THE SUN—Extra

BALTIMORE:

MONDAY, MARCH 4——½ P. M.

THE INAUGURATION.

A GREAT DAY IN WASHINGTON.

GENERAL SUSPENSION OF BUSINESS.

A GRAND MILITARY DEMONSTRATION.

Large and Imposing Procession.

ENTHUSIASTIC LINCOLNITES.

THE CEREMONIES AT THE CAPITOL.

Inaugural Address of the President.

CLOSING SCENES AND INCIDENTS.

To day, the 4th of March, the Hon. James Buchanan, who for four years past has filled the Executive chair of a great nation, in pursuance of the provisions of the constitution, transferred the office, with all its honors, cares, perplexities and responsibilities, to his successor, the Hon. Abraham Lincoln.

The presidential inaugural to-day was the sixteenth (counting Messrs. Tyler and Fillmore) that has taken place since the formation of the government of the United States, as will be seen by the following review:

PREVIOUS INAUGURATIONS.

On the 1st of May, 1789, Washington was inaugurated President of the United States, in the then City Hall of New York, where the splendid custom-house now stands, then occupied by Congress as a "Federal Hall." "His Excellency" was escorted from his house by a troop of light dragoons, and the legion under the command of the well-known Col. Morgan Lewis, attended by a committee of the House and Senate, to Federal Hall, where he was received by both Houses of Congress, assembled in the Senate Chamber. At 12 o'clock M., he was conducted to the gallery in front of the Hall, accompanied by all the members, when the oath prescribed by the Constitution was administered to him by Chancellor Livingston, who then said, "Long live Gen. Washington, President of the United States," which was received with great applause by the citizens assembled. Washington then addressed the two Houses of Congress, and afterwards attended divine service in St. Paul's Church, after which His Excellency proceeded in form to his own house. In the evening there were fireworks, the houses of the French and Spanish Ministers were brilliantly illuminated, and many beautiful transparencies exhibited to the public.

In 1793 Washington was re-elected, and inaugurated at Philadelphia, on which occasion the following ceremonies took place: On Monday, March 4, a number of the members of the Senate, the Speaker and members of the late House of Representatives, together with the heads of departments, Judges of the Supreme Court, &c., with foreign ministers, together with a great many ladies and gentlemen of distinction, assembled in the Senate chamber at 12 M. The President entered the hall. The President *pro tem.* then arose and said: "Sir, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court is now present and ready to administer to you the oath required by the constitution to be taken by the President of the United States." The President then made a short address, when Judge Cushing read the oath, which the President repeated after him, sentence by sentence, as follows: "I, George Washington, do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the constitution of the United States." The President was saluted by three cheers of the people, and then retired.

In 1797 John Adams, who was the elected President, was inaugurated in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, on the 4th of February. In 1801 Thomas Jefferson was elected President of the United States, and was inaugurated at Washington, March 4th. In 1805 he was re-elected, and was succeeded in 1809 by James Madison, who was re-elected in 1813. James Monroe was elected in 1817, and re-elected in 1821. John Quincy Adams succeeded him in 1825, and next time Andrew Jackson, who was elected in 1829, and re-elected in 1832. Martin Van Buren was inaugurated in 1837. William H. Harrison in 1841; John Tyler in April, 1841, after the death of Harrison; James K. Polk in 1845; Zachary Taylor in 1849; Millard Fillmore in July, 1850, after the death of Gen. Taylor; Franklin Pierce in 1853; James Buchanan in 1857, and now Abraham Lincoln in 1861.

MR. LINCOLN'S INAUGURATION.

The close of an old and the beginning of a new administration of the affairs of government have always attracted the profound attention of the people of the United States.—The circumstances under which Mr. Lincoln to day entered upon the discharge of his duties are by no means calculated to lessen the interest always heretofore manifested in regard to the course likely to be pursued by the new incumbent of the Presidential chair.—Knowing this, we hasten to lay before the public the particulars of the ceremonies attending the inauguration that have reached us by telegraph up to the present hour.

[By Telegraph for the Baltimore Sun.]

Preliminary Movements—The Procession.

WASHINGTON, March 4th—Noon.—Our metropolitan city this morning presents a lively scene. At sunrise from every prominent point, the stars and stripes were thrown to the breeze, discernible for many miles around—In all the governmental departments, corporation offices, banks and other places, there was a general suspension of business, whilst the closing of all the public schools and private seminaries, fill the streets with joyous juveniles, all in holiday attire.

The city is densely crowded with people from every part of our vast domain, and by common consent all disquietudes are forgotten in the important ceremonies of the occasion.

By the hour of nine, our thoroughfares were all rendered thronged by the marchings of the several military companies to their head-quarters near the City Hall, whilst thousands upon thousands of visitors were availing themselves of the very best opportunities to survey the imposing pageant and proceedings.

At the appointed hour the procession was formed in the order laid down in the program, under B. B. French, Esq. as Marshal in Chief, with an Assistant Marshal from each State and Territory, and thirteen Aids, all appropriately designated with scarfs and rosettes. There were also eighty-two assistant Marshals—designated by white scarfs with pink rosettes, white saddle cloths, trimmed with pink. They carried batons of pink color.

The grand pageant thus formed, enlivened by several fine bands of martial music—being now, appropriate, and brilliant uniforms of our volunteer military, many of the companies recently organized, moved off at 12½ o'clock. The warlike bearing and equipments of the government soldiery, all of whom had at some period been engaged in actual service, attracted great attention. A hundred splendid flags and banners in line, with apparently a forest of bristling muskets and bayonets, rendered the scene intensely interesting. Squads of United States troops were stationed on the tops of buildings at different points along the avenue.

WASHINGTON, March 4.—The military escort embraced one company of government cavalry, one company of sappers and miners, and twenty splendid volunteer companies, with various bands of music and surpassed any previous occasion of the kind.

Six volunteer companies were detailed for special service in various directions. The remainder of the government troops were stationed at the City Hall and other points, awaiting orders.

The government departments were all guarded by government troops.

The grand procession marching along Pennsylvania avenue—the scene was indescribable. Every doorway, window, portico, awning post, roofs of the lower houses—every available point was crowded with the beauty and fashion of the city. A vast multitude truly—who had devoted this day, at least, to witness the peaceful, constitutional inauguration of the President and Vice-President elect.

As the procession passed, a tastefully adorned car, drawn by six white horses, each led by a groom, and surrounded by a guard of ten wide-awakes in uniform, attracted much attention. Over the top was a neat canopy of red, white and blue, around which was placed several carved eagles. Through the centre of this canopy was a pole, surmounted by a handsome gilt eagle, and having floating therefrom the "Star Spangled Banner."—The body was also handsomely trimmed, and bore on either side the word "constitution," surrounded by several stars. In this car were seated two young ladies, each representing the Goddess of Liberty, and thirty-four other young ladies, tastefully attired, representing the different States of the Union.

Movements at the Capitol.

Whilst these interesting proceedings were occupying the attention of the thousands on side of the capitol, the doors of the Senate were opened at 11 A. M., and in a short time the vast chamber was thronged with a brilliant array of distinguished men, including the Diplomatic Corps, Judges of the United States Supreme Court, Senators, Officers of the Army and Navy, Governors and Ex Governors, Officers of the several Government Departments, Mayors of Cities, &c., all of whom were admitted at the north door of the capitol. The families of the Diplomatic Corps occupied the diplomatic gallery.

The ladies' gallery presented a brilliant array of fashion and beauty.

The President and the President elect were accompanied by two members of the committee of arrangements, and proceeded in a carriage to the north door of the north wing of the capitol, and entering there, proceeded to the President's room.

The Vice-President elect was accompanied to the capitol by a member of the committee of arrangements, and was conducted into the Vice-President's room, and afterwards into the Senate chamber.

President Buchanan and Mr. Lincoln occupied seats in front of the desk of the Secretary of the Senate, with the committee of arrangements on their left, and the Judges of the Supreme Court on their right.

The Senate was called to order at 12 o'clock, and the oath of office administered to Mr. Hamlin, Vice-President elect, by Vice-President Breckinridge.

After the ceremonies in the Senate Chamber, the assemblage therein formed in procession and proceeded to the platform on the central portico of the capitol. The procession was headed by Col. Wm. Selden, Marshal of the District of Columbia, and accompanied by Senators Pearce, of Md., Foot, of Vermont, and Baker, of Oregon, of the committee of arrangements, and judges, diplomatic corps, and the other distinguished persons who joined in the escort of the President and President elect from Willard's Hotel to the capitol.

On reaching the front of the portico, the President elect took the seat provided for him on the front of the platform. The President and committee of arrangements occupied a portion in the rear of the President elect. Next in the rear of these the Chief Justice and the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court occupied seats on the left, and the Vice-President, Secretary and members of the Senate those on the right. The diplomatic corps occupied the seats in the rear of the Supreme Court. Heads of Departments, Governors and Ex-Governors of States and Territories, and ex-members elect of the House of Representatives in the rear of the members of the Senate. Meanwhile thousands were assembled to witness the august ceremonies, and the greatest anxiety prevailed to see and hear the President elect. The capitol grounds swarmed with the immense multitude, and windows, roofs, trees and every other available spot were lined with men, women and children.

Those entitled to seats on the platform having been somewhat perfected, Mr. Lincoln arose and delivered the following

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

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

An apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a republican administration their property, and their peace and personal security are to be endangered.

There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you.

I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists."

I believe I have no lawful right to do so. I have no inclination to do so.

Those who nominated and elected me did so with a full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations, and had never recanted them.

And more than this, they placed in the platform, for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:

"*Resolved*, That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions, according to its own judgment exclusively is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends, 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 lawgiver, is the law.

All members of Congress swear their support to the whole constitution—to this provision as to any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves whose cases come within the terms of this clause shall be delivered up," their oaths are unanimous.

Now, if they would make the effort in good temper, could they not with nearly equal unanimity, frame and pass a law by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath.

There is some difference of opinion whether this clause should be enforced by national or by State authority. But surely that difference is not a very material one.

If the slave is to be surrendered, it can be 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 this subject ought not all the safeguards of liberty known in civilizing 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 privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States?

I take the official oath to-day with no mental reservation, and with no purpose to construe the constitution or laws by any hyper-critical rules. And while I do not choose now to specify any particular acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest that it will be much safer for all, both in official and private stations, to conform to and abide by, all those acts, which stand unrepealed, than to violate any of them, trusting to find impunity in having them held to be unconstitutional.

It was seventy two years since the first inauguration of a President under our national constitution. During that period fifteen different and greatly distinguished citizens have, in succession administered the executive branch of the government.

They have conducted it through many perils, and generally with great success. Yet with all the scope for precedent, I now enter upon the same task for the brief constitutional term of four years under great and peculiar difficulty. A disruption of the federal Union heretofore only menaced is now formidably attempted.

I hold that in the contemplation of universal law and 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 organization for its own termination.

Continue to execute all the express provisions of our own 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 contract merely, can it, as a contract, be peacefully unmade by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate or break it, but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it?

Re-sending from these general principles, we find no proposition that in legal contemplation the Union is perpetual, confirmed by the history of the Union itself, if the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States.

Doing this to be only a simple duty on my part, I shall perform it so far as is practicable, unless my rightfull masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means, or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary.

I trust that 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 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, and to 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 in any interior locality shall be so great and so universal as to permit competent resident citizens from holding the federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people that object.

While the strict legal right may exist in the government to enforce the exercise of their offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating and so nearly impracticable with all, that I deem it better to forego for the time the uses of those 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 circumstances actually existing, and with a view and a hope of a peaceful solution of 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 or 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 wise to ascertain precisely why we do it?

Will you hazard so desperate a step while there is any possibility that 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 clear constitutional right, it might in a moral point of view justify revolution; certainly would if such a 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 affirmatives and negatives, guaranties and prohibitions, in the constitution, that controversies never can 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. Shall fugitives from labor be surrendered by national or by State authority?

The constitution does not expressly say must Congress prohibit slavery in the Territories. The constitution does not expressly say must Congress protect slavery in the Territories.

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 other alternative for continuing the government but acquiescence on one side or the other.

If a minority in such a case will secede rather than acquiesce, they make a precedent which, in turn, will divide and ruin them.—For a minority of their own will secede from them whenever a majority refuses to be controlled by such a minority.

For instance, why 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 a perfect identity of interests among the States to compose a new Union as to produce harmony only and prevent new secession. Plainly the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy.

A majority held in restrain by constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinion 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 the minority, as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissible—so that rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism in some form is all that is left.

I do not forget the position assumed by some that constitutional questions are to be decided by the Supreme Court, nor do I deny that such decisions must be binding in any case upon the parties to a suit as to the object of that suit, while they are also entitled to very high respect and consideration in all parallel cases by all other departments of the government. And while it is obviously possible that such decision may be erroneous in any given case, still the evil effect following it, being limited to that particular case, with the chance that it may be overruled and never become a precedent for other cases can better be borne than could the evils of a different practice.

At the same time the candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the government upon vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by the decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant that they are made in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions, the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal.

Nor is there, in this view, any assault upon the court or the judges. It is a duty from which they may not shrink, to decide cases properly brought before them, and it is no fault of theirs if others seek to turn their decisions to political purposes.

One section of our country believes that slavery is right and ought to be extended, while the other believes that it is wrong, and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute.

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 legal obligations 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 doubt. Both sections, while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered by the other.

Physical 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 part asunder at the pleasure and beyond the reach of each other, but the different parts of our country cannot do this.

They cannot but remain face to face, and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible then to make that intercourse more advantageous, or more satisfactory after separation than before?

Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends?

Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always; and after much loss on both sides and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions as to the terms of intercourse are again upon you. This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right dismiss of 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 amendments, I fully recognize the rightful authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself, and I would be, under existing circumstances, in favor of either than the one offered, and 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 to either 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 misconstructions 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 terms for the separation of the States.

The people themselves can do this also 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 into his hands, and to transmit it unimpaired by him to his successor.

Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate junction 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 of wickedness or folly, can very seriously impair the government in the short space of four years.

My countrymen, one and all, think calmly 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 admitted that you, who are dissatisfied, hold the right in the dispute, there still is no single good reason 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 difficulties.

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 loath to close. We are not enemies but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break the bonds of affection. The mystic bonds of affection, stretching from every battle field and patriot grave, to every living heart and hearth-stone all over this loved land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be by the better angels of our nature.

As soon as Mr. Lincoln concluded, Hon. Roger B. Taney, the venerable Chief-Justice of the United States, rose, and in a solemn and impressive manner administered the oath of office to Mr. Lincoln, to the effect that he will "faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect and defend the constitution of the United States."

Closing Proceedings.

On the conclusion of the delivery of the inaugural, the band played the beautiful ode "God Save our President," composed by F. DeHass Janvier, Esq. This was followed by salvos of artillery, reverberating throughout the ten-mile square.

The police of Washington city, under their chief, Captain John H. Goddard, all in full uniform, rendered very efficient aid in facilitating the general movements, and, by judicious action, preventing any disturbance.

On the conclusion of the ceremonies the various military organizations retired to their respective armories, and the multitude returned to their dwellings, hotels and other quarters.

The weather, which for several days past has been unusually mild and pleasant, underwent a great change last night. The morning opened with a gloomy overcast sky, threatening rain, and was soon succeeded by a bright sun, but a high wind caused clouds of dust to arise, thus rendering the avenue anything but agreeable.

M.

[Reported for the Baltimore Sun.]

Thirty-Sixth Congress—Second Session.

WASHINGTON, March 4.

SENATE.

NIGHT SESSION CONTINUED.—Mr. Douglas said that he should not reply to the speech of his colleague which related to his own course. He had replied to that six years ago, when it was first made, and several times since, but he saw no appeal to the Senate to vote on various questions.

Mr. Doolittle proposed to modify the amendment which he had offered, simply to make it shorter, and not to alter the sense of the amendment.

Mr. Doolittle's amendment was disagreed to —yeas 18, nays 24.

Mr. Brigham offered an amendment as a substitute, the same as Mr. Clark's, once before offered to the Crittenden resolutions, but he withdrew it.

The question was then taken on Mr. Pugh's amendment, which is to substitute the Crittenden resolutions.

Mr. Chandler said if the amendment was adopted, though it would not be touched by the House, it would have a good effect on the country.

Mr. Bigler explained that he was in favor of the Crittenden resolutions, but he wanted a separate vote on each proposition.

Mr. Douglas said if it was adopted it would prevent States from ever abolishing slavery at all.

Mr. Mason characterized the resolutions from the House as delusive to the South, and spoke at some length against them.

The discussion continued some time between Messrs. Mason, Douglas and Pugh.

Mr. Morrill said he had been unconcerned for the last hour in the discussion going on, but when the honorable Senator from Illinois shakes his head in this quarter I have a right to object. We are standing at the end of six years terrible agitation, and all escapes from this trifling administration of *bread pills*, and to end now in a dissolution of the Union, and yet gentlemen propose to go on in the same practice. A new policy began six years ago on the slavery question.

The Southern States united upon it, and because democratic seven of those States are now out of the Union and gentlemen stand wrangling and threaten dissolution to the country if we dont swallow more of these new nostrums. This policy began in 1851 and culminated in 1860, taking six States out of the Union. And we on this side of the chamber are to be charged with a dissolution of the Union! And what have these Senators or those they represent done?

No body of men at the North believe that Congress has a right to interfere with slavery in the States, and yet we are called upon to vote that Congress has no right to do what nobody believes they can do. No party in the North entertains any purpose of making a crusade against slavery in the States. The speech of the Senator from Kentucky, who has that the whole difficulty was in regard to the Territory of New Mexico.

If that is so there is really no difficulty, but there is a proposition to amend the constitution, and which is to incorporate into that instrument a recognition of slavery, and that is what Senators protest against.

He referred to the fact that Virginia had sent an ultimatum and then armed herself for the purpose of making an armed intervention between the governments and the States in rebellion; and he argued that under such circumstances Senators ought not to present propositions here for our acceptance. He commended that the act of Virginia was an act of menace.

Mr. Wade said he had once stated his position, and he had to say that he was of the same opinion. He said the present revolution was extraordinary. There was a rebellion against the best government in the world. Nothing in the world ever instituted such a rebellion except the accursed institution which it was now sought to extend.

He contended that the progress of this revolution is to assail this accursed despotism, and nothing makes the principles of the free States stand out more clearly than the fact that these slave States are leaving us because despotism cannot exist in our midst. You complain of us, that we have a free press and free speech, and that we lord it here too well.

The difficulty is that you can exert despotism in the free States of the North, the remedy for the evil is not in paper resolutions. When you talk of going out of the Union, and coming back, and of reconstruction on a basis so as to harmonize with and uphold your system, you must first reconstruct the Throne of God and change the human mind.

He claimed that the complaints against republicanism were all unjust and unfounded, and that secession amounts simply to the assertion that the States have the right to make war on the General Government, but that the General Government has no right to defend herself.

If the doctrine be true, Florida, which was bought for purposes of defense by the country, may join herself to a foreign country and turn our guns against us. And how long has it been since gentlemen stood up here and asserted the Monroe doctrine?

Oh ghost of General Jackson, what wouldst thou think of modern democrats! A State could then secede in time of war and turn her guns against our own country.

The Senator from Kentucky, who has proposed the last resolution, is precisely such as they would wish to either 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.

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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 of wickedness or folly, can very seriously impair the government in the short space of four years.

My countrymen, one and all, think calmly 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 admitted that you, who are dissatisfied, hold the right in the dispute, there still is no single good reason 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 difficulties.

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 loath to close. We are not enemies but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break the bonds of affection. The mystic bonds of affection, stretching from every battle field and patriot grave, to every living heart and hearth-stone all over this loved land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be by the better angels of our nature.

As soon as Mr. Lincoln concluded, Hon. Roger B. Taney, the venerable Chief-Justice of the United States, rose, and in a solemn and impressive manner administered the oath of office to Mr. Lincoln, to the effect that he will "faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect and defend the constitution of the United States."

Closing Proceedings.

On the conclusion of the delivery of the inaugural, the band played the beautiful ode "God Save our President," composed by F. DeHass Janvier, Esq. This was followed by salvos of artillery, reverberating throughout the ten-mile square.

The police of Washington city, under their chief, Captain John H. Goddard, all in full uniform, rendered very efficient aid in facilitating the general movements, and, by judicious action, preventing any disturbance.

On the conclusion of the ceremonies the various military organizations retired to their respective armories, and the multitude returned to their dwellings, hotels and other quarters.

The weather, which for several days past has been unusually mild and pleasant, underwent a great change last night. The morning opened with a gloomy overcast sky, threatening rain, and was soon succeeded by a bright sun, but a high wind caused clouds of dust to arise, thus rendering the avenue anything but agreeable.

M.

[Reported for the Baltimore Sun.]

Thirty-Sixth Congress—Second Session.

WASHINGTON, March 4.

SENATE.

NIGHT SESSION CONTINUED.—Mr. Douglas said that he should not reply to the speech of his colleague which related to his own course. He had replied to that six years ago, when it was first made, and several times since, but he saw no appeal to the Senate to vote on various questions.

Mr. Doolittle proposed to modify the amendment which he had offered, simply to make it shorter, and not to alter the sense of the amendment.

Mr. Doolittle's amendment was disagreed to —yeas 18, nays 24.

Mr. Brigham offered an amendment as a substitute, the same as Mr. Clark's, once before offered to the Crittenden resolutions, but he withdrew it.

The question was then taken on Mr. Pugh's amendment, which is to substitute the Crittenden resolutions.

Mr. Chandler said if the amendment was adopted, though it would not be touched by the House, it would have a good effect on the country.

Mr. Bigler explained that he was in favor of the Crittenden resolutions, but he wanted a separate vote on each proposition.

Mr. Douglas said if it was adopted it would prevent States from ever abolishing slavery at all.

Mr. Mason characterized the resolutions from the House as delusive to the South, and spoke at some length against them.

The discussion continued some time between Messrs. Mason, Douglas and Pugh.

Mr. Morrill said he had been unconcerned for the last hour in the discussion going on, but when the honorable Senator from Illinois shakes his head in this quarter I have a right to object. We are standing at the end of six years terrible agitation, and all escapes from this trifling administration of *bread pills*, and to end now in a dissolution of the Union, and yet gentlemen propose to go on in the same practice. A new policy began six years ago on the slavery question.

The Southern States united upon it, and because democratic seven of those States are now out of the Union and gentlemen stand wrangling and threaten dissolution to the country if we dont swallow more of these new nostrums. This policy began in 1851 and culminated in 1860, taking six States out of the Union. And we on this side of the chamber are to be charged with a dissolution of the Union! And what have these Senators or those they represent done?

No body of men at the North believe that Congress has a right to interfere with slavery in the States, and yet we are called upon to vote that Congress has no right to do what nobody believes they can do. No party in the North entertains any purpose of making a crusade against slavery in the States. The speech of the Senator from Kentucky, who has that the whole difficulty was in regard to the Territory of New Mexico.

If that is so there is really no difficulty, but there is a proposition to amend the constitution, and which is to incorporate into that instrument a recognition of slavery, and that is what Senators protest against.

He referred to the fact that Virginia had sent an ultimatum and then armed herself for the purpose of making an armed intervention between the governments and the States in rebellion; and he argued that under such circumstances Senators ought not to present propositions here for our acceptance. He commended that the act of Virginia was an act of menace.

Mr. Wade said he had once stated his position, and he had to say that he was of the same opinion. He said the present revolution was extraordinary. There was a rebellion against the best government in the world. Nothing in the world ever instituted such a rebellion except the accursed institution which it was now sought to extend.

He contended that the progress of this revolution is to assail this accursed despotism, and nothing makes the principles of the free States stand out more clearly than the fact that these slave States are leaving us because despotism cannot exist in our midst. You complain of us, that we have a free press and free speech, and that we lord it here too well.

The difficulty is that you can exert despotism in the free States of the North, the remedy for the evil is not in paper resolutions. When you talk of going out of the Union, and coming back, and of reconstruction on a basis so as to harmonize with and uphold your system, you must first reconstruct the Throne of God and change the human mind.

He claimed that the complaints against republicanism were all unjust and unfounded, and that secession amounts simply to the assertion that the States have the right to make war on the General Government, but that the General Government has no right to defend herself.

If the doctrine be true, Florida, which was bought for purposes of defense by the country, may join herself to a foreign country and turn our guns against us. And how long has it been since gentlemen stood up here and asserted the Monroe doctrine?

Oh ghost of General Jackson, what wouldst thou think of modern democrats! A State could then secede in time of war and turn her guns against our own country.

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IMPORTANT FROM WASHINGTON.

Passage of the Corwin Resolutions.

The Senate remained in session until 5 o'clock this morning, when it succeeded in passing the following resolutions of Mr. Corwin, which had previously passed the House. These resolutions embrace a portion of the report of the committee of thirty-three.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, (two-thirds of both Houses concurring.) That the following article be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said Legislatures, shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of said constitution, viz:

Art. XII. No amendment of this Constitution, having for its object any interference within the States with the relation between their citizens and those described in section second of the first article of the Constitution as "all other persons" shall originate with any State that does not recognize that relation within its own limits, or shall be valid without the assent of every one of the States composing the Union.

Corwin's amendment:

"No amendment shall be made to the constitution which will authorize or give to Congress the power to abolish or interfere, within any State, with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labor or service by the laws of said State."

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