Inaugural Address

OF

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Delivered March 4th, 1861.

Fellow-Citizens of the United States:

In compliance with a custom as old as the Government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly, and to take in your presence the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States to be taken by the President before he enters on the execution of his office. I do not consider it necessary at present for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement.

Apprehensions seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a Republican Administration, their properties 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 my similar declarations, and have 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 rights 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 among 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 any wise endangered by the now 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 law-giver is the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole constitution; to this provision as well 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 material one. If the slave is to be surrendered, it can be of but little consequence to him, or to others, by which authority it is done, and should any one, in any case, be content that his oath shall go unkept on a merely unsubstantial controversy as to how it shall be kept?—Again, in any law upon the subject ought not all the safeguards of liberty known in the 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 to-day 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 to abide by all those acts which stand unrepealed, 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 very 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 Contsitutional term of four years, under great and peculiar difficulties. A disruption of the Federal Union, heretofore only menaced is now formidably 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 no Government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our National Constitution, and the Union will endure forever, it being impossible to destroy it except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself. Again, if the United States be not a government proper, but an association of States in the nature of a contract merely, can it as a contract be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it. One party to a contract may violate it, break it, so to speak, but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it? Descending from these general principles, we find the proposition that, in legal contemplation, the Union is perpetual confirmed by the history of the Union itself. The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed, in fact, by the articles of association in 1774. It was matured and continued in the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured, and the faith of all the then thirteen States expressly plighted 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 to that effect are legally void, and that acts of violence within any State or States against the authority of the United States are insurrectionary or revolutionary according to circumstances. I, therefore, consider that, in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken, and to the extent of my ability, I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this, I deem to be only a simple duty on my part. I shall perfectly perform it so far as is practicable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withold 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 confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government, and collect the duties and imports, but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere. Where hostility to the United States shall be so great and so universal as to prevent competent men 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 according to the circumstances actually existing, and with a view and 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 why we do it? Will you hazzard so desperate a step while any portion of the ills you fly from 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 our case.—All the vital rights of minorities and of individuals are so plainly assured to them by affirmation and negotiations, guaranties 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 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 will in turn ruin and divide them, for a minority of their own will secede from them whenever a majority refuses to be controlled by a minority. For instance, why may not any portion of a new confederacy a year or two hence arbitrarily secede again, precisely as portions of the present Union now claim to secede from it? All who cherish disunion sentiments are now being educated to the exact temper of doing this. Is there such perfect identity of interests among the States to compose 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 in restraints by constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. 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 inadmissable, 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 decision 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 be better 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 the vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by the decision of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions, the people will have ceased to be their own masters, 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 properly, bro't b fore them, and it is no fault of theirs if others seek to turn their decisions to political purposes. One section of our country believes Slavery is right and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute; 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 hostile or amicable, 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. 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 make no recommendation of amendment, I fully 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 especially chosen for the purpose, and which might not be precisely such as they would wish either to accept or refuse. I understand that 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 persons held to service. To avoid misconstruction of what I have said I depart from my purpose not to speak of particular amendments, so far as to say, that holding such a provision to now be implied constitutional law, I have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable.

The Chief-Magistrate derives all his authority from the people, and they have conferred none upon him to fix the terms for the separation of the States. The people themselves can 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 wisdom provided for the return of that little to their own hands at very short intervals. While the people retain their virtue and vigilance, no Administration, by any extreme wickedness or folly, can very seriously injure the Government in the short space of four years.

My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and well upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to hurry any of you, in hot haste, to a step which you would never take deliberately, that object will be frustrated by taking time—but no good object can be frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new Administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were supposed you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there is still no single, rea on for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust, in the best way, all our present difficulty. In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the Government, while I shall have the most solemn one to "preserve, protect, and defend" it. I am loth to close. We are not enemies, but friends.—We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

WARLIKE PREPARATIONS IN THE SOUTH.—The Southern papers are full of items concerning the warlike preparations in the Confederated States. There are three powder mills in Pickens District, South Carolina, turning out some fifty kegs a day. A firm in Savannah has contracted for 3,000 shot and shell for South Carolina, and another firm in Mobile is casting cannon balls, grape &c. A Company of seventy recruits for the South Carolina army passed through Augusta, Georgia, on the 23d ult., from Tennessee. For the regular army of Georgia, recruiting is going on all over that State. In Athens a company of forty has been enlisted up to the close of last week. The volunteers in Fort Pulaski are to be discharged and the new regulars substituted for them.—The Columbus *Times* publishes a letter from a delegate to the Southern Congress in which he says:

"We intend to put the strongest force in the field which can be raised, and the President will accept from the States all men that may be tendered. They will be received with their own officers, but the President must settle all questions of rank and position uner the authority of Congress. My information is that Davis will endeavor to secure for the officers of the United States Army, who have resigned, the best positions first, upon the ground that they are experienced and capable. There has yet been nothing done by Congress as to the raising of troops, except possibly in committee.

M'Kean County Democrat.

Thursday, March 14, 1861.

THE INAUGURAL OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN.—In this week's paper will be found the Inaugural address of Uncle Abe. As a State paper it causes universal disappointment. The country in its prostration and ruin was anxiously waiting for an expression from the President elect that would give the people a ray of hope; but the policy of the new government, as shown in the Inaugural makes confusion worse confounded. First he seeks to calm the "apprehensions" of the South by referring to his past record, reiterating that the Chicago platform was his law. (A perusal of that document, in which negro equality is the first and prominent feature, would satisfy the reader that portion would not be likely to allay apprehension) In the teeth of this he enjoins it as a duty to return fugitive slaves. That portion which refers to the state of the Union, is but a re-hash of President Buchanan's views, as well as the written opinion of Secretary Black. He shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed in all the States—that the whole force of the government will be used to hold, occupy and possess the property and places belonging to the government." All this to be accomplished without bloodshed. In the next sentence he concedes that in localities where the people object, this duty will be omitted. A national convention is favored. The only strictly Republican doctrine enunciated is that which places a majority above the law—that a majority of the people, instead of the Supreme Court are the proper judges of Constitutional questions. The last portion of the message recommends procrastination.

So far as the policy of the new administration can be judged from such a document, it is generally looked upon as peaceable.

AUDITOR'S REPORT.—The Auditors settle the accounts some time in January, and we have carefully watched the "official paper," expecting to see the Reports published; but in vain. It has been a subject of inquiry on the part of the tax-payers, why these statements of the accounts are not laid before the public; for they innocently believe they have an interest in the public funds, and have a right to know what becomes of the large sums assessed and paid into the Treasury. Before the "conquest," the Auditors' Reports were published yearly. If such publication is now suppressed on the plea of expense to the county, it should be understood that we have always been ready to publish the "statement of the funds"—and have done so far as we have been able to obtain them—free of expense.

We have been requested to call the attention of the County Commissioners to this matter, from the report that the Auditors find over *eight thousand dollars* in the hands of Treasurer Parsons, while there is no money to redeem the orders now issued. Can the "official" give us any information?

DISSOLUTION.—The firm of Allen & Stebbins is dissolved, as appears from advertisement in the last *Miner*—Allen continuing the business. The business of the firm is in the hands of J. R. Chadwick and A. B. Armstrong for adjustment. This was not unexpected, and but corroborates the good opinion entertained of the retiring partner.

SMETHPORT OIL CO.—An assessment of two dollars, on each share, is required to be paid in as soon as Friday next. The stockholders now number fifty. We hope the assessment will be promptly met, that the directors may be able to commence operations.

BLACKSMITHING.—J. B. Taylor has engaged competent workmen, and now intends to do work at secession prices. He offers to shoe horses at $1, and do all work in his line at the same rates.

The Side-Hill TIN SHOP is now in full blast, and prepared to execute all orders, from a wagon load of wares to a cake-cutter. Particular attention paid to manufacturing Sap-Pans.

AYER'S MEDICINES.—In another column will be found the advertisement of these deservedly popular medicines. We can personally recommend them—especially the Cherry Pectoral—to the public.

We call attention to the advertisement of LYMAN & FORSYTH. They are enterprising young men, and we trust they will be liberally patronized.

We regret the non-appearance of the DEMOCRAT for two weeks past, and hope not to be obliged to apologize in future. Our readers, when they reflect that these are Republican times, will overlook our irregularity.

SARZA.—We have long supposed this celebrated drug, had come to be an exploded drug, but we are assured by those skilled in the healing art, that not the Sarsaparilla itself is to be blamed for this conclusion, but the miserable, worthless preparations of it that have been palmed off upon the community—preparations which contain about as much of its virtues as they do of gold dust. It is a commercial fact that almost all of the Sarsaparilla gathered in the world, is consumed in the old countries of Europe, where the science of medicine has reached its highest perfection, and where they know the best what to employ for the mastery of disease. Hence we are glad to find that we are now to have a compound of this excellent alterative, which can be relied on, and our community will not need be assured, that any thing Dr. Ayer makes, is worthy of their confidence. He has been for years engaged in eliminating this remedy (see adv'g cols.) designing to make it his "*chef d' ouvre*" which should add the crowning glory to his already enviable reputation.—*American Celt*, New York.

BROKE JAIL.—On the night of the 1st of March, inst., a person named John P. Stephens, confined in the jail of Elk county, at Ridgway, on charge of forgery, made his escape. He is about nineteen years of age, about five feet five inches high, dark complexion, auburn hair, and a very slight beard. He had on when he escaped, a pair of black satinet pants, a gray coat with pocket in the side, and an old pair of boots with tarn toes. A reward of twenty-five dollars is offered for his arrest and detention.

The Democratic Convention.

The Democratic State Convention, which assembled in this place on the 21st and 22d instst., was not like the remnant of a conquered and subdued party. Never in the history of Pennsylvania, not even in the days of its power, did a convention contain more able men, inspired with a more earnest, devoted and unselfish patriotism. The leading minds of the State came from their retirement in this the hour of their country's greatest peril, to consult together and take the position best calculated to restore the Union, as it was formed by the fathers, in a spirit of amity and mutual concession. The differences so lately dividing the Democratic party into hostile camps disappeared in the presence of the great danger to the Union, and the conclusions, unanimously arrived at by the convention demonstrated what it so happily expressed in the resolutions—"that the Democratic party possess the conservative power which nothing but integrity can give."

Nothing could afford a stronger illustration of this conscious integrity possessed by the Democratic party, in common with all conservative citizens who opposed the destructive spirit of sectionalism, which culminated in the election of Lincoln, than the simple fact that less than four months after a defeat apparently annihilating, the largest and ablest convention of the Democratic party, containing many of the best and most patriotic men in the State, assembled at the capital to re-affirm their devotion to those National principles which, while triumphant, preserved us as one people—when defeated have brought us to the verge of National dissolution and devastating civil strife. The Democratic party was defeated, but its principles remain triumphant. The success of the Republicans has only served to illustrate the necessity for the maintenance of National ideas, and the odious and perilous character of sectionalism. The victorious party has destroyed itself by its apparent triumph. The vanquished party emerges from the contest with its principles unimpaired, and its banner unarnished. The people now see and deeply regret the mistake they made in yielding to the blandishments of the sectionalists; who assured them that there was no danger to be apprehended from the election of Lincoln—and because they were deceived and betrayed into promoting the designs of leaders who intended to exclude the Southern States, and to form a Union composed entirely of Northern States, is their wrath aroused against the authors of the disasters that have followed so closely in the foot-steps of Republican success to demonstrate the spurious nationality of Republican principles. At a time when the justice of their principles and the truth of their solemn warnings are too clear to be misunderstood, the Democratic party assembled in the strength of conscious rectitude, and placed itself boldly before the country as the champion of the Union and the resolute enemy of fratricidal war.

The resolutions adopted without a single dissenting voice, express the pervading sentiment, not only of the Democratic organization, but of the great mass of Union-loving citizens of Pennsylvania. They declare in favor of the Crittenden resolutions or something similar as a satisfactory basis of adjustment. They announce the determination of the Democratic party to oppose, discountenance and prevent, by all proper and legitimate means, any attempt on the part of the Republicans in power to make armed aggressions upon the Southern States—thus giving the dominant party to understand that they can receive no assistance from the Democracy in the diabolical work of plunging the country into the horrors of civil war—especially so long as unconstitutional enactments remain unrepealed upon the statute books of Northern States. The dignified and prudent reserve of the border States and their conciliatory overtures are very properly commended, and the Democratic party of Pennsylvania placed in position side by side with those loyal and devoted, although much injured States.—*Patriot and Union.*

The Democratic Party is Right.

Mr. Clay once said that he would rather be right than be President. The Democratic party can now say, in the same spirit, that they would rather be conscious of having done right in the recent contest than be in the position of the Republican party, which elected a President at the cost of a dissolution of the Union. No man who voted against Lincoln can feel responsible for the difficulties which have overtaken the country, in consequence of the election of a sectional President. The supporters of Breckinridge, Douglas and Bell exhausted their power to prevent this result. They warned the Northern States that the Union could not survive the triumph of a party inflamed with enmity to the Southern States. They saw that the South was in earnest, and that the election of a President upon the principles of resistance to their rights could not but be followed by disastrous consequences.

Now, that these consequences are so apparent, that even the Republicans are forced to admit the existence of danger to the Union—now that seven States have declared themselves out of the Union, and formed a separate Confederacy—now that the border States are trembling in the balance, ready to remain in the Union if their rights are acknowledged, and determined to go out if they are denied—now that we are upon the very brink of a civil war, one would think that the most venomous Republican ought to be satisfied with the amount of injury already inflicted upon the country, by the success of that sectional organization, and feel some disposition to assist in arresting the progress of ruin. But the stiff-backed traitors of the Greely school are not yet satisfied with their work. They insist that there must be no hesitation, no looking back, no faltering, until the work of disunion is fully accomplished, and the Union is purged of the slave States. They would rather see every Southern State driven out of the Union than it should be preserved by the sacrifice of the Republican party.

After assuring the people that the triumph of Republican principles involved no danger, and that Lincoln's election would pour oil upon the troubled waters, they now insist that nothing shall be done to remove the danger which has come in spite of their smooth prophecies, but that the Republican party must fulfil its mission of ruin to the Confederacy.

The Democratic party was right in predicting evil from the election of Lincoln. They are now right in insisting that the injury inflicted by the Republicans shall be repaired by compromise. They are right in protesting against a useless and bloody war—and if that comes, they will be right in protesting against the enormity.—*Democratic Union.*

TO H. N. M.

On the gentle slope a cot so nice,
Of ancient structure and device,
In which we'd happy dwell.
The grounds about are turfed with green,
And inward reigns a matron queen,
The partner of my days.
Dear Shanty.

The wife! the sharer of my joys,
My daughter pure and both my boys
To virtue's ways incline;
Happy are they who thus are blessed,
No racking thoughts disturb their breast,
Unscathed by want and care.
Dear Shanty.

'Twill prove the solace of my years,
Till the grim messenger appears,
Who'll near his prey resign,
Want's hideous form with direful glare,
Can never find an entrance there,
To breathe her anxious sigh—
In the Shanty.

In winter while the frigid snow
Around my cot old Boreas blows,
I'll sit by warming fires,
And read of new discovered arts,
While Libby from the "*Times*" imparts
The knowledge to the young—
In the Shanty.

Contentment with her cheerful look,
Reads volumes in the babbling brook,
Meandering through the glen;
The woods resound with stroke of axe,
While startling frosts the timber cracks,
And welcome echoes rings—
In the Shanty.

Oh! may it be my happy lot
To dwell in some such humble cot,
While time with me shall last,
When duty calls me far from home,
Fathers protect those little ones,
Ere soon her infant lips will lisp her sire's
return.
To the Shanty.

Sweet cottage home I'm sure thou art,
The ruling passion of my heart;
Thou rest secluded bower,
Oh! may it be my lot while here,
To dwell in this delightful sphere,
And when life's cares with us are o'er;
Adieu, farewell, dear Shanty.

Smethport, Jan. 28th, 1861. G. R. R.

NEW USE FOR POSTAGE STAMPS.—By the Sonora, a few days since, says a California correspondent, some two hundred of Uncle Sam's orphans arrived, and were distributed around. Some were sent to Fort Alcastra, some to the barracks at the Presidio, and the remainder were quartered at Benicia barracks, preparatory to being assigned to the different companies of the regiments in this department. They will soon be scattered from Oregon to that most delightful post, Fort Yuma, in Arizona, a place where they have but to put rocks on the roofs to keep the ends of the boards from curling over like little dogs' tails. It is a wretched place to live at, and to be ordered there is enough to make any officer resign, unless a Catholic, and acknowledges the justice of going lent to purgatory. They have little fun even in that awful place sometimes, and an officer was telling me the other day of how he lost his postage stamps. He had sent up here for some twenty dollars worth, and had left them on his table. Now the habits manners and customs thereabouts are considerably on the free-and-easy style, and the Indians are allowed to roam around the garrison *ad libitum*, if they behave themselves and don't steal. On this occasion a young squaw who had the run of the quarters, and was very much at home everywhere and anywhere, happened to stray into my friend's room, and seing the postage stamps began to examine them with great curiosity. She discovered they would stick, if wet, and forthwith a happy idea struck her. Now the fashionable dress of the ladies of her class in that warm climate is of the briefest description. She was anxious to dress up and excite the envy of the other Pocahontases; so she went in on the postal currency, and much to the astonishment of the garrison, made her appearance presently on the parade ground entirely covered over with the postage stamps.

She was stuck all over with Benjamin Franklin, and the Father of his Country was plastered all over her ladyship's glossy skin indiscriminately, regardless of dignity and decency. The "roar" that greeted her, from the commanding officer down to the drummer-boys, was loud enough to be heard nearly at headquarters in San Francisco, but Indian like, she preserved her equanimity and did not seem at all disconcerted, but sailed off with the air and step of a genuine princess, while my friend rushed into his quarters to discover himself minus his twenty dollars' worth of postage stamps, and that what was intended for the mail had been appropriated to the female.—She might have been put in the overland coach and gone through—she certainly could not have been stopped for want of being pre-paid.

BAYARD TAYLOR ON HOUSE PAINTING.—The best and most economical method of finishing the rooms of a dwelling house is a question of some importance to builders and others. The following opinion on the subject is from Bayard Taylor:

"For the finishing of the rooms there is nothing equal to the native wood, simply oiled to develop the beauty of the grain. Even the commonest pine treated in this way, has a luster and warmth, beside which the dreary white paint, so common in the best houses, looks dull and dead. Nothing gives a house such a cold, uncomfortable air as white paint and white plaster. This color is fit only for the tropics. Our cheap common woods—pine, ash, oak, chestnut, maple, beech, walnut, but ternut—offer us a variety of exquisite tints and fibrous patterns, which, until recently have been wholly disregarded in building. Even in furniture, we are just beginning to discover how much more elegant and chaste are oak and walnut than mahogony. The beauty of a room is as dependent on the harmony of coloring as that of a picture. Some of the ugliest and most disagreeable apartments I have ever seen were just those which contained the most expensive furniture and decorations.

My experience shows that a room finished with the best seasoned oak or walnut, costs actually less than one finished with pine, painted and grained in imitation of those woods. Two verandahs of yellow pine, treated to two coats of boiled oil, have a richness and beauty of color beyond the reach of pigments; and my only regret connected with the house is that I was persuaded by the representations of mechanics, to use any paint at all."

STUDY THE FACE.—A story is told of the great French satirist, which finely illustrates his knowledge of human nature. He was traveling in Germany, in entire ignorance of its language and currency. Having obtained some small change for some of his French coins, he used to pay coachman and others in the following manner. Taking a handful of the unmistakable specimens from his pockets, he counted them one by one, into the creditors hands, keeping his eyes fixed all the time on the receiver's face. As soon as he perceived the least twinkle of a smile, he took back the last coin deposited in the hand, and returned it, with the remainder to his pocket. He afterwards found that in pursuing this method, he had not overpaid for anything.

English agents have arranged for the emigration of three thousand coolies to the West Indies during the next year.