AMERICAN VOLUNTEER.

JOHN B. BRATTON.

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Political.

CONGRESSIONAL ADDRESS

"You have not, as good Patriots should do studied The public good, but your parti whar ends, Factious among yourselves, preferring such Tooffices and honors, as noter read he elements of saving policy;
or deeply Skill'd in All The Principles USHER TO DESTRUCTION!"
—Timoleon to the Citizens of Syracuse.

AN ADDRESS the People of the United States and Par ticularly to the People of the States which adhere to the Federal Government.

As members of the Thirty-Eighth Con-

ss, politically opposed to the present Federdministration and representing the Opposi on union sentiment of the country, we address greeves to the people of the United States; nd our object will be to show (as far as may lone within the limits of an address) that ere is good reason for changing the Adnistration and Policy of this General Gov-ment through the instrumentality of sufnge in the elections of the present year. public station, who control the policy of clovernment, cannot or will not perform

welfare, and will not subserve it: thers have false or perverted views of our em of free government, or are inspired by ions which continually mislead them; nd the opposition in Congress are nowerless check the majority, and are unable even to re such investigation of the Executive partments and of the conduct of Governt officials, as will prevent abuse and se-

refoundly, painfully impressed by passturn from the President of United States and from the majorin Congress, upon whom all remon-nce against misgovernment would be sed to address ourselves to our fellowintrymen at large; and we appeal to them interpose in public affairs, and by a propexercion of their sovereign electoral power, decree that these United States shall be dy governed, re-united, tranquilized and

Endorsement of Power.

What we propose to notice in the first , as introductory to our examination of lic affairs, is, the consolidation of all er in the Government of the United States the hands of a single political interest .party of the Administration has not been he Northern, Western, and Pacific States a single exception, at the Presidential on of 1860, and being relieved from all ern opposition in Congress by the withthe States of that section, it was dized to its uses; all Government outlaws used by its officials; all public power wielded by its arm; and this condition ings has continued to the present time. evelled in power, and of inevitable ers; it has forgotten or despised and d under foot the duties imposed upon the people, and the objects announce e outset have been supplanted by s, which now inspire its action and oc-

truth is more certain, none better es shed by history, than this, that political is aggressive; that it will always seek itself and to increase its nomina and that no free government is possible by the very constitution of the Govat itself, power is not made a check to Freedom is secured by the action dutely dominate over or control the ce, the necessity of constituich shall so divide and arrange the is of government, that no single interiss, or individual, shall become supremo gross the whole mass of political poww the capital mischief (or rather ice of mischief and evil) in the Governat of the United States during the past itical interest or party, of evil conmass of Government powers, free from The failts are obvious. It has been false to mises made as the condition upon it attained power; it has broken the d the public treasure; it has suspended cient writ of liberty, the "habeas cor-rendering it impossible for the citizen nredress against the grossest outrage; hanged the war into a humanitarian outside of any constitutional or lawect; it has grossly mismanaged the the conduct of military operations; it army of the United States were openly used raded the currency of the country by for the purpose. issues of paper money, and confisca ate property by a legal tender enacto restraint from public opinion, it ertaken to control State elections by ress or expected. ailitary force or by fraudulent seleche results already achieved, and "the ot yet." No impartial observer can late the future without apprehensions creater evils, or can doubt that some on of public power or its lodgment hands, is necessary not merely to cess but to the very existence of free

ament in the United States.

The Democratic Party.

The evil of uncontrolled party domination in government will be greater or less according to the character and objects of the party in power. The Democratic party, which or-dinarily has administered the Government of the United States, even in the utmost plentitude of its power, did not fall into gross abuse or threaten the liberties of the country. Although it required to be checked upon occasion, and that its policy and conduct should be subjected to rigid scrutiny by an active opposition, there was great security against its abuse of its powers in the principles and loctrines to which it held; for its creed was established for it by mon of the most sterling virtue and profound wisdom, who justly comprehend the nature of free governments and the dangers to which they are exposed.— Strict construction of the Constitution, a sparing use of the powers of Government, moderate expenditures and equal laws, became the articles of a political creed which preserved the Government from abuse and degeneracy, kept the States in harmony, and secured the growth and developement of a material prosperity unexampled in the histo-ry of nations. Its great merit was that it was a constitutional party, (in the true sense of that term,) subjecting itself cheerfully, thoroughly and constantly, to all the rules and limitations of the fundamental law. Its principles themselves, checked it and kept it within bounds. As its contests for power were upon the very ground that there should be no over-action of government but only a due exertion of its authorized powers, there was the less necessity to confront it with a powerful opposition. Yetsuch opposition al-

the safe and successful action of the Government under its management. The Party of the Administration. opinion in this country which has always held to extreme action by the General Government, favoritism to particular interests, usurpation of State powers, large public exthe Government, cannot or will not perform penditures, and, generally, to constructions of the Constitution which favor Federal authority and perpetuate its liberties. Many of them are engrossed by political and personal objects which do not comport with the ballogics which do not comport with the very embodiment of that distunce party-list forseen and dependently. We also need to be constitution which favor Federal authority and extend its pretentions. Besides, it is essentially sectional and aggressive—the very embodiment of that distunct party-list forseen and dependently we will not subserve the constitution which favor federal authority and extend its pretentions. ism forseen and denounced by Washington and Jackson in those Farewell Addresses a memorable address to the Legislature of Kentucky. That it could not safely be intrusted with the powers of the Federal Government is a conclusion which inevitably results from this statement of its composition re horesty, economy, and efficiency in the and character. But the question is no lonand character. But the question is in on-ger one of mere opinion or conjecture. Hav-ing been tried by the actual possession of Government powers and been permitted to exhibit fully its true nature, it has complete justified the theory which condemns it; as rill plainly appear from considering particular measures of policy pursued by it. From among these we shall select several for particular examination, in order that our general statement of Republican unfitness for the

any possible contradiction. Military Interference With Ele

This has taken place in two ways: First. By the selection of soldiers of the ar-

my to be sent home temporarily to partieiate in State elections. This practice, in connection with sending home on such occasions large numbers of bested to any efficient check upon its ac-from an opposing interest or party, since from an opposing interest or party, since service, has changed the result of many stainment of power in 1861. Carrying State elections and given to the party in State elections and given to the party in power an unjust advantage. With the large powers possessed by the Administration for the purpose of the war; with the large increase of appointments to civil office and the employment of vast numbers of persons in do its will and pleasure without all parts of the country in the business of or hindrance in the Government of the Government, the Administration and its par-States. All Public patronage was ity have been enabled to influence elections a major general of the United States Army, ized to its uses; all Government outlaws to an alarming extent. The powers conferwhich, although it holds the allegiance of were enormous in amount) were | red by the whole people upon the Government, and the revenues, derived by taxation from the whole people or derived from loans which become charged upon the whole mass sity, from its very nature and from the infinite number of ways for party purposes that in these cases and in others of similar and to secure to the Republican interest, in character which may follow them, the Presithe Federal and State Governments, the continued possession of power. The injustice and corruptive tendency of this system cannot be denied, and alone should be held sufficient to condemn the party of the Adminis tration. It is notorious that time after time. on the eve of doubtful elections, thousands of voters have been sent home from the army to turn the scale between parties and to secure an Administration triumph. And this has been done, not upon the principle of sending home citizen soldiers indiscriminately and without reference to their political opinions and attachments, (which would have been action upon each other of political for- just,) but upon the principle of selecting reorganized and so limited that no one publican soldiers, or of granting furloughs upon the condition of a promise from the persons favored that they would support Administration candidates. We mention elections in New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania, as instances of such most base and unjust proceeding, by which unscrupu-lous power has defeated the true expression of popular opinion, and obtained political advantages which were shameful to it and years and at this moment, is, that a deeply injurious to the country. Will a free people consent to have their system of elections thus perverted and corrupted, and exsect to enjoy in spite thereof, the peaceable fruits of good government and honest rule?

Second. A still more grave offense against the purity and independence of elections has Delaware. The particular circumstances of Government interference were somewhat dif-

ferent in each of these States, but the substantial facts in all, were these: 1 That the military power of the General Government was directly applied to control the elections, and that officers and soldiers of the

2. That the States in question were at the time in a state of profound peace and quiet, and that with the exception of a single conand, to retain its power, that it may plander and be subjected to no check plander and that with the exception of a single control of the property by a logar tender raid or invasion into them was then in prog-

3. That in each of them there existed an adhering State government, exercising complete and unnquestioned jurisdiction under

ular provision of the Constitution of the United States, authorizing such call,) but that the inteference, in most cases, was against the desire, and notably in the case of Maryland against the protest of the State authorities. 5. that thousands of qualified persons were prevented from voting at those elections, and most of those States the result of the election was changed from what it would have

been without military interference. The aged and timid were deterred from attending the elections; many who attended were kept from approaching the polls; and, in many cases, actual outrage prevented the legal voetr from exercising his right. The full proof of all this capacity and the state of the state this appears in a number of contested-election cases in Congress, in official papers from the Governors of several of the States in question, in reports of committees of the State Leg islatures, and from other reliable sources; and we recomend the whole subject, as one of fearful importance, to the examination and judgment of our countrymen.

Creation of Bogus States. The steps taken towards establishing a system of false and unjust representation in the Government of the United States, should

also be caréfully considered. In the first place, let us consider what has taken place in regard to the State of Virginia. In 1800, Virginia had a population, (including slaves,) of 1,596.318; Pennsylvania a population of 2,806,215; New York a population of 3,880,735. While the two States, last named adhered faithfully to the Government of the Hittel States and Hit ment of the United States, and have since berne on its behalf, their proper share of the burdens of the war, Virginia revolted, and two thirds of her population was thrown into the scale of the enemy. What result follow-ed as to the representation of that State in vays existed, and was no doubt necessary to the Congress of the Union? The compara-tively small part of the State which adhered But with the party now in power the case to the Union was recognized as constituting, widely different. Its main strength lies for political parposes, the State of Virginia; in States which voted against Mr. Jefferson in 1800, against Mr. Madison in 1812, against Mr. Andrew Jackson in 1828, and against Mr. Polk in 1844; and it embraces that school of United States, and Representatives from the same territory were admitted into the Federal House of Representatives. The diberal principles of construction upon which this was done, may stand justified by the peculiar circumstances of the case. But there was a further proceeding for which no warrant of power or pretence of necessity can be part of the adhering from Virginia territory was permitted to form itself into a new State, was admitted into the Union under the name of West Virginia, (alwhich they left on record for the instruction of the United States of their countrymen, and by Henry Clay in declares that no State shall be divided for the formation of a new one without the express assent of the Legislature thereof,) and Sonators therefrom were admitted into the United States Senate. A very small part of the old State not included within the boundaries of the new one, remained within our military lines, to be, as well as the new State, repreunder Republican manipulation, one third of the ancient State of Virginia has four votes in the Senate of the United States, and may neutralize the votes of both New York and Pennsylvania in that body. The 'Aucient Dominion," with a population a little exceeding one half that of Pennsylvania, is represented by four Senators in the Congress of possession of Government powers may be il-lustrated, established, and made good against the United States, an by two in the Confederate Congress at Richmond! Pennsylvania with her three millions of people, remains and the idea being borrowed from the French) true to the Union, and retains her former vote and was without example in the history of the and emoluments, other than bounty, as other in the Senate: Virginia turns traitor, sends two thirds of her population under the Confederate flag, and forthwith has her representation doubled in the Senate of the United States, and that, too, in defiance of a constitutional provision forbidding it, and avoided only upon a strained construction or implica otally at variance with the plain fact. Against the plain truth of the case, and without necessity, it was assumed that the Legis

the whole for the purpose of assenting to its division and the erection therefrom of a new member of the the Federal Union. We pass from the case to speak of matter more recent. A State governmet has been set up in Louisiana, under the supervision of but part of the population, we suppose it to have the former representation of that State in Congress; and in Tennessee and Arkausas there have been proceedings of a similar deof individual property, have been used in an scription. The indications are clear and full infinite number of ways for party purposes that in these cases and in others of similar dent of the United States, through his officers of the army in command in the States to be represented, dictates and will dictate and control the whole proceeding for renewed repreuniust and odious.

lature of a fragment of the State represented

A recent attempt to set up one of these bo gus States in Florida, under a presidential agent, must be fresh in the recollection of the country, as must also be the military disaste by which that attempt was rendered abortive But why refer to particular cases? Why reason upon events that have happened, or upon probabilities which present themselves before us? The President of the United States has, himself, in his message at the opening of the present session of Congress, and in his proclamation appended thereto, announced his programme for the reconstruction and consequent representation of the States which may be rescued in whole or in part from the

Confederates during the existing war. The Proclamation extends a pardon to all persons in the rebellious States, (except certain Confederate officers, &c.,) upon condition that they shall take, subscribe, and keep a prescribed oath, one provision of which is, hat they will abide by and faithfully support all proclamations of the President made during the existing rebellion having reference to slaves, so long and so far as not modified or declared void by decision of the Supreme been committed by the Administration in the States of Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland and ever in any one of the Confederate States, "a number of persons not less than one tenti in number of the votes cast in such State at the Presidential election of 1860, having taken and kept the aforesaid oath, &c., shall

re-establish a State Government which shall

be republican, and in nowise contravening said oath, such State shall be recognized as the true government of the State."

This presidential paper must be regarded as the most remarkable one ever issued by an a population are to exercise the powers of the whole, and, if Congress concur, are to be represented in the Government of the U. S. and in our clectoral colleges for the choice of Presi dent, as if they were the whole! And this one tenth is to be made up of men who will

ture and unknown ediets of the Executive will? and if usurped authority can accomplish its object, a handful of men in a State degraded by such an oath, are to wield representative votes in the Government of the Unitend the power of the master to whom their fealty is sworn.

The lawless and dangerous character of the Administration must most evidently appear from the foregoing review of its policy and conduct regarding popular elections and the organization of States.

But its incapacity (if not profligacy) will as clearly appear from an examination of its neasures in the prosecution of the war, and to some of those measures we will now direct

Raising of Troops.

In April, 1861 at the outbreak of hostilities, the army of the United States was small and wholly inadequate to meet the exigency of war which had arisen. The President called for seventy-five thousand troops from the States to serve for a period of three months, and subsequently made other calls. Finally, in the latter part of 1862, drafts were or-dered in several States to fill up their quotas and the proceeding for that purpose was under the State authorities, pursuant to State laws and some general regulations of the War Department trained for the occasion. Thus the case stood as to the raising of troops at the commencement of 1863, and the troops in service at that date consisted of the Reg-ular Army of the United States as it stood at officered as companies and regiments by State authority. Volunteering had at one time been checked by the Administration, upon a statement by it that all the troops need ed were already in service. Soon, however, beginning of 1863 the number called for and raised had become enormous. But for the after purposes of the Administration it was perfectly feasible for it to call for additional troops in the manner theretofore practiced, which involved State assistance and co-operation and secured to the troops raised their regular organization as State militia under the laws of their respective States. es of the eighth section of the first article of the Constitution, which authorize Congress toprovide for calling forth the militia to exccute the laws of the Union, suppress insurections, and repel invasions," and " to provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers," &c. supply them, organizing them into companies and regiments and appointing their officers, were unquestionable, as was also the power of the States to select those troops which they were to contribute, by draft or let.

Conscription.

ment in direct communication with the whole and that every person of color wh sive and absolute control ever the whele proceeding of raising troops. The validity of this enactment has been questioned, and it is dred dollars [each]. one of the debatable points which belong to This enactment is he history of the war. For it has been argued with much of force and reason that the power of Congress to raise armies although a that at least 2 hundred thousand negro troops general power is not unlimited, and that laws conscription by it are not "necessary and when the forces required can be raised with perfect certainty and convenience from the militia of the States under the pro-risions of the Constitution above cited. But, passing this point, the inquiry arises, why was the former system involving State co-operation abandoned, and a new and questionable one sustituted? No clear and adequate eason for the measures appears in the debates of the Congress which passed it, unless that it was in hostility to "the accursed doc-trine of State rights" be accepted as such We must, therefore, conclude that it was the policy of the authors of the law t stration; that the act was the measure of a

created unnecessarily a large number of Federal officers, distributed throughout the ountry; and that, while it has been no more efficient than the system which required

tisfactory. If a necessity for raising troops by conscription be asserted, then it would that the revolutionary policy of the Administration has alarmed and disgusted the people. and chilled that enthusiasm which in the earlier days of the contest filled our patriot army with brave and willing volunteers.

Bounties.

What is further to be mentioned in this onnection is the payment of bounties by the Inited States, by the State governments, and by cities, counties, and other municipalities. In their payment there has been great want deneral Government has not been the it all times, and in the States there has been nfinite diversity. Upon the whole, the sys tem of bounties has been costly and unequal; the amount of indebtedness created by it i cnormous, and unequal sams have been paid to soldiers of the same grade of merit. Un-der any system of local bounties to avoid conscription, the wealthy parts of the country joy an advantage over others, and especially where manufacturing and other interests find it to their profit in providing the sup-plies of the war to rotain their laborers at home, substituting payments of money in their stead, unless each State shall be firmly Governors and other State officials whose devotion and fidelity to the Government of the
United States were unquestionable.

4. that there was no official call upon the
Federal Government by the Executive or Legislature of any one of those States for protection
against domestic violence, (under the partie
solemny swear that they will obey and keop
required to furnish the substitutes to fill up
to sixteen dollars per month, (without disto sixteen dollars per month, (without disnot proclamations which he may have issued
already, but future ones also. A more abject
oath was never framed in the history of the
whole earth. Was a religious obligation evagainst domestic violence, (under the partie
solemny swear that they will obey and keop
their stead, unless each State shall be firmly
the increased the pay of privates from thirteen
of sixteen dollars per month, (without disnot proclamations which he may have issued
all the President's proclamations upon a particular subject, issuedduring the president's proclamations of sixteen dollars per month, (without disticular subject, issu

any age or country, to obey and keep the fu- | quota of the State of the agent. If it shall | sury, strained by the payment of enormous | beyond the point where bankruptcy threatens ties of the system and its extravagance in ma ny cases will become a matter of concern to the whole people. And it is just matter of complaint against those who have held authority in the Federal Government, that by ect the burden of the war has been vastly

a logitimate object of national assumption; and if this happen, those communities that have retained their laborers at home, and thereby secured their prosperity during the war, will cast a part of the burden of their

exemption upon other sections.
Obviously what has been wanting has been wisdom and foresight in those who have controlled the public measures of the war, and who have resorted to one expedient after another without a fixed policy; who have acted where they ought not, and have failed to act where action and regulation were demanded.

Negro Troops.

But a subject which requires particular notice is, the employment of negro troops in the outbreak of hostilities, with subsequent dont "to receive into the service of the Uni-enlistments added, and of volunteers and ted States for the purpose of constructing indrafted militia of the States, organized and trenchments, or performing camp service, or officered as companies and regiments by any other labor, or any military or naval ser-Volunteering had at one vice for which they might be found competent, persons of African descent; and such persons should be enrolled and organized under such regulations, not inconsistent with the demand for men was renewed, and at the | the Constitution and laws, as the Presidentmight prescribe;" and further, that they is should receive ten dollars per month and one ration, three dollars of which monthly pay might be in elething."

Without any other law on the subject pri-

rindate to the present session of Congress, (except an imperfect provision in an act of 1862,) the President in his message of December 8, 1863, aumounced, that "of those acter of a public force contributed by the States ander the fifteenth and sixteenth clauses of the eighth section of the first artists. in the ranks."

At the present session, on the 24th of February, an act amendatory of the conscription law of 1863 was approved, the twenty-fourth section of which provides for the enrollment of colored persons between twenty and fortyfive years of age; the slaves of loyal masters enrolled, drawn and mustered into the public service, shall be free, and one hundred dol-The power of the Federal Government to lars for each shall be paid to the master call for troops, and the power of the States to and that in the slave States represented in and that in the slave States represented in Congress, the loyal master of a slave who vo-lunteers into the public service shall be paid a sum not exceeding three hundred dollars,

out of the military commutation fund. By the army appropriation bill, approved June 15, 1864, it was further provided, "that all persons of color who have been or may be But early in 1863 a new system for raising mustered into the military service of the Unisoldiers of the regular or volunteer forces of ities and by the clauses of the Constitution above mentioned, it put the General Govern from and after the first day of January, 1864 arms-bearing population of the country, and assumed for the General Government exclureceive such sums in bounty as the President shall order in the different States and parts of the United States, not exceeding one hun-

> This canetment is similar in terms to a bill which passed the Senate in March last, upon the consideration of which it was announ would be raised. Adding to this number the number stated by the President to be in service in December last, would make one quar ter of a million of troops of this description. The measures above mentioned would es

tablish the following points in the policy of the Government. First. The employment of black troops generally, both slave and free. Second. The equality of black troops with white as to compensation and supplies; and Third. The payment to the loyal master of a slave of a bounty of one hundred dollars the suggestion made by one of its leading when the slave is drafted into the service, or supporters in the House of Representatives of a bounty not exceeding three hundred dolwhen the slave is drafted into the service, or lars, when he volunteers.

The practical results of this policy are, to obtain an inferior quality of troops at the highest rate of expense; to impose upon the Treasury the support of an enormous number deprive the States of the appoinment of the officers of the troops raised, and to absorb that of undisciplined and ignorant negroes; to ower into the hands of the Federal Admin- recognize the principle of buying negroes tration; that the act was the measure of a from their masters, whether the public intro to increase its influence and power, terests require it or not, and to incur the and to prevent the possibility of any participation therein by the Governments of the states.

We believe it to be certain that this measure has entailed great expense upon the children must, to a great extent, be thrown Trensury of the United States; that it has upon the Government for support or be left to perish.

There has never been extensive objection to the employment of negroes under the act of 1862, in those war employments for which State co-operation, it has been much less sa- they are fitted as laborers and teamsters, and for camp service. In the warm parts of the country, especially, they could be thus use fully employed, and a reasonable number doubtless might also be employed for some sorts of service in the navy. But to employ an unwieldy number of them at such prodigious expense, is most evident folly and wrong, and it will be well if signel disaster does not result from it. We know no reason for this extravagant, costly, and dangerous policy, except a desire of the majority in Congress to establish (if indeed their enact ments could accomplish such object) the equality of the black and white races with each other. But doubtless, the employment mity and system. The policy of the of blacks in the war is to be made the pretext for extending to them the right of suffrage and also social position, and to be followed, probably, by the organization of a considerable body of them into a standing army.

Increase of Soldiers' Pay. The immediate result of this policy of ne groism in the war has been to postpone, and at last to limit the increase of compensation to our citizen soldiers. Bills providing such increase were permitted to lie unacted in Congress for more than five months of the present session, and the bill finally adopted for that purpose was madequate and made to take effect only from the first of May, 1864.

happen hereafter that local payments of bounties, whether by States, or by municipalities within them, be assumed by the Government of the United States, the inequali-just demands made upon it in behalf of our dign overthrow. just demands made upon it in behalf of our | dign overthrow. itizen soldiers.

Besides it is instructive to observe that in this legislation by Congress, while increased increased, and been distributed irregularly and unfairly.

The poeuniary outlay and indebtedness caused by payment of local bounties, being mostly incurred by powerful and influential communities, it is quite possible that they may be recognized hereafter by Congress as a legitimate object of national and influential communities, it is quite possible that they may be recognized hereafter by Congress as a legitimate object of national and influence in the act of 15th of June authorizes the united States to inquire whether increased pay under former the recorded pay under former than the act of 15th of June authorizes through caused in the pending the Attorney General of the United States to inquire whether increased pay under former contemplation by those who would justly into the present year, who were free on the 19th of April, 1861, and if he determine in favor of such instances in the product of the present year. ney General, in the hors that some additional meaning may be wrong out of the old status justifying additional expenditure upon

2 favorite object. It ought to be manifest to every reasonable man that negroes in service should be paid less than white troops, and that the increase of their pay from ten to sixteen dollars per month was unnecessary and profligate. The the war. An act of Congress, passed the market value of their labor is known to be 17th day of July, 1802, authorized the Presi-less than that of citizens, and it is equally clear that their services are much less valua-

long since to have been provided. The great depreciation in the value of the currency in which they are paid, and the increased rates of price in the country affecting all their purchases and outlays, have demanded the notice and consideration of the Government. It is upon their exertions that reliance must be placed for success in the war, and even for the preservation of the Treasury from embarrassment and the country from pecuniary convulsion; and whatever differences of opin ion may exist as to measures of Government policy, their merits and sacrifices demand recognition and gratitude from the whole mass

This gigantic scheme for the employment of negro troops at full rates of expense is therefore, unwise as regards the prosecution of the war, and operates unjustly as to our citizen soldiery in service. In other words,

of their countrymen.

t is dangerous, profligate, and unjust. But limited space requires us to forego further examination of particular points of Administration policy, (however instructive and useful such examination might be,) and to confine ourselves to some general considerations which may be more briefly presented. And these will relate to the dangers which will threaten us (as results of Administration policy) during the war and after

Dangers in Connection with the War. Under this head may be mentioned the

state of our Finances and Currency.

The unnecessary waste of the public reometimes badly executed and supported,) as necessary to uphold arbitrary government and the other enormous sums corruptly or mwisely expended in estaining supplies and support arbitrary government in order to prevent renewed revolt, as it is to support arbitrary government in order to prevent renewed revolt, as it is to support arbitrary government in order to and the other enormous sums corruptly or unwisely expended in obtaining supplies and materials of war, would, of themselves, have been sufficient to deeply injure the public credit, and to create fears of our future ability to hear the pecuniary burdens created by the war. And what ought to sting the minds of reflecting men, is the consideration that the general political policy of the Administration has been such that it has prolonged he war by depriving us of allies and sympathy in the enemy's country, and frittered way the public energy upon other objects seside military виссень

In addition to which stands forth the fact that this occasion of war has been seized unon to establish a system of Government pa per money, which has caused the public expenditures and the public difficto be one half greater than they would otherwise have ocen, and introduced numerous and most serious evils and dangers into all the channels of commercial and business life. The rash of this system, and the failure of all the delusive hones and arrangements based upon it, is not merely a possible but a probable eyent in the future. The ruin and sufering which such an event would entail cannot be overstated, and to avert it, or to mitigate its force, is one of the main objects which should be had in view in setting our future policy. Upon questions of currency and finance, we must revert to the ideas o former times in which alone can safety be

In speaking of financial prospects and future pecuniary conditions, we do not overlook the fact that opinions very different from ours are expressed by the friends of power. the appearances of prosperity to which they

Production in the country is now decreased for great numbers of laborers are employed in the war, and abstracted from industrial

Increased rates of value pross hardly upon persons of fixed incomes, and upon all who are disabled or engaged in unprofitable em-

doyments.
The war does not create wealth but consumes it, and consumes also the laborers by which it is produced. It devours the prodicts of past and present industry, and checks the growth of population upon which future prosperity depends.

And the inevitable evils of a state of war-

the injury and destruction of material interests, the waste, spoliation and improvidence that characterize it-are aggravated by pro fuse issues of Government paper money which incite to reckless expenditure, public and private, and disguise for the time the fearful consumption of wealth and the sure approach of of suffering and retribution

This expenditure and accumulation of debts public and private cannot go on indefinately or for any considerable time. The day of paynent, which will be also the day of trouble will surely come. Great suffering will fall upon the people. These who suppose themselves independent of the frowns of fortune, will realize the retribution which always follows upon excess, and even those wholly innocent of any complicity with financial mismanagement or other eyil feature of public policy, will be smitten equally with the

Another danger to be apprehended under pay to white troops begins on the first of our present rulers; one which has been spe-May, an increase to colored troops dates from culated upon often since the war began, and the first of January. And a provision contained in the act of 15th of June authorizes tion of some foreign nation in the pending into effect by orders of the War Department. Their wealth was dried up, their The majority in Congress, in pursuing the cities occupied by their fees, their land ravphantom of negro equality, are as improvident aged. They were pushed to the extremity as they are impassioned. The decision of the War Department (in accordance with the hausted by the conflict. But in their hour of opinion of its solicitor) as to the compensa- extremest peril, France, at the instance of a tion of negroes under former laws, is to be Pennsylvania diplomatist, extended them her opened and subjected to review by the Attorthe struggle triumphant and independent .-Is this war to be mismanaged and perverted and protracted, until a foreign power may be induced to assist our antagonist, as France assisted the revolted colonies of the third deorge? Unquestionably the feeble, changeful, arbitrary and unwise policy of the Administration, begets this danger of intervention, and will produce it if it ever take place. Nor has its diplomacy abroad been calculat ed to evert the evil consequences of its action at home. That diplomacy has not been wise, judicious and manly, but feeble, pretentious, ble in the army.

We have but to add under this head that and offensive. It should therefore be one of additional pay to our citizen soldiers in serious that the leading objects in selecting an Administration for the next four years, to avoid this danger of intervention by the selection of rulers who will not provoke it, and whose policy will commend respect at home and abroad.

Quagers Beyond the War.

But other dangers menace us under Republican rule, even if success in the war be secured. And as these, in a still greater degree than those already mentioned, deserve careful and earnest attention, we proceed to state them distinctly.

Oppressive Covernment.

If already we have experienced the arbitrary disposition and unlawful practices of our rulors, what may we not experience after some time has clapsed, and when military success has rendered them still more insuright be so numerous and flagrant while they are subjected to opposition and struggling to maintain their position against an open foo. what may we not expect when all constraint upon them is removed? In considering what they have already done in opposition to liberty and lawful rule, we may exclaim, "If these things be done in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry?" Let no one be deceived by the assertion, that the arbitrary and evil acts of the Administration indicate but a temporary policy, and are founded on necessities which cannot long exist. Not only is the excuse that this policy of the Admin-istration is necessary in view of the public interests, falso in point of fact, it is equally untrue that if unopposed, if not put down, it will be of short duration and expire with the The unnecessary waste or the parties and sources in the war; the enormous sums expended upon foolish and fruitless military adhering communities, the same pretended upon foolish and fruitless military accessity will exist hereafter. Will it not be unhold arbitrary government. war. If it be necessary now to do unlawful things and trample upon individual rights in

> be furnished with this argument of necessity which will expand itself to the utmost requirement of despotic power under all ciruinstances. Our ancestors who settled this country and established the Government of the United States, fortunately did not admit this doctrine of necessity, but proceeded, under the guidance of a most wise and just policy, to tio up the hands of official power by constitu-tional limitations, by checks and balances established in the very framework of Government, and by inculcating among the mass of the people, in whom was to be lodged the ultimate or sovereign power, a profound respect for all private rights and for the laws by which they are secured and vindicated; and we will do well to act upon their policy and follow in their footsteps. They trod the road of safety and made it plain before all succeeding generations, and we will be recreant to duty and false to our lineage, if we surrender the principles to which they held,

or permit ourselves to be deluded by those

arguments of power which they despised and

subduc existing rebellion? When did a ru-fer who had deprived his country of its liber-

ties ever voluntarily restore them? That

people who will accept excuses for tyranny,

will always be abundantly supplied with them by their rulers, and especially will they

rejected. Success itself in the odious policy now urged by the Administration, of the subjugation of one-third or more of the States of the Union, were it possible, could be so only at the price of the liberty of the whole country; for our system would not admit of military rule over them. Necessarially populations within them must conduct local governments, and exercise the proper portion of power pertaining to them in the Federal Government. In short, they could not be held as conquered Territories unless we should change our whole constitutional system and abandon altogether our experiment of freedom; and therefore the imperative necessity of changing the issue between the sections from one of conquest to one of restoration. be chosen for public station who will know how to save to a bleeding country what is left, and restore what is lost, by securing peace on constitutional and just terms.

Corrupt Government.

Another danger to be considered is, corrupt government, the necessary consequence of a bitrary principles practically applied in the affairs of the nation, or rather an accompanying principle. The vast increase of officers in all branches of the public service; the administration of a great public debt, including the management of a revenue system of gigantic proportions, will create numerous avenues of corruption, and when the Government is administered upon principles of overcion, it must necessarily subsidize large numbers of persons in order to maintain its ernments, as they are called, must be corrupt ones, and the interests of the great mass of the people be sacrificed to the interests of classes or individuals. A truly free government, where the authority of the rulers is supported by the free and uncoerced action of the people; where the laws are kept in t good faith and individual rights perlectly respected, is the only one which can

[Conclusion Newt Week.]