traitor. And yet, again, he who dissuades one man from volunteering, or induces one soldier to desert, weakens the Union cause as much as he who kills a Union soldier in battle. Yet this dissuasion or inducement may be so conducted as to be no defined crime of which any civil court would take cognizance.

Ours is a case of rebellion—so called by the resolutions before me—in fact, a clear, flagrant, and gigantic case of rebellion; and the provision of the Constitution that "the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when, in case of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it," is the provision which specially applies to our present case. This provision plainly attests the understanding of those who made the Constitution, that ordinary courts of justice are inadequate to "cases of rebellion;" attests their purpose that, in such cases, men may be held in custody whom the courts, acting on ordinary rules, would discharge. Habeas corpus does not discharge men who are proved to be guilty of defined crime; and its suspension is allowed by the Constitution on purpose that men may be arrested and held who cannot be proved to be guilty of defined crime, "when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it." This is precisely our present case, a case of rebellion, wherein the public safety does require the suspension. Indeed, arrests by process of courts, and arrests in cases of rebellion, do not proceed altogether upon the same basis. The former is directed at the small percentage of ordinary and continuous perpetration of crime, while the latter is directed at sudden and extensive uprisings against the Government, which, at most, will succeed or fail in no great length of time. In the latter case, arrests are made, not so much for what has been done, as for what probably would be done. The latter is more for the preventive and less for the vindictive than the former. In such cases the purposes of men are much more easily understood than in cases of ordinary crime. The man who stands by and says nothing when the peril of his Government is discussed, cannot be misunderstood. If he hindered, he is sure to help the enemy; much more, if he talks ambiguously, talks for his country with "but's" and "ifs" and "ands." Of how lit-

tle value the constitutional provisions I have quoted will be rendered, if arrests shall never be made until defined crimes shall have been committed, may be illustrated by a few notable examples. General John C. Breckinridge, General Robert E. Lee, General Joseph E. Johnston, General John B. Magruder, General William B. Preston, General Simon E. Buckner, and Commodore Franklin Buchanan, now occupying the very highest places in the rebel war service, were all within the power of the Government since the rebellion began, and were nearly as well known to be traitors then as now. Unquestionably, if we had seized and held them, the insurgent cause would be much weaker. But none of them had then committed any crime defined in the law. Every one of them, if arrested, would have been discharged on habeas corpus were the writ allowed to operate. In view of these and similar cases, I think the time not unlikely to come when I shall be blamed for having made too few arrests rather than too many.

By the third resolution the meeting indicate their opinion that military arrests may be constitutional in localities where rebellion actually exists, but that such arrests are unconstitutional in localities where rebellion or insurrection does not actually exist. They insist that such arrests shall not be made "outside of the lines of necessary military occupation, and the scenes of insurrection." Inasmuch, however, as the Constitution itself makes no such distinction, I am unable to believe there is any such constitutional distinction. I concede that the class of arrests complained of can be constitutional only when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require them; and I insist that, in such cases, they are constitutional wherever the public safety does require them; as well in places to which they may prevent the rebellion extending, as in those where they may already prevail; as well where they may restrain mischievous interference with the raising and supplying of armies to suppress the rebellion, as where the rebellion may actually be, as well where they may restrain the ending men out of the army, as where they would prevent mutiny in the army; equally constitutional at all places where they will conduce to the public safety, as against the dangers of rebellion or invasion. Take the particular case mentioned by the meeting. It is asserted, in substance, that Mr. Vallandigham was, by a military commander, seized and tried, "for no other reason than words addressed to a public meeting, in criticism of the Administration, and in condemnation of the military orders of the general." Now, if there be no mistake about this; if this assertion is the truth, and the whole truth; if there was no other reason for the arrest, then I concede that the arrest was wrong. But the arrest, as I understand, was made for a very different reason. Mr. Vallandigham avowed his hostility to the war on the part of the Union; and his arrest was made because he was laboring, with some effect, to prevent the raising of troops; to encourage desertions from the army, and to leave the rebellion without an adequate military force to suppress it. He was not arrested because he was damaging the political prospects of the Administration, or the personal interests of the commanding general, but because he was damaging the army; upon the existence and vigor of which the life of a nation depends. He was warning upon the military, and this gave the military constitutional jurisdiction to lay hands upon him. If Mr. Vallandigham was not damaging the military power of the country, then his arrest was made on mistake of fact, which I would be glad to correct on reasonably satisfactory evidence.

I understand the meeting, whose resolutions I am considering, to be in favor of suppressing the rebellion by military force—by armies. Long experience has shown that armies cannot be maintained unless desertion shall be punished by the severe penalty of death. The case requires, and the law and the Constitution sanction this punishment. Must I shoot a simple-minded soldier boy who deserts, while I must not touch a hair of a wily agitator who induces him to desert? This is none the less injurious when effected by getting a father, or brother, or friend, into a public meeting, and there working upon his feelings till he is persuaded to write the soldier boy that he is fighting in a bad cause, for a wicked Administration of a contemptible Government, to weak to arrest and punish him if he shall desert. I think that in such a case, to silence the agitator and save the boy is not only constitutional, but withal a great mercy.

If I be wrong on this question of constitutional power, my error lies in believing that certain proceedings are constitutional, when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety requires them, which would not be constitutional when, in absence of rebellion or invasion, the public safety does not require them; in other words, that the Constitution is not, in its application, in all respects the same, in cases of rebellion or invasion involving the public safety, as it is in times of profound peace and public security. The Constitution itself makes the distinction; and I can no more be persuaded that the Government can constitutionally take no strong measures in time of rebellion, because it can be shown that the same could not be lawfully taken in time of peace, than I can be persuaded that a particular drug is not good medicine for a sick man, because it can be shown to be good food for a well one. Nor am I able to appreciate the danger apprehended by the meeting that the American people, will, by means of military arrests during the rebellion, lose the right of public discussion, the liberty of speech and the press, the law of evidence, trial by jury, and habeas corpus, throughout the indefinite peaceful future, which, I trust, lies before them, any more than I am able to believe that a man could contract so strong an appetite for emetics during temporary illness as to persist in feeding upon them during the remainder of his healthful life.

In giving the resolutions that earnest consideration which you request of me, I cannot overlook the fact that the meeting speak as "Democrats." Nor can I, with full respect for their known intelligence, and the fairly presumed deliberation with which they pre-

pared their resolutions, be permitted to suppose that this occurred by accident, or in any way other than that they preferred to designate themselves "Democrats" rather than "American citizens." In this time of national peril, I would have preferred to meet you upon a level one step higher than any party platform; because I am sure that, from such more elevated positions, we could do better battle for the country; we all love them so possibly can from those lower ones where, from the force of habit, the prejudices of the past, and selfish hopes of the future, we are sure to expend much of our ingenuity and strength in finding fault with, and aiming blows at each other. But, since you have denied me this, I will yet be thankful, for the country's sake, that not all Democrats have done so. He on whose discretionary judgment Mr. Vallandigham was arrested and tried is a Democrat, having no old party affinity with me; and the judge who rejected the constitutional view expressed in these resolutions, by refusing to discharge Mr. Vallandigham on habeas corpus, is a Democrat of better days than these, having received his judicial appointment at the hands of President Jackson. And still more, of all those Democrats who are nobly exposing their lives and shedding their blood on the battle field. I have learned that many approve the course taken with Mr. Vallandigham, while I have not heard of a single one condemning it. I cannot assert that there are none such. And the name of President Jackson recalls an instance of pertinent history. After the Battle of New Orleans, and while the fact that the treaty of peace had been concluded was well known in the city, but before official knowledge of it had arrived, General Jackson still maintained martial or military law. Now that it could be said the war was over, the clamor against martial law which had existed from the first, grew more furious. Among other things, a Mr. Louillier published a denunciatory newspaper article. General Jackson arrested him. A lawyer by the name of Morel procured the United States Judge Hall to order a writ of habeas corpus to relieve Mr. Louillier. Gen. Jackson arrested both the lawyer and the judge. A Mr. Hollander ventured to say of some part of the matter that "it was a dirty trick." General Jackson arrested him. When the officer undertook to serve the writ of habeas corpus General Jackson took it from him, and sent him away with a copy. Holding the judge in custody a few days, the General sent him beyond the limits of the encampment, and set him at liberty, with an order to remain till the ratification of peace should be regularly announced, or until the British should have left the Southern coast. A day or two more elapsed, the ratification of the treaty of peace was regularly announced, and the judge and others were fully liberated. A few days more, and the judge called General Jackson into court and fined him a thousand dollars for having arrested him and the others named. The General paid the fine, and there the matter rested for nearly thirty years, when Congress refunded principal and interest. The late Senator Douglas, then in the House of Representatives, took a leading part in the debates, in which the constitutional question was much discussed. I am not prepared to say whom the journals would show to have voted for the measure.

It may be remarked: first, that we had the same Constitution then as now; secondly, that we then had a case of invasion, and now we have a case of rebellion; and thirdly, that the permanent right of the people to public discussion, the liberty of speech and of the press, the trial by jury, the law of evidence, and the habeas corpus, suffered no detriment whatever by that conduct of General Jackson, or its subsequent approval by the American Congress.

And yet, let me say, that in my own discretion, I do not know whether I would have ordered the arrest of Mr. Vallandigham. While I cannot shift the responsibility from myself, I hold that, as a general rule, the commander in the field is the better judge of the necessity in any particular case. Of course, I must practise a general directory and revisory power in the matter.

One of the resolutions expresses the opinion of the meeting that arbitrary arrests will have the effect to divide and distract those who should be united in suppressing the rebellion, and I am specially called on to discharge Mr. Vallandigham. I regard this act as, at least, a fair appeal to me on the expediency of exercising a constitutional power which I think exists. In response to such appeal I have only to say, it gave me pain when I learned that Mr. Vallandigham had been arrested—that is, I was pained that there should have seemed to be a necessity for arresting him—and that it will afford me great pleasure to discharge him as soon as I can, by any means, believe the public safety will not suffer by it. I further say, that as the war progresses, it appears to me, that opinion and action, which were in great confusion at first, take shape and fall into more regular channels, so that the necessity for strong dealing with them gradually decreases. I have every reason to desire that it should cease altogether, and far from the least is my regard for the opinions and wishes of those who, like the meeting at Albany, declare their purpose to sustain the Government in every constitutional and lawful measure to suppress the rebellion. Still, I must continue to do so much as may seem to be required by the public safety.

A. LINCOLN.

A FEW days since a wealthy rebel of Tennessee, whose name is General Harding, met a friend of his, named Carter, a strong Union man, and the following dialogue ensued:  
"I tell you what it is, Mr. Carter," said Gen. Harding; "between the Federal and rebel soldiers, I am about ruined. My horses, cattle, sheep, buffaloes, deer and poultry are all gone, and I expect I shall lose all my money."  
"Well," says Carter, "why don't you embrace the cause and come out, and let bogus confederacy go?"  
"Oh, that's nonsense," replied Harding, "if I should do that, I'd lose all my friends."  
"Lose your friends!" exclaimed Carter, "why, if you lose your money, you'll lose your friends at any rate."

## Letters from the Army.

### From the 45th Pennsylvania Regiment.

ON BOARD THE TRANSPORT SALLIE LIST: OFF MEMPHIS, June 14, 1863.

FRIENDS COME!—Seated on the upper deck of the "Sallie List," which is quietly at anchor on the Father of Waters, directly in front of the city of Memphis—the great Mississippi stretching out north and south in all its grandeur, the magnificent buildings of the city towering high above the eastern bank, while on the western, or Arkansas shore, a dense forest stretches away as far as the eye can penetrate—I am assaying to give your readers a brief account of what we have done, seen, and experienced since my last, which, I think, was dated at Hustonville, Ky.

Our regiment had been encamped near that ever-to-be-remembered, little town but a few days, when it was announced in camp that the citizens of Hustonville and vicinity were to give a picnic for the soldiers. The 19th of May was fixed as the day, but strange to say, whether from accident, or the plans of some one to disappoint the pic-nickers, our regiment was aroused from a sound sleep, at 1 a. m., on the 19th, and after cooking rations and packing up, as though a long march was anticipated, the regiment was divided into two parts and marched out a few miles on different roads; but after taking possession of good positions to resist attack, posting our pickets, sending out reconnoitering parties, &c., we waited for—something—Morgan's guerrillas, perhaps, though they were probably not within twenty miles of us. We waited thus until 11 o'clock, and then were marched back to our old camp.

As it was then but little past noon, there was fair prospect for the picnic. Until then it had been expected that the attendance at the party was to have been general; but many were disappointed when it came to be known that none but the officers would be allowed to attend, except by special permit. The reasons for this were probably prudential; for as the grove in which it was to be held was some way from camp, it would not have been prudent to allow us all to leave camp at one time.

Among others, I managed to get a pass to attend the picnic. We reached the ground at 3 p. m., and found the table groaning under the weight of Kentucky hospitality. In a favorable, shady spot, had been laid a platform of smooth boards, covered with canvas, on which a dancin' was progressing. Crinolines and shoulder-straps carried the day, of course. Among the dancers, and I may say, not the least graceful, was Mrs. Haynes. After the dance came a sumptuous repast, and the crowd dispersed at nightfall—not, however, before the citizens had proffered a picnic to the rank and file, to be held in our camp, and fixed upon the 23d as the day. The day arrived, cloudless and beautiful. Early dawn found the ground adjacent to our camp thoroughly policed, and supplied with a table long enough to accommodate the whole regiment.

At 10 a. m., we proceeded to the banquet, and the havoc was very great. The fragments would have filled many baskets. As nearly all our commissioned officers were on picket duty, having volunteered for that purpose, Sergeant Major Harvey Benner was Marshal of the day. He introduced Sergeant Collins, of Co. A., who made a speech, terse, vigorous, and witty, his theme being "Our Country." He was succeeded by Sergeant Yarrington, of Co. D., who showed himself no novice in speaking.

Col. Wolford, of the 1st Kentucky Cavalry, next took the stand. His reputation as a soldier attracted all eyes to him. He had not proceeded far before it became evident that the stern warrior could become the eloquent orator. He was succeeded by General Fry, who gave us a spirit-stirring speech. When he left the stand Capt. Curtin called for three cheers for Gen. Fry, which were given with a will. It is a little remarkable that Gen. Fry, Gen. Welsh, and Col. Wolford fought side by side in the Mexican war. The latter was a member of Capt. Fry's Company, while, to use the words of Gen. Fry, "Gen. Welsh was a gallant private, a gallant corporal, and a gallant sergeant in the regiment to which I belonged."

Thus passed the day, to be remembered as one of those pleasant spots which are not too plenty in a soldier's life.

We had scarcely reached camp when we were greeted with marching orders, and by 10 o'clock next day we had bid adieu to Hustonville. We encamped that night at a little town called Liberty. Next day, Sunday, we did not break camp. Monday witnessed our progress southward about fifteen miles. We reached Columbia on Tuesday, 43 miles from Hustonville. We lay here until the 25th, when we marched to Jamestown, through a drenching rain and over worse roads than any we have seen since we left Virginia. Jamestown is four miles from the Cumberland river. As I said before, the southern part of the State is very uneven, and as but a small portion is under cultivation it is little less than a wilderness.

While at Jamestown, the rebels made a dash upon our pickets, capturing the outpost and driving in the reserve. Their cavalry, said to be 600 or 800 strong, came within 150 yards of the town. Having made their attack at daylight, they doubtless counted upon completely surprising our camp; but fortunately they found the 30th Massachusetts in line to receive them, that regiment having, as if by accident, just come up. As it was, they got ten horses and five or six prisoners. Reconnoitering parties were sent out as far as the river, but the enemy had retired beyond the river.

On the 4th inst., our brigade, consisting now of the 45th Penn., 36th Mass., 27th and 17th Michigan, commanded by Col. Bowman of the 36th Massachusetts, left Jamestown on a retrograde movement, for reasons to us then unknown, and apparently unreasonable; for we had fully counted upon crossing at an early day into Tennessee. We returned to Columbia and thence to Lebanon. The weather was oppressively hot and the roads dusty, making our march of 55 miles anything but pleasant.

While at Lebanon, we received two months' pay. We took the cars the same day, and traveled through a beautiful country to Louisville. Here we crossed the river to Jeffersonville, Ind.