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PRINCIPLES, not MEN.

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Original Poetry.

[For the Republican.] MY HOME. BY W. W. WASHINGTON. The thoughts of home recall to mind, My youthful days gone past; Revives those joyous scenes defined, Green spots on memory's waste...

CONGRESSIONAL ADDRESS.

You have not, as good Patriots should do, studied The public good, but your particular ends; Factional among yourselves, preferring such The objects of honor, as never read The elements of saving policy; BUT DEERLY BELIEVED IN ALL THE PRINCIPLES THAT PERTAIN TO DEMOCRACY.

AN ADDRESS To the people of the United States, and particularly to the People of the States which adhere to the Federal Government.

As members of the Thirty-Eighth Congress, politically opposed to the present Federal Administration, and representing the Opposition Union sentiment of the country, we address ourselves to the people of the United States; and our object will be to show (as far as may be done within the limits of an address) that there is good reason for changing the Administration and Policy of this General Government through the instrumentality of suffrage in the elections of the present year.

EMBRASSMENT OF POWER.

What we propose to notice in the first place, as introductory to our examination of public affairs, is the consolidation of all power in the Government of the United States in the hands of a single political interest. The party of the Administration has not been subjected to any efficient check upon its action from an opposing interest or party, since its attainment of power in 1861.

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 ordinarily has administered the Government of the United States, even in the utmost plenitude 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 doctrines to which it held; for its creed was established for it by men of the most sterling virtue and profound wisdom, who justly comprehended the nature of free governments and the dangers to which they are exposed.

THE PARTY OF THE ADMINISTRATION.

But with the party now in power the case is widely different. Its main strength lies in States which voted against Mr. Jefferson in 1800, against Mr. Madison in 1812, against Andrew Jackson in 1828, and against Mr. Polk in 1844; and it embraces that school of opinion in this country which has always held to extreme action by the Federal Government, favoritism to particular interests, usurpation of State powers, large public expenditures, and, generally speaking, to constructions of the Constitution which give the widest authority and extend its pretensions.

MILITARY INTERFERENCE WITH ELECTIONS.

This has taken place in two ways: First, by the selection of soldiers of the army to be sent home temporarily to participate in State elections. This practice, in connection with sending home on such occasions large numbers of Government officers and employees in the civil service, has changed the result of many State elections, and given to the party in power an unjust advantage. With the large powers possessed by the Administration for the purposes of war, with the large increase of appointments to civil office and the employment of vast numbers of persons in all parts of the country in the business of the Government, the administration and its party have been enabled to influence elections to an alarming extent.

free people consent to have their system of elections thus perverted and corrupted, and expect 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 been committed by the Administration in the States of Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland and Delaware. The particular circumstances of Government interference were somewhat different 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 United States were openly used for the purpose.

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 Congressional district in Kentucky, no rebel raid or invasion into them was then in progress or expected.

3. That in each of them there existed an adhering State Government, exercising complete and unquestioned jurisdiction under 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 particular provision of the Constitution of the United States authorizing such call,) but that the interference, in most cases, was against the desire, and notably in the case of Maryland, against the protest of State authorities.

5. That thousands of qualified persons were prevented from voting at these elections, and in 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 voter from exercising his right.

CREATION OF HOUS STATES.

The steps taken towards establishing a system of false and unjust representation in the Government of the United States, should also be carefully considered. In the first place, let us consider what has taken place in regard to the State of Virginia. In 1860 Virginia had a population (including slaves), of 1,360,318; Pennsylvania a population of 2,906,217; New York a population of 3,880,735.

While the two States last named adhered faithfully to the Government of the United States, and have since borne 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 followed as to the representation of that State in the Congress of the Union? The comparatively small part of the State which adhered to the Union was recognized as constituting, for political purposes, the State of Virginia; an improvised Legislature of this adhering fragment of the State, elected two Senators, who were admitted into the Senate of the United States, and Representatives from the same territory were admitted into the Federal House of Representatives.

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 organizations of States.

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 the 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 ordered 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 framed for the occasion. This case stood as to the raising of troops at the commencement of 1863, and the troops in service at that date consisted of the Regular Army of the United States as it stood at the outbreak of hostilities, with subsequent enlistments added, and of volunteers and drafted militia, of the States organized and collected 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 needed were already in service. Soon, however, the demand for men was renewed, and at the beginning of 1863 the number called for and raised had become enormous.

sentation of that State in Congress; and in Tennessee and Arkansas there have been proceedings of a similar description.

The indications are clear and full, that in these cases and in others of similar character 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 representation, and upon principles most unequal, unjust and odious.

A recent attempt to set up one of these bogus States in Florida, under a presidential agent, must be fresh in the recollection of the country, as must also be the military disaster 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 the 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, that 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 Court.

And it further proclaims that whoever in any one of the Confederate States, "a number of persons not less than one-tenth 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 nowise contravening said oath, such State shall be recognized as the true Government of the State."

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

The pecuniary 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 assumption; and if this happens, 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.

NEGRO TROOPS.

But a subject which requires particular notice, is the employment of negro troops in the war. An act of Congress, passed the 17th day of July, 1862, authorized the President "to receive into the service of the United States for the purpose of constructing intrenchments, or performing camp service, or any other labor, or any

States to 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 lot.

But early in 1863 a new system for the raising of troops was established by act of Congress. This was a system of conscription, (the word and idea being borrowed from the French,) and was without example in the history of the United States.

Passing by the State authorities and by the clauses of the Constitution above mentioned, it put the General Government in direct communication with the whole arm-bearing population of the country, and assumed for the General Government exclusive and absolute control over the whole proceeding of raising troops. The validity of this enactment has been questioned, and it is one of the debatable points which belong to the history of the war. For it has been argued with much force and reason that the power of Congress to raise armies although a general power is not unlimited, and that laws of conscription by it are not "necessary and proper" when the forces required can be raised with perfect certainty and convenience from the militia of the States under the provisions of the Constitution above cited.

We believe it to be certain that this measure has entailed great expense upon the Treasury of the United States; that it has created unnecessarily a large number of Federal officers, distributed throughout the country; and that, while it has been a more efficient means of raising troops, it has been a less satisfactory one.

What is further to be mentioned in this connection is the payment of bounties by the United States, by the State Governments, and by cities, counties, and other municipalities. In their payment there has been great want of uniformity and system. The policy of the General Government has not been the same at all times, and in the States there has been infinite diversity. Upon the whole, the system of bounties has been costly and unequal; the amount of indebtedness created by it is enormous, and unequal sums have been paid to soldiers of the same grade of merit.

Under any system of local bounties to avoid conscription, the wealthy parts of the country enjoy an advantage over others, and especially where manufacturing and other interests find it to their profit providing the supplies of the war to retain their laborers at home, substituting payments of money in their stead, unless each State shall be firmly required to furnish the substitute to fill up its quota from its own citizens.

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.

EMBRASSMENT OF ADMINISTRATION.

The present administration is more "embarrassed" than any that ever existed. If you vote against the Abolition ticket, you embarrass the administration. If you speak lightly of the negro, you embarrass the administration. If you attempt to steal a fortune from the government, you embarrass the administration. If you don't cheat the soldiers, you embarrass the administration. If you suggest that Abe Lincoln and his party are incompetent to administer the affairs of the government, and bring the war to a close, you embarrass the administration. If you don't suggest that idea, why, you embarrass the administration. If you are the victim of an Abolition rager, as were the World and Journal of Commerce, you embarrass the administration. If you ain't as per the Inland telegraph company, you embarrass the administration. If you are in favor of the Constitution of the Union as it was, you embarrass the administration. If you don't believe Abraham ought to be re-elected, you embarrass the administration. If you think for yourself, you embarrass the administration. If you believe in the doctrine laid down by the framers of the Government, you embarrass the administration. If you speak favorably of former administrations, you embarrass the administration. If you are in favor of rights given to negroes under the habeas corpus, you embarrass the administration. If you believe in free speech and a free press, you embarrass the administration. If you say the war is prosecuted for the sake of emancipating the negro, you embarrass the administration. If you oppose miscegenation, you embarrass the administration. In fact, everything you do or say that is not in favor of the people of the administration, you embarrass the administration. Any disloyal men, not having the fears of Abraham and his bastiles before their eyes, that the ignorance, stupidity, and cotton contracts, etc., which are on it, are really the most serious which embarrass the administration. It is also stated confidentially, that the Cleveland convention has greatly embarrassed the administration, and caused question its favorite doctrine, the dignity of kings to rule the country.

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