

Gen. Cass Welcomed Home.
Gen. Cass arrived at his home in Detroit, on Friday afternoon last. He was met at Toledo by about one hundred prominent citizens of all parties, and escorted to Detroit. On the arrival of the train at the Detroit and Milwaukee depot a large concourse of citizens were assembled, in behalf of whom H. H. Emmons, Esq., welcomed him home in a brief, well-timed and appropriate speech, to which Gen. Cass responded as follows:

Michigan Argus.

ANN ARBOR.
FRIDAY MORNING, MARCH 8, 1861.

The kind reception which my fellow-citizens of Detroit have given me, on this my return amongst them, has impressed me with profound emotions of gratitude. The recollections and associations which press upon me render it impossible for me to do little more than acknowledge their kindness. My political career is ended, and I am warned that in the course of my life I shall approach its termination. I come back to the scene of my early labors, and care, and exertions, endeared to me by many an interesting association, to remain among you till, in the providence of God, I shall be called to meet that final change that sooner or later must come to all. A young adventurer in this great region of the Northwest, I have proved to me as to many others not only a land of promise, but a land abounding in resources. You have been pleased to refer in terms of commendation to the services I have been called upon to render to this section of our common country. I have indeed seen it advance from a weak and exposed colonial condition to its present position, possessed of all the elements of human power and prosperity.

The Inaugural of Lincoln.
The Fourth of March has passed, peacefully passed, without any sign of disturbance, mob or attempt at assassination, and ABRAHAM LINCOLN has been in due form inaugurated Sixteenth President of the United States. The usual inauguration ceremonies took place on Monday, from the east front of the Capitol. The Inaugural Address was delivered to an immense concourse of people at about the hour of one o'clock, P. M.; and immediately following, the oath of office was administered to Mr. LINCOLN by the venerable Chief Justice TANEY. In this issue we give place to the Inaugural Address of President LINCOLN, and so much of the details of the ceremonies of the day as our space will warrant.

I have but one regret to encounter in recurring my place among you, and that arises from the perilous crisis in which our country is involved. You do me but justice in attributing to me an earnest desire for the preservation of this Union and of the constitution, the great work of our fathers, and which has secured to their sons a greater measure of freedom and prosperity than any nation ever enjoyed before us. I can scarcely persuade myself that I am not oppressed by some fearful dream when I reflect upon all that is passing in our country, and upon the position in which this great Republic is placed; suddenly struck down from the summit of prosperity, and with a future before us which no man can contemplate without the most serious alarm. In all history there is nothing like it. With no external enemy to trouble us, with no internal oppression, with none of those visitations of pestilence or famine or other evils by which nations are often punished for their offences, we have recklessly put to hazard our inestimable blessings, and are entering that path of discord, and division, and border disputes, which, if there is any truth in history, will lead to the most disastrous consequences. I do not allude to this fearful subject in any partisan spirit. I do not seek to investigate the causes which led to the present state of things.

We have read the Inaugural, read it carefully, and re-read it; and before this most of our readers have probably also read it, and formed their own conclusions. We can not say that it is in all things what we wished it might be; and yet we are not disappointed in its position or tone. It discusses at length the present unfortunate complication of affairs, and doubtless foresees the policy of the new Administration. The President protests against any desire or design to interfere with the rights of any of the States as guaranteed by the Constitution; he recognizes the constitutional existence of slavery in the Southern States, and proclaims both an inclination and an obligation to give up fugitive slaves, and the constitutionality of the fugitive slave law; and he favors an amendment of the Constitution prohibiting Congress forever from disturbing the "peculiar institution" wherever it exists by State law. Upon these points, we apprehend that the only dissenting voices will be those of the radical Republicans and old school Abolitionists, the men who persist in maintaining upon our statute books laws nullifying the fugitive slave law, or by what they know as personal liberty laws or by what other name.

But I indulge the hope that, before it is too late, there will be a determination through the whole country—a firm determination—to cultivate feelings of friendship and harmony, accompanied by a manifestation of a spirit of conciliation and compromise, of justice, indeed, which may lead to the hope that, if the work is earnestly and promptly undertaken, we may succeed, under Providence, in re-establishing the integrity and the blessings of the constitution, with the patriotic co-operation of the whole American people.

On the other hand, he is silent as to the Territorial question, and expresses no desire for a compromise upon that conflicting and disturbing question, leaving the future to develop his policy. And this, with many, we regret. He denies the right of secession, considers the Union yet unbroken—at least legally—and avows it his duty to enforce the laws in all the States alike; to protect the government property wherever it is, and collect the revenues; at the same time disavowing an intention to send strangers to administer offices in localities where citizens can not be found to accept and hold them, or to stop the mails on routes where they are not disturbed. And no man, about to take a solemn oath "to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States" could have said less. The oath would have said it for him had the Inaugural been silent.

And, we can not, for the life of us, find in these declarations—a proclamation of force or of civil war; a reason for any widening of the breach, any dissatisfaction on the part of the loyal border States, any cause of alarm; and we think that our contemporaries who predict this should await something besides the declarations of the Inaugural or action based thereon. President BUCHANAN said the same thing to the South Carolina Commissioners, said the same thing in his special message, said the same thing time and again, publicly and privately, and the border States took no alarm. And we think the real Union men in those States will find no fault with this position of the message, while those determined on secession and disunion, determined on inviting or accepting no compromise, would have found fault with it even had he accepted the Peace Convention propositions or declared in favor of protection to slavery in the Territories.

The address is silent upon constitutional amendments, other than the one alluded to above, and seems to advise against Congress proposing any amendments for the acceptance of the States. This is to be regretted. A Peace Congress composed in the main of eminent and Union loving men, has adopted what it conceived a plan of adjustment, and it could have done not the least harm to advise the submission of that plan to the States. If adopted a bone of contention would have been settled, and if rejected we should have been as we are now, with this exception—time would have been given for reflection, and time and reflection is every thing in a crisis like this. The Inaugural, however, without recommendation seems to look to a National Convention, and whenever Congress convenes such will probably be his recommendation.

The Inaugural appeals to all Union loving men North and South to stand by the Union, and we hope, sincerely hope, that this appeal will meet a proper response. Let Mr. LINCOLN be tried, let his acts speak for him, and so long as he keeps within the line of his constitutional duty let him receive the support of Northern States, Border States, and Southern States. We opposed his election, we regretted and regret his election, but he is an honorable individual, citizen we propose to sustain his official acts so far as all square with the Constitution, and such is the duty of every good citizen. It will be time enough for us to condemn when he may sink the President in the partisan, and show that he esteems the Chicago platform above the Constitution. We are no Republican and cannot be expected to endorse every act of Mr. LINCOLN and his Administration, but we bid him God-speed and his Administration success in all constitutional measures, and in the preservation and perpetuation of the Union.

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There is a large share of his wardrobe, consisting of coat, pants, vest, boots, hat, &c., stolen on Tuesday. They were taken by a person named William H. Case, who had access to the house. He was arrested in Franklin, Livingston county, and brought to this place yesterday morning, arraigned before Justice Cook, pled guilty, and sentenced to eighty days in the county jail.—*Ypsilanti Herald, March 2.*

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A "Blood-Letting" Doctor.
The following is given to the public as "a true copy" of the letter written by Senator ZACK CHANDLER to Governor Blair advising the appointment of Commissioners to represent Michigan in the Peace Convention. It is a model specimen, and the "P. S." is specially commended to our readers. CHANDLER wanted to block the wheels of the Peace Congress, he wants no compromise, he wants a "little blood-letting." But read:

Washington, Feb. 11, 1861.
"MY DEAR GOVERNOR—Gov. Bingham and myself telegraphed you on Saturday, at the request of Massachusetts and New York, to send delegates to the Peace or Compromise Congress. They admit that we were right, and they want that no republican State should have sent delegates; but they are here, and can't get away. Ohio, Indiana and Rhode Island are coming in, and there is danger of Illinois, and now they beg us, for God's sake, to come to their rescue and save the republican party from rupture. I hope you will send *stiff-backed* men or none. The whole thing was gotten up against my judgment and advice, and will end in smoke. Still, I hope, as a matter of courtesy to some of our erring brethren, that you will send the delegates.
"Truly, your friend,
"Z. CHANDLER."

"His Excellency, AUSTIN BLAIR, P. S.—Some of the manufacturing States think that a fight would be awful. Without a little blood-letting this Union will not, in my estimation, be worth a rush.
Is not Michigan proud of such a Senator? The Union not "worth a rush" until a "little blood" is let! An *ass-tute* statesman.

We commend the close attention of our readers to the "Report of the Joint Committee of Investigation on the Affairs of the State Treasury," which will be found on the first page. It shows up the corruption which has existed in the financial department of our State government for a series of years. It is proper to say that Mr. BROWNELL dissented from so much of the report as exonerates the Board of Control from blame in letting the Saut Canal Contract to the highest bidder, and the action of the Committee upon this point is certainly inexplicable. Mr. CHAPPEL, who was a lower bidder by several thousand dollars than Messrs. CLARK & HOLMES, the successful bidders, was a competent man, offered good security, and in fact did the job.

Since the passage of CORWIN'S resolutions by both branches of Congress, which advise the repeal of the State laws conflicting with the laws of Congress, and the endorsement of the fugitive slave law by "Old Abe," one would naturally suppose that the Legislature of Michigan would repeal the obnoxious sections of the law of 1855; but we mistrust that "Ephraim" is joined to his idols, and that are, unfortunately, in high places too many dyed-in-the-wool abolitionists, of "Our Blair" stamp to permit such an act of justice. A repealing bill was the special order of the House yesterday afternoon.

The Constitution tinkers at Lansing are just now tinkering the Supreme Court out of existence, and constituting the judges of the several Circuit Courts judges of the Supreme Court for six years. If the amendment reported by the Senate special committee on Thursday of last week, don't do this, what does it do?
A constitutional amendment is pending in the Senate of this State, making the salary of the Governor and Circuit Judges, \$2,000 each; of the State Treasurer and Auditor General, \$1,500 each; of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, \$1,200; and of the Secretary of State, Commissioner of the State Land Office, and Attorney General, \$1,000 each.

The Missouri Convention, after reading the inaugural address of LINCOLN, appointed a committee to notify the Georgia Commissioner that "Missouri dissented from the position taken by that State, and very kindly but emphatically declined to share the honors of secession with her." Missouri is for the Union, and nothing else.

The Senate has voted down the pending constitutional amendments, defining the powers and duties of the Supreme Court, and increasing the number of judges thereof; increasing the salaries of State officers and circuit judges; and classifying the Regents of the University. They failed to get even a majority vote. An amendment relative to banks and authorizing the Legislature to create a State Bank and branches passed by a vote of 25 to 6.
The Senate Committee on Education has reported in favor of giving 25,000 acres of Swamp Lands to a German University to be established in Detroit. It is a bid for the German vote. We shall expect to hear of appropriations for Dutch, Irish and Norwegian Schools. We are in favor of fostering educational institutions, but do not believe in recognizing in them sects, denominations or nationalities. They should all be American Schools, and nothing else. Besides, it is our individual opinion that the State has institutions enough on its hands already.

The telegraph reports that Hon. ANDY JOHNSON, of Tennessee, a life-long Democrat of the Jackson school, and one of the noblest Union men in all the South, was serenaded at Washington, on Monday evening, and responded in "an earnest Union speech, endorsing the President's inaugural without qualification." If such Democrats as Senator JOHNSON see no "cat under the meal" of what need Northern Democrats complain?
Four of Mr. LINCOLN'S Cabinet were formerly Democrats, and three Whigs, and in it are some inharmonious elements.

The news from the South says that JEFF DAVIS and his co-secessionists are very much dissatisfied with LINCOLN'S Inaugural. And who expected anything else? They broke up the Charleston Convention, brought the once proud and glorious Democratic party to bite the dust, that they might the more successfully enter upon the career of disunion. They wanted the Democratic party to proclaim in favor of Slavery in the Territories and every where and could they be expected to accept anything less from LINCOLN. Even that would not have caused them to pass. If the Inaugural satisfies the Union men of the South it is sufficient.

"Old Abe" is inaugurated, and every other Republican, "the country through," is on the political "anxious seat" waiting for a fat commission to drop into his lap. We advise them to look disappointment in the face, for all can not be Foreign Ministers, Consuls, Marshals, Indian Agents, Secret Mail Agents, Postmasters, Route Agents, Bureau Clerks, Light House Keepers, etc., etc. There must be a *few* "high privates."

A dispatch from Montgomery to the Cincinnati Enquirer says that "the cotton States will under no compromise that may be required submit to LINCOLN." It is only required that they submit to the Constitution of the United States.—Mr. LINCOLN is a servant not a ruler.

The Arkansas State Convention, called and elected to consider the secession movement, met on Monday, and elected Union officers by 34 majority.—Arkansas is for the Union.

At the late Convention election in North Carolina, the Unionists elected a large majority of the delegates. Secession is below par in the "old North State."

On the second inst.—Saturday—the Congress of the Southern Confederacy admitted Texas into full communion; and, unless South Carolina has seceded, the new Confederacy now numbers seven States.

On Monday, the President signed the new tariff bill, and the three bills for organizing the Territories of Colorado, Dacotah and Nevada, and they became laws.

Mrs. LANE celebrated the expiration of her administration at the "White House" by being married to Mr. JAMES CARLISLE, one of the most brilliant lawyers in Washington. She is certainly for the Union.

The House, on Tuesday, passed a resolution inviting Gen. Cass to visit Lansing and address the Legislature.—The Senate rejected it by a vote of 9 to 22.

Mr. SEWARD has appointed his son Assistant Secretary of State. N. B. Judd, of Illinois, has been nominated Minister to Berlin; and Ex-Senator CRITTENDEN is spoken of for the vacant Judgeship.

The Honorary bill was "revivified" on Tuesday evening, but the House adjourned without reaching a vote.

The Senate has passed a Congressional appointment bill. Wayne, Monroe, Leavenue, and Hillsdale, form the first district; Washburn, Jackson, Calhoun, Eaton, and Ingham, the third; and other districts in proportion. "My Countrymen, vat a treat."

Our Wednesday morning contemporary has had a horrible fit of night-mare;—or something else. Evidence—the concluding paragraph of the University editorial in his last issue. We hope that he may recover, and that the University—will survive his ministrations.

Mr. DOUGLAS said in the Senate on Wednesday, pending a motion to print the inaugural, that "it was a peace rather than a war message."

The Senate—The Cabinet.
Washington, March 5.
The floor of the Senate chamber was densely crowded to-day before the members were called to order. The utmost anxiety was everywhere expressed to learn the formation of the Cabinet. The galleries were about two-thirds filled.

The Senate met at 1 P. M. A prayer was made by the Chaplain especially in behalf of the President of the United States.
On motion of Mr. Hale, a committee of two was appointed to wait on the President and inform him that the Senate was ready to receive any communication he might be pleased to make. Messrs. Hale and Douglas were appointed special committee, and immediately proceeded to perform their duty.

The Senate here took a recess till 4:30 P. M.
On the Senate again coming to order, Mr. Hale reported that the committee had performed their duty, and the President had informed them that he would forthwith communicate in writing.

After a short interval Mr. Nicolay, the private secretary of the President, appeared with a message, when, on motion of Mr. Hale, the Senate went into executive session.

At half past 4 the following gentlemen were confirmed as members of Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet:—
Hon. Wm. H. Seward, Secretary of State.
Hon. Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury.
Hon. Simon Cameron, Secretary of War.
Hon. Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy.
Hon. Montgomery Blair, P. M. General.
Hon. Caleb B. Smith, Secretary of the Interior.
Hon. Edward Bates, Attorney General.

The votes were unanimous for all except Bates and Blair, four or five votes being cast against these gentlemen—that many objecting to them, because they were unwilling that any one from slave States should go into the Cabinet. A large crowd assembled around the doors anxious to hear the results of the session.

THE INAUGURATION OF LINCOLN.
As the hands of the clock pointed to the hour of 12 the hammer fell, and the second session of the 36th Congress came to an end. Vice President BRIDGES, in the name of the Senate, presided, and the Senate adjourned without day, and left the chair, to which he immediately conducted Vice President Hamlin.

Mr. Hannibal Hamlin made some remarks.
Mr. Breckinridge then administered the oath of office to Vice President Hamlin.

Mr. Breckinridge then announced the Senate adjourned without day, and left the chair, to which he immediately conducted Vice President Hamlin.

Hon. Mr. Clingman was then sworn in as Senator for the State of North Carolina, Clark for New Hampshire, Chase for Ohio, Harris for New York, Harlan for Iowa, Howe for Wisconsin, Breckinridge for Kentucky, Lane for Indiana, Nesmith for Oregon, and Mitchell for Arkansas.

At this juncture the members and members elect of the House of Representatives entered the Senate chamber, filling every available space to the left of the Vice President. The corps of diplomats also entered the chamber at the same moment, occupying seats to the right of the chair. It was a subject of general remark that the corps never were so fully represented as on this occasion, perhaps to be the last time all are to be again assembled. The Ministers, attaches, and others numbered in all some fifty or over, and the brightening of the number of decorations, crosses, &c., added much to the imposing nature of the scene. Some of the court uniforms were gorgeous, and attracted much attention.

The scene in the Senate, while waiting the arrival of the Presidential party, seemed to realize the lying down of the lion and lamb together, or the mingling of oil and water. Messrs. Chase, Wigfall, Crittenden, Wilson, and others were opposite, hobnobbing with the utmost cordiality. Senator Breckinridge conversed familiarly with the extreme men of the republicans, while the ladies of all political affillities, Mrs. Hamlin among them, looked smilingly down on the animated scene below. The attendance of the Senators was unusually full, the only absence noticed being those of Hon. Mr. Mason and Hon. Mr. Hunter of Va.

At thirteen minutes to one o'clock the President and Mrs. Lincoln, with the United States flag, were announced by the Door-keeper of the Senate. On their entrance all on the floor rose, and the venerable Judges, headed by Chief Justice Taney, moved slowly to the seats assigned them, immediately to the right of the Vice President, each exchanging salutes with that officer in passing the chair.

At ten minutes after one o'clock an unusual stir was occasioned in the chamber, and the rumor spread like wildfire that the President elect was in the building. At five minutes past 1 P. M. the President and Mrs. Lincoln, with the United States flag, were announced by the Door-keeper of the Senate. On their entrance all on the floor rose, and the venerable Judges, headed by Chief Justice Taney, moved slowly to the seats assigned them, immediately to the right of the Vice President, each exchanging salutes with that officer in passing the chair.

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to whom such service or labor may be due."
It was intended by those who made it for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves, and the intention of the law-giver in the terms of this clause shall be deduced, thro' throats 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 State authority, but surely that difference is not a very material one. If the slave is to be surrendered, it can be but little consequence to him or to others by what, and in any case, he content that his oath shall be kept on a more substantial 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 human jurisprudence to be introduced, so that a freeman may not be in any case surrendered as a slave? and might it not be well, at the same time, to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the Constitution which guarantees that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all 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 profess now to specify particular acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest that it will be much safer for both in official and private stations, to conform to and obey the laws of the land as they stand, unperplexed, 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, with all this scope for precedent. I now enter upon the same task, for the constitutional term of four years, under great and peculiar difficulties. 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 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 confederacy, it is a contract, not a treaty, made 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 by the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured, and the faith of all the then thirteen States expressly pledged and engaged that it should be perpetual, by the articles of confederation in 1778, and finally in 1787 one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the constitution was to form a more perfect Union. [If withdrawn] 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, on 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 State against the authority of the United States are insurrectionary or revolutionary according to circumstances. I therefore consider that, inasmuch as the Union is perpetual, the Union is unbroken, and to the extent of my ability I shall take care, as the constitution itself expressly enjoins on me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part, and I shall perform it so far as practicable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means, or, in some authoritative manner, direct the contrary. I trust that no man so deluged with the blood of his country as a 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 be 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; to collect duties and imposts; but, beyond what may be necessary for these objects, I will do no invasion—no using of force against or among people anywhere.

Where hostility to the United States, in any interior locality, shall be so great and so universal as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding Federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people for that object. While the strict legal right may exist in the government to enter such a locality, 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 a 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 one of the great elements of calm thoughts and reflection. The course herein indicated will be followed unless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper, and, in every case and emergency, my best discretion will be exercised according to circumstances actually existing, and with a view and a hope of a peaceful solution of the national trouble, and the restoration of fraternal sympathies and union.

There are persons in one section 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 not address a 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, to all its benefits, its memories and hopes,

would it not be wise to ascertain previously why we do it? Will you hazard so desperate a step while there is any possibility that any portion of the ill-unioned fly from have no existence? Will you, while the certain ill-union fly to you greater than all the real ones fly from—will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake? All progress to our country, to our Union, to our national 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 shall deprive a minority of any clearly written constitutional right, it might, in a moral point of view, justify revolution; it certainly would if such was a vital one; but such is not our case. The vital rights of minorities and of individuals are so plainly assured to them by affirmations, allegations, guarantees and prohibitions in the constitution, that controversies never arise concerning them. But no organic law can be framed with a provision especially 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 authorities? The constitution does not expressly say. Must Congress protect slavery in the Territories? The constitution does not expressly say. From questions of this kind, it is impossible to frame any constitution, 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 turn round and divide them, for a moment, and will divide the Union from them whenever a majority refuse to be controlled by such 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. There is not such perfect identity of interest among the States as to constitute a new Union as to produce harmony only and to prevent a new secession. Plainly the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy. A majority held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it does a necessity by himself, and, in doing so, invites anarchy, as a permanent argument, is wholly inadmissible; so that rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism in some form is all that is left.

I do not regard 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 to the parties to a suit, as to the validity of that suit, while they are also entitled to a 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 evils following it, being limited to that particular case, with the chances that it may be overruled and never become a precedent for other cases, can be better safely resisted, than 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, as in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions, the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, in that, in every case, after a short period of time, the government will be in the hands of a few men. Nor is there, in this view, any assault upon the Court or the Judges. It is a duty born of their office, that they should not shrink to decide cases properly brought before them. It is no fault of theirs if others seek to turn their decisions into 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 to be restricted. This is a real and substantial dispute. The fugitive slave clause in the constitution and the laws for the suppression of the foreign slave trade are as well enforced, perhaps, as any law can ever be in a community while the moral sense of the people but imperfectly supports the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the dry legal letter in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, can 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 imperfectly revived, while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, [would not be surrendered] at all.

Physically speaking, we cannot separate. We cannot move 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 the separation than before? Can aliens make treaties better 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 still 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 to amend it, or their revolutionary right to dismember and overthrow it. I cannot be ignorant of the fact that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the national territory divided into two sections. Will they make no objection to the 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 to act upon it.—Will you venture to add that to me the convention mode seems preferable, in that it deems amendments to originate with the people themselves, instead of permitting them to take or reject propositions originated by others not especially chosen for the purpose, and which might not precisely suit, as they would suit voters 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 of persons held to service. To avoid misconception of what I have said, I depart from my purpose not to speak of particular amendments, so far as to say that, holding such a position, I do not think it would be implied in the 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 alone 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 in all its powers, to his successor. Why should there not be a political 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 justice will surely prevail by the judgment of the great tribune, the great American people. By the frame of our 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 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 shape of a permanent evil.

My countrymen, one and all, thing calmly and well upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to hurry you in your 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, and the laws of your own enactment.—The new administration will have no power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side of the dispute, there still is no single reason for precipitate action.

Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never forsaken this favored land, are still corner-stones in our best way out of

