Lancaster Intelligencer.

THURSDAY, JULY 21, 1864.

"The printing presses shall be free to every person who undertakes to examine the proceedings of the legislature, or any branch of government; and no law shall ever be made to restrain the right thereof. The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable rights of men; and every citizen may freely speak, write and print on any subject; being responsible for the abuse of that liberty. In prosecutions for the publication of papers investigating the official conduct of officers, or men in public capacities, or where the matter published is proper for public information, the truth thereof may be given in evidence."—*Constitution of Pennsylvania.*

FREEDOM OF SPEECH.

At the head of our editorial columns will be found an extract from the Constitution of this State, defining the freedom of speech and of the press, as it exists among us by sanction of the supreme law of Pennsylvania. It is very plain, and so well expressed that no man who reads it can fail to understand it perfectly. It means just what it says, and says all that is necessary on a most important subject. He who penned it evidently well understood the genius of our government and the nature of our institutions.

This is a government of the people, but it is not a pure democracy, and the will of the people can only be made the supreme law of the land, when expressed in the manner and form provided by the Constitution of the United States, and in the several States by their State Constitutions. Even the people themselves dare not, at the peril of destroying the National and the State governments, disobey or disregard the injunctions of those sacred and well-established instruments. They dare not, in passion or wantonness, at the peril of producing anarchy, break down a single one of the barriers erected by those instruments, as safe-guards to the liberties of the people, of whom even the largest majority constitutes but a part. The people themselves dare not, in a tumultuous or unconstitutional manner, contravene or overthrow a single one of the rights of the individual citizen, which our ancestors wrested from the hands of kings after centuries of mournful struggles. So tenacious were they of those fundamental and invaluable rights, that they had them again and again re-enacted in the form of laws under the most public, solemn and imposing circumstances. They left nothing to be inferred, but put down in black or white a long list of rights considered invaluable and inalienable, and repeatedly forced their rulers to solemnly swear to observe and protect them. To preserve these when assailed by encroaching executive power, however, they deemed no sacrifice of life or of property too great to be made. We might, in forming a new government upon this continent, have suffered ourselves to be content with the frequent repetition and the recurring re-enactment of these rights, as the fundamental law of England, and have rested in the plausible assurance that no mere temporary ruler of this republic would dare to attempt to contravene them.—But our fathers had not so learned the lessons of liberty from a jealous ancestry. They took good care to set out in bills of rights in all the State Constitutions adopted, and in the Federal Constitution, all the privileges to which they as the people were entitled.

Foremost among these rights, and as sacredly guarded and insured as any other, was the well-established right of free speech and a free press. This was especially well protected, because it was justly regulated as the chief cornerstone upon which our republican form of government rested. It was carefully provided for, and well-hedged in and protected by the Constitution of the United States, and by the Constitutions of every one of the different States, which composed the Federal Union.—And it was never assailed until the Abolition party came into power. Every instance which the journals of that party attempt to parade as a specious defence against the outrages upon free speech, are but the veriest false pretences, the mere lying excuses of the hireling defenders of a would-be despotism. True it is, that in some of the Southern States laws entirely wholesome and proper existed, which imposed a penalty upon any one who by violence of speech attempted to excite the slave population to insurrection.—But there was no State in the Union, either North or South, where some wise enactment did not exist to prevent evil disposed persons from exciting any part of the populace to riot and bloodshed. It is not true that, during any period of the long series of years in which the Democratic party ruled the destinies of this Nation, that there ever was any improper restraint imposed upon freedom of speech or of the press, either by law or by the unjustifiable and arbitrary acts of the executive. It was reserved for Abraham Lincoln to cover and crown himself with lasting infamy by arresting, imprisoning and exiling his political opponents for discussing the acts of himself and his party in a manner entirely proper in a government such as ours. He is the first President of the United States who has dared to be despotic enough to attempt to muzzle the printing press, which has heretofore always been entirely and completely free. That Abraham Lincoln should have dared to do this is astonishing, that it should not at once have provoked a violent outbreak is equally astonishing, but that it should find a defender, or even an apologist in any newspaper pretending to respectability, is the most surprising thing of all. Yet it has so happened, and to their lasting shame and ineffacable disgrace be it said, there are editors in the State of Pennsylvania so lost to all sense of their own rights, and so regardless of the rights of the people, as to become the truckling defenders of the most barefaced exhibitions of despotic power.

We had an instance of this in the *Express* of last Saturday. An article appeared in its columns, making a defence of the Administration in this respect, which for weakness we think is unsurpassed, so far as our notice has extended, even in the annals of Abolition journalism. There is not a single well-taken point in the whole production, and no attempt at argument which is not most illogically absurd. The writer, whoever he may be, (for an indistinct asterisk which is appended would seem to indicate that it should be credited to some one outside of the office, though it is leaded and occupies the place allotted to the leading editorial,) assumes that a secret order, known as Knights of the Golden Circle, exists in the North. He declares it to be a treasonable organization. Therefore, he argues, Democratic newspapers ought to be suppressed. Now that would certainly be a harsh—not to say an unjustifiable procedure. To calm the author's fears, we would assure him, that in all our peregrinations we have yet to see the first individual, who either professed to belong to any such association, or to know anything about it. We defy him, moreover, to prove by a single extract from any Democratic newspaper published in Pennsylvania, that any such organization exists anywhere. But, suppose, for the sake of argument, it did, and suppose too, merely for the sake of argument, that it was a treasonable association, how would he arrive at the inference that Democratic papers, which have never alluded to it, should be suppressed, and Democratic orators who have never spoken of it silenced? Will he be good enough to explain to us the *rationale* by which he arrived at such an utterly absurd conclusion? We cannot trace it up. To us, the proper course would seem to be the legal one, to arrest, try by jury, and punish the traitors, if such are to be found. Of such bosh is the reasoning of Abolitionists made up. They must have a very poor opinion of the intellectual calibre of their readers, if they imagine they cannot see through such ridiculously transparent sophistry at a glance. We have not time, nor have we the inclination to follow up the absurdities of the article alluded to in full. There are some remarks about the probable danger of this government degenerating into a military despotism, which seem to be lugged in by the ears, for the purpose of making a fling at General McClellan. These are so suggestive, however, that they will furnish matter for us in the future.

A WORD TO SUBSCRIBERS.

Those who have been subscribers to the *Intelligencer* heretofore, are respectfully requested to look at the article in the local column under the head of "Agents of the Intelligencer." We must adhere to the rules there laid down for ourselves, and we are sure it is best for our patrons and ourselves that we should do so. All should call upon our agents, or at the office, immediately, and renew their subscription, as this is the third number we have published, and after the issue of one more, those who do not signify their intention to continue will be dropped from our list. We are glad to be able to state that our list of subscribers is increasing rapidly from day to day, and that our new terms seem to meet the entire approbation of the numerous friends of the *Intelligencer*. Let all our friends go to work vigorously, and they can help us much. See your neighbor, and get him to take the paper. At present rates it is one of the cheapest newspapers in the State. Let every Democrat in the county make some personal effort to aid us, and we shall be able to make the old *Intelligencer* all its friends can expect or desire. Let a personal effort be made by every live Democrat throughout the county during the coming week. We have procured a fine steam press, and are busy getting ready to issue the daily. It will make its appearance early in the coming month.

LET DEMOCRATS SUSTAIN THEIR PAPERS.

The coming political campaign will be the most important, as well as one of the most exciting we have ever witnessed. Never before in our history were so many and vital principles presented for the candid consideration of any people. There is scarcely a single great popular right which has not been assailed by the party now in power, and scarcely one of the monuments of popular liberty that has not been attacked. We have seen the stealthy steppings of a despotism that would fain make itself absolute—overstriding the Constitution, and trampling down the barriers set up to oppose it. For the first time in our history open war has been made upon the inalienable rights of free speech and a free press.

But, amid all, the newspaper press of the Democratic party has refused to be awed into silence. It has spoken out with no uncertain voice; but it has labored under serious difficulties. The war has so much enhanced the price of every article used in printing, that the profits of country papers especially have been very much curtailed. Still the Democratic presses of this State have managed to struggle along, and have manifested great energy and decided ability. We fear, however, that the people have not been quite as liberal as they should have been. There never was a time when men of all classes could so ill afford to be without a good, reliable newspaper as the present. In the coming campaign our people will be compelled to rely for political information principally upon their party newspapers. That they will be vigorously and ably conducted we have no doubt. There are but few Democrats in the State who cannot afford to take at least one newspaper. If there are some too poor they should be furnished with the means of informing themselves by those who have money to spare. Every township in the State should have a Democratic club organized at once, if one is not already in existence, and money sufficient should be raised by fees, or voluntary contributions, to put the right kind of reading material in the hands of every man who is able and willing to read for himself. It is the duty of every man to see to it that his neighbor, no odds what his political sentiments, has a chance to look at the truth. We verily believe, if the right kind of effort were made to circulate Democratic newspapers, that the result of their combined influence would be astonishing.

There should be organized action in this respect, and not a day should be lost in putting the machinery of a vigorous, working Democratic club in operation in every election district in the loyal States. The first and most important use of these will be to disseminate the right kind of reading matter. As a general thing, the country papers of this State are published at exceedingly low rates for the campaign. If others are deemed desirable, they can be had. The *Age* advertises a campaign paper at very low rates, to clubs. Let there be a united effort made to extend the circulation of the right kind of political documents to every man who will read. There is no way in which men of means can do more good with their money than in this. Let there be a united, liberal effort made to spread the light of truth, by giving Democratic newspapers a wider circulation during the present campaign than they have ever had before. If the effort is made, as it should be, we shall see the most gratifying changes as the legitimate result. All that is needed is a proper organization, and more liberality in money matters. Let the people everywhere organize at once. The struggle before us is one in which we cannot fail to succeed, if we can only get a fair chance to appeal to the reason and the good sense of the people. There is no way in which this can be so effectually done as through the agency of an active, vigilant newspaper press, effectually sustained and liberally patronized by the people. We hope to hear that the circulation of every reliable Democratic journal in the State has been largely increased.

THE BUSINESS OF SUPPRESSION.

Lincoln's Administration started out to suppress the rebellion. In this it has not yet quite succeeded, but instead has most energetically suppressed free speech and a free press. Our cotemporary of the Nashville *Press* loyally suggests the expediency of suppressing all extant copies of the *Congressional Globe* and all books containing the Constitution of the United States. Let a *Suppressor* be appointed for every county, with a salary of $5,000 each, whose duty it shall be to collect all such pestilent works and make fires of them to warm the niggers the first frosty morning in October. There are plenty of "loyal" people who would like to have a suck of the kind proposed at the Treasury teat. Without some such step there is danger that the revolution itself will fail to be suppressed.

☞ Hon. J. Glancy Jones, of Reading, late Minister to Austria, was in the city yesterday. He is looking remarkably well.

HOW SOME KNOW-NOTHINGS CAME TO BE DEMOCRATS.

An article which appeared in the Intelligencer last week, making inquiry as to the whereabouts of that party which once so religiously followed the light of the dark lantern, seems to have stung two of the Administration journals of this place smartly. They attempt to retort, by hinting that some who were once connected with that deservedly defunct organization are now acting with the Democratic party.

We candidly admit that not a few of the best men of the old Whig party, some of whom for awhile acted in concert with the Know-Nothing organization, are with us to-day. Having been born and brought up in antagonism to the Democratic party, it required some effort for them to unite themselves with a party against which they had been fighting all their lifetime. They are where they are to-day, because they have become convinced that good sense and patriotism alike demanded that they should abandon a political organization which had abandoned its principles, become purely selfish, and capable of consenting to endanger the peace of the country and the perpetuity of the Union for the sake of the spoils of office. When the Whig party, which had long existed as a great and patriotic one, numbering in its ranks not a few of the pure and great among our statesmen, betook itself to out of the way places, to garrets and cellars, to barns and outhouses, there to hold conclaves in secret; when, ceasing to proclaim its principles boldly before the world, it attempted to win success by making an indescriminate assault upon one class of citizens on account of their birth, and upon another larger class on account of their religious belief, then not a few of the more honorable of its members manfully refused to countenance any such disreputable and wrong-minded procedure. Others, however, good, honest men, who are now heartily with us, remained outside of the organization of the Democratic party, and acted with the Know-Nothings for a time. But there came a period when the tergiversations of Know-Nothingism became intolerable. When an unholy alliance was made between the leaders of Know-Nothingism and the leading abolitionists, many, who were induced to wear the livery of "Sam," abandoned the rotten concern in utter disgust.

The unhallowed alliance was made in the year 1856, on the floor of Congress, in the national capital, at the city of Washington. N. P. Banks, since distinguished as the commissary of "Stonewall Jackson," and of the rebel generals in the Southwest, was thereby elected Speaker of the House. He was the nominee of the New England abolitionists, who, less bold than they have since become, attempted to avoid the odium which so justly attached to them by calling themselves the Free Soil party. They were able to command 105 votes before a coalition was had. Richardson of Illinois, present Democratic Senator from that State, had 75. Fuller, the genuine whig know-nothing candidate, had 41 votes.

Perhaps we can better understand the character of the alliance then made by personifying the parties. There was Mr. Democracy, a sound, made, fine-looking gentleman, in the prime of life. He proudly and truthfully boasted that he was the legitimate son of a long line of rulers. He pointed to the growing greatness and the increasing renown of this nation, and rightfully claimed these as an inheritance from his forefathers, the accumulated result of their wise rule and far-seeing statesmanship. It was a sacred trust to him, held by him in guardianship, to be transmitted, as he hoped, through a long future as the heritage of white men, for the use of white men and their descendants forever.

There was Mr. Know-Nothingism proper, a spruce young buck, the bastard son of old Mr. Whiggery, begotten on the body of an ancient hag known by the name of Fan-Aticism. This youngster, having helped, at the devilish instigation of his mother, to put his aged and somewhat decrepid father out of the way by foul means, was much aggrieved to find the patrimony left him but an exceedingly scant one. Being a roystering blade, and a great political spendthrift, he found himself sadly in want of the werewithall to indulge his profligate propensities. Loose in principle, and of too low origin to be blessed with a proper sense of pride, he was not at all choice in his company or fastidious in his tastes.

There, too, was Dinah of the Abolitionists. She was an uncomely negro wench, but lascivious, and therefore desirous of enticing to her embrace one or the other of the two parties then occupying the Hall with her. She had, too, a considerable amount of political capital on hand, with which to cover up some of her hideous ugliness, and tempt to a *mesalliance*.

First she approached Mr. Democracy saying:—"Ki! Yi! Mr. Democracy, me want to marry. Me can give you power, place and position. Won't you marry me?"

Mr. Democracy, mindful of his descent, proud of his long ancestral line of illustrious statesmen, and indisposed to sully the purity of his race, indignantly, and without hesitation, replied:—"Not I, indeed, Miss Dinah! I may be poor, with no offices to distribute, and no places to bestow—I may be poor, but am all the prouder for that. I come of an illustrious family, and cannot marry with such as you."

Dinah turned, with a fling away, and rolling the white of her eye, and giving an extra breadth of curl to her thick lip, approached Mr. Know-Nothingism with the same offer. He, less fastidious than Mr. Democracy, and strongly influenced by lust of office, abandoned all self respect, accepted her offer, and entered into the unholy alliance.

Then and there, upon the floor of Congress, the marriage ceremony between Abolitionism and Know-Nothingism was celebrated by the election of "Stonewall Jackson's" commissary, Hon. General N. P. Banks, as Speaker of the House. The legitimate issue of that most unholy alliance was the Black-Republican party. True it looked comparatively white when first brought forth, but that is the case with every negro baby. It rapidly grew darker, and assumed more and more the features of its mother, until at Chicago, in obedience to the peremptory order of the notorious German infidel, Carl Shurz, it abandoned every principle of its male parent, took a sousing plunge over head and ears into unmitigated abolitionism, and came out a well defined and distinctly marked negro party. Since that date nothing has been heard of poor Mr. Know-Nothingism.

"Where he's gone, and how he fares,
Nobody knows, and nobody cares."

But the same spirit of intolerance and fanaticism which prevailed then, exists now. It has only changed its object, and now attempts to proscribe the whole body of the Democratic party, because they will not sing hosannas to Lincoln.

It is not strange that some good, honest, truthful, patriotic men, men who loved country more than party, should abandon such an organization. The mass, however, allowed themselves to be led blindfolded and unresisting into the Cimmerean mazes of abolition darkness, by leaders who had no higher ruling motive than greed of office, for which they were willing to sacrifice principle, and to imperil the best interests of this country. Many sensible men entered the ranks of the Democratic party, and some of them hold offices under it. They have shown themselves worthy so to do.

MORE VICTIMS DEMANDED.

The patience with which the American people have submitted to innumerable outrages and wrongs, during the existence in power of the present Administration, will be looked upon in the future as one of the wonderful things of history. Never were any people so trifled with, befooled, and made the mere playthings of incompetent and wicked rulers as we have been for almost four years past. The Administration has never seemed to be able to comprehend the condition of the country, or to know what its best interests demanded. The war has been conducted as if it were all a huge Lincolnian joke, and the applause which followed the flippant cry of "the last dollar and the last man," so often in the mouths of fools, or knaves who wear the cloak of patriotism to conceal their vices, is but an indication of the utter want of thought on the part of the people. It is said the New York bankers have refused the new Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Fessenden, the loan he asked for so humbly—so we may conclude we have about expended the last available dollar. But the last man is yet to be had, and Lincoln seems resolved that he shall be forthcoming. The present call for *five hundred thousand more*, may not fetch him, but should the struggle continue at the present fearful rate of slaughter, it will not be very long until the last individual Yankee, solitary and alone, shall stand confronting the armed traitors of the South. We have already given Mr. Lincoln more than EIGHTEEN HUNDRED THOUSAND MEN. What has become of them? Let the dead answer, if the living will not. What good result has he accomplished with this huge army of slain heroes? Let a few thousand freed negroes reply. Will the 500,000 men now demanded be forthcoming as volunteers? Let the Union Leagues lead off in solid column, and perhaps they may. But we have no idea that they will do this. Rich men will busily bestir themselves to hunt up substitutes for themselves and their sons. But such a luxury must be entirely beyond the reach of every individual in ordinary circumstances. Heretofore all conscriptions have been very light afflictions compared to the one that is to come. That an inexorable attempt will be made to enforce it we have no doubt. The law is most stringent in its operations. Poor men must either go into the army as unwilling conscripts, or prepare to be hunted down by Provost Marshals. The choice either way is a most bitter one. How long will the people endure to be ruled as they are now? Are they prepared to aid in perpetuating the military despotism that now oppresses them, and that threatens to destroy the last vestige of their rights as freemen? Is it not high time that we should have another change of rulers? What say you, Oh ye men that voted for honest (?) Old Abe? You sir, and you, all you who are liable to be drafted, and without the wherewithal to purchase even a negro substitute, what say you? Do you think a change just now could make matters worse? Think of it, and try to give a sensible reply at the ballot-box in the coming Presidential election.

STILL-BORN.

Never in the political history of this country did the nomination of any candidate for the Presidency by a great political party fall so utterly still-born upon public expectation as that of Abraham Lincoln has done. The gang of interested office-holders, which assembled in the well-packed Convention at Baltimore, did their work *according to contract*. Of course they are looking anxiously forward to the time when they shall receive their reward; but, as yet, there has come no response from the people. Everywhere there is an apathy, and a want of interest manifested which is ominous of defeat. The people are looking anxiously forward to the future, striving in vain to discover some gleam of light amid the darkness which has settled down upon us like a pall. In the meantime, the work of death goes on, with no apparent compensating result. Thousands are dying daily in a struggle to which no honorable or desirable end can be seen. The finances of the country seem to be about to fall into irretrievable ruin, and political chaos promises soon to come again. Look where we may no gleam of light falls upon the pathway of our future.—All is unmitigated darkness and unbroken gloom. It is not strange that in the deep despondency the people should feel averse to the re-election of Abraham Lincoln.

They know that he would not change his ruinous course of policy; that to put him in power for four years longer would be to endorse his acts, and to ask virtually for a continuance of the same measures which have resulted in continuous disaster. There are very many thousands of those who voted for Mr. Lincoln in Pennsylvania who will refuse to do so again. They know and feel that he is utterly unfit for the position he occupies, and they will gladly exercise the right of freemen in a constitutional manner to effect a change of rulers, and a change of policy.

All the acting and enthusiasm exhibited as yet by the opponents of the Democratic party has been confined to the ranks of the Fremont organization. They are fighting for what they consider vital principles, and they exhibit a vigor and vitality which is quite a decided contrast to the entire apathy which prevails everywhere among the Administration party. We have yet to hear anywhere a single cheer for "Old Abe." It will be utterly impossible for the office-holders to get up any enthusiasm in his behalf. It is evident that he has no hold upon the affections of the people, and that he does not even command their respect.

The Democratic party will go into the campaign with an intensity of earnestness and an enthusiasm which will strike terror to the hearts of our opponents. That both *our* platform and *our* candidates will be endorsed by the masses we have no doubt. There is no danger that the nominee of the Chicago Convention will fall still-born as "Old Abe" has done.

DEATH OF A NOBLE WOMAN.

Mrs. Rebecca Vallandigham, the mother of the Hon. C. L. Vallandigham, died at her residence in New Lisbon, Ohio, on Friday morning, the 8th inst., in the 76th year of her age. She was the widow of Rev. Clement Vallandigham, who died in 1839, after having labored for thirty-two years as pastor of the Presbyterian church of New Lisbon. Mrs. Vallandigham was a woman of much more than ordinary intellect, of high character and of devoted piety. She leaves three daughters, and besides the Hon. C. L. Vallandigham, two other sons, the Rev. J. L. Vallandigham, of Newark, Delaware, and Dr. George S. Vallandigham, of New Lisbon, Ohio.

Cure for Cough or Cold.—As soon as there is the slightest uneasiness of the Chest, with difficulty of breathing, or indications of Cough, take during the day a few of "*Brown's Bronchial Troches.*" Containing demulcent ingredients, they allay Pulmonary Irritation. Military Officers and Soldiers should have them in readiness upon the first appearance of a Cold or Cough.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY---TRUTH FROM A REPUBLICAN SOURCE.

We invite the attention of all thinking men in the Republican party to the article copied below. It is from the Newburyport *Herald*, an able, independent, conservative Republican paper.—It states concisely and clearly the truth of history in regard to the great Democratic party of the country—the party which has always been the party of the whole country, the great champion of the rights and liberties of the people, the supporter and defender of the Constitution and the Union. It is no wonder that men feel proud to have been associated with this party and to have given it a life-long support. Jefferson, Madison, Samuel Adams, and the other great Democratic lights of the early days of the Republic, were its founders, and our country's greatness is a monument to the correctness of its principles and the statesmanship which has controlled its policy. While its principles, which were those of the Constitution, prevailed, the nation prospered; when they were overthrown by sectional fanaticism ruin came. It is only by a return to the practice of those principles that the country can now be saved, and its republican institutions preserved. Let us trust that the people, now taught wisdom in the dear school of a bitter experience, are ready for such return, and that in November next they will so declare in a voice that shall make extremists and fanatics in both sections of the Union fear and tremble. The following is the *Herald's* article:

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

"Now we have to say of the Democratic party, that, separated from all connection with slavery, it is the party of the country, and is, politically speaking, essential truth. All other organizations have been temporary, based upon false principles, and often aiming to sustain wrong measures. So not one of them has continued. There has never been a party opposed to the Democratic party that has outlived a single National Administration after coming to power. From the days of John Adams to the last year of the term of Abraham Lincoln, this fact stands out as truth. They could live well enough when out of power, for then their whole duty was to criticise and grumble; but brought to the test of practical action, they all so far failed as to be rejected by the people upon the first election afterwards; and if Mr. Lincoln proves an exception, he will be the first in seventy years. On the other hand, the Democratic party is more popular in power than out, because its platform has embodied the principles upon which the nation was founded, and without which it could not continue.

We refer to its recognition of the written Constitution; its strict construction of that Constitution, and as a consequence, its limitation of Executive and Congressional powers; its affirmation of the rights of the States—rights reserved in the formation of the Union; and its defense of the liberties of American citizens everywhere. Its measures relating to finance, internal improvements, tariffs, taxation, the army and the navy, and intercourse with foreign Powers, were all based upon its fundamental principles. Now we do not care what be the name of the party that adopts this platform; it will be the party to control the country in the long run, unless this revolution shall produce a radical change in our Government. The country can not be governed otherwise and maintain the distinctive character it has had, and by which have come our wonderous growth, immense power and great prosperity."

The Boston *Post* says the *Herald* will find the organization of the Democratic party as durable as its principles, and that the mutations it may experience will only add to its power, and afford it the discipline necessary to increased wisdom and ability to control the national policy, and we concur in this opinion.

☞ Vastly more official corruption has been brought to light thus far during Mr. Lincoln's administration than occurred during the administrations of all his predecessors; and no doubt much more remains uncovered than has been brought to light. The war has really been conducted by speculators for their own benefit; expeditions, like that of Banks up Red River, have been undertaken for their exclusive use; it is they who have been most instrumental in the inauguration of radical policies by the administration, that the war might be prolonged in the interest of contracts; all the enormous taxes are to swell their gains. They care nothing for the sacrifice of human life; if a few millions can be made by the expenditure of a few thousand lives, the millions are made and the lives expended. They swarm everywhere, as the locusts swarmed Egypt, but nowhere so thickly as about the Presidential Mansion and the Executive Departments in Washington. They renominated Mr. Lincoln, and they will contribute millions to re-elect him, that the war may be continued and their carnival endure indefinitely. It is not for their interest that the Federal arms should succeed in any decisive expedition; quite the contrary, for every Federal defeat opens the way for calls for more men and consequently for more contracts.

There is but one avenue of extrication from this condition, and that is the defeat of Mr. Lincoln.

Secretary Chase's Treasury Exploits.

Mr. Chase informed the country in his last report that "for the first time in the history of the country has a real approach to a uniform currency been made, and the benefits of it, though still far from the best attainable condition, are felt by all." He also gave repeated assurances that the issue of paper currency would be stopped, while persistently inflating it until it reached the enormous aggregate of nine hundred and seventy-nine millions of dollars. Mr. Chase left the Treasury Department after adopting the following expedients under pretense of borrowing at a low rate of interest.

1. Paper money convertible into coin.
2. Legal tender paper money.
3. Legal tender postage stamps.
4. Legal tender fractional currency.
5. Legal tender five per cent., two years, semi-annual coupons.
6. Legal tender five per cent., two years, interest at maturity.
7. Legal tender five per cent., one year, interest at maturity.
8. Legal tender six per cent., three years, interest at maturity, compounded semi-annually.
9. Legal tender seven-thirty per cent., three years, interest semi-annual.
10. Legal tender seven-thirty per cent., three years, interest at maturity.
11. Certificates of indebtedness, six per cent., one year, interest in coin.
12. Certificates of indebtedness, six per cent., one year, interest in paper.
13. Certificates of deposit, four per cent., ten days, interest in coin.
14. Certificates of deposit, five per cent., ten days, interest in paper.
15. Certificates of deposit, six per cent., ten days, interest in paper.
16. National bank notes, legal tender from and to the government.

A thousand millions of dollars are wanted for the expenditure of the current year, or more than eighty millions a month, on the heels of Mr. Chase's failure to borrow seventy-five millions. This is the problem which Chase, hailed as a great financier, has left to his successor.

WHAT MR. CHASE THINKS.

The Washington correspondent of *The World* says:

Mr. Chase compares the attempt of the Seward Republicans to revive the finances, by nominating Mr. Fessenden Secretary of the Treasury, to the *galvano-plastic* process used in the covering of common metal with silver and gold. "They may gild as much as they choose," said he to one of his friends, "they will never succeed in making their lead spoons and forks look like gold. Mr. Fessenden is certainly a capable man; but were he endowed with the fertility of a Walpole or the genius of a Colbert, he would fail as will any man who will consent to identify his policy with the policy of Mr. Lincoln and of Mr. Seward. How can he cover an annual deficit of nearly seven hundred millions of dollars? This is a question which all the financiering skill of the world combined cannot solve to the satisfaction of the interests of the nation, unless through a change of policy, of which the present Administration is incapable."

☞ The character of the times and the deplorable condition of our country are such as to lead every thinking man to cast a retrospective glance back to the past. The Democratic party are about to make another vigorous effort to obtain possession of the reins of government, and the present campaign will necessarily lead to a close examination of the causes which produced the war, and the means by which it was brought about. Everything which tends to throw light upon the subject must be of interest to the people. We take occasion, therefore, to republish the special message of Ex-President Buchanan which will be found below.

Read in the light of the history of the dreary years which have elapsed since it was written it appears wonderfully full of significance. Mr. Buchanan had, in his regular annual message, called the attention of Congress in the most earnest manner to the danger which seemed to be impending, but they heeded not his warnings, and refused to see the ruin so plainly staring us in the face. They refused to act upon any one of the wise and judicious measures proposed in Congress by the friends of the Union, and suffered the nation to drift into the vortex of destruction. At length, when the hostile attitude of some of the States had put all remedies above and beyond *Executive* control, Mr. Buchanan sent the following earnest and solemn appeal to Congress. It was also unheeded. In the madness of their fanaticism the majority of that body refused to take any step calculated to allay the excitement, or to prevent the inauguration of the terrible civil war which has scourged this people as no other was ever scourged before.

Had the earnest appeals and the solemn warnings of Mr. Buchanan been heeded we should have been happily spared all the woes that have since come upon us. Standing as he does now, in the midst of the wretched present, he can look back upon the past with a conscious sense of rectitude, and a calm assurance that history will put to silence every one of his calumniators, and abundantly vindicate his fame as a wise and eminently safe statesman. We are sure our readers will thank us for republishing this message:

MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, OF THE EIGHTH OF JANUARY, 1861.

January 9, 1861.—Read and referred, with instrucions, to a select committee of five, and ordered to be printed.

To the Senate and House of Representatives:—At the opening of your present session I called your attention to the dangers which threatened the existence of the Union. I expressed my opinion freely concerning the original causes of these dangers, and recommended such measures as I believed would have the effect of tranquilizing the country and saving it from the peril in which it had been needlessly and most unfortunately involved. Those opinions and recommendations I do not propose now to repeat. My own convictions upon the whole subject remain unchanged.

The fact that a great calamity was impending over the nation was even at that time acknowledged by every intelligent citizen. It had already made itself felt throughout the length and breadth of the land. The necessary consequences of the alarm thus produced were most deplorable. The imports fell off with a rapidity never known before, except in time of war, in the history of our foreign commerce; the treasury was unexpectedly left without the means which it had reasonably counted upon to meet the public engagements; trade was paralyzed; manufactures were stopped; the best public securities suddenly sunk in the market; every species of property depreciated more or less; and thousands of poor men, who depended upon their daily labor for their daily bread, were turned out of employment.

I deeply regret that I am not able to give you any information upon the state of the Union which is more satisfactory than what I was then obliged to communicate. On the contrary, matters are still worse at present than they then were. When Congress met, a strong hope pervaded the whole public mind that some amicable adjustment of the subject would speedily be made by the representatives of the States and of the people, which might restore peace between the conflicting sections of the country. That hope has been diminished by every hour of delay; and as the prospect of a bloodless settlement fades away, the public distress becomes more and more aggravated. As evidence of this it is only necessary to say that the treasury notes authorized by the act of 17th December last were advertised, according to the law, and that no responsible bidder offered to take any considerable sum at par at a lower rate of interest than twelve per cent. From these facts it appears that, in a government organized like ours, domestic strife, or even a well-grounded fear of civil hostilities, is more destructive to our public and private interests than the most formidable foreign war.

In my annual message I expressed the conviction, which I have long deliberately held, and which recent reflection has only tended to deepen and confirm, that no State has a right by its own act to secede from the Union, or throw off its federal obligations at pleasure. I also declared my opinion to be that, even if such right existed and should be exercised by any State of the confederacy, the executive department of this government had no authority under the Constitution to recognize its validity by acknowledging the independence of such State. This left me no alternative, as the chief executive officer under the Constitution of the United States, but to collect the public revenues and to protect the public property so far as this might be practicable under existing laws. This is still my purpose. My province is to execute, and not to make the laws. It belongs to Congress, exclusively, to repeal, to modify, or to enlarge their provisions, to meet exigencies as they may occur. I possess no dispensing power.

I certainly had no right to make aggressive war upon any State, and I am perfectly satisfied that the Constitution has wisely withheld that power even from Congress.—But the right and the duty to use the military force defensively against those who resist the federal officers in the execution of their legal functions, and against those who assail the property of the federal government, is clear and undeniable.

But the dangerous and hostile attitude of the States towards each other has already far transcended and cast in the shade the ordinary executive duties already provided for by law, and has assumed such vast and alarming proportions as to place the subject entirely above and beyond executive control. The fact cannot be disguised that we are in the midst of a great revolution. In all its various bearings, therefore, I commend the question to Congress, as the only human tribunal, under Providence, possessing the power to meet the existing emergency. To them, exclusively, belongs the power to declare war, or to authorize the employment of military force in all cases contemplated by the Constitution; and they alone possess the power to remove grievances which might lead to war, and to secure peace and union to this distracted country. On them, and on them alone, rests the responsibility.

The Union is a sacred trust left by our revolutionary fathers to their descendants; and never did any other people inherit so rich a legacy. It has rendered us prosperous in peace and triumphant in war. The National flag has floated in glory over every sea. Under its shadow American citizens have found protection and respect in all lands beneath the sun. If we descend to considerations of purely material interest, when, in the history of all time, has a confederacy been bound together by such strong ties of mutual interest? Each portion of it is dependent on all, and all upon each portion, for prosperity and domestic security. Free trade throughout the whole supplies the wants of one portion from the productions of another, and scatters wealth everywhere. The great planting and farming States require the aid of the commercial and navigating States to send their productions to domestic and foreign markets, and to furnish the naval power to render their transportation secure against all hostile attacks.

Should the Union perish in the midst of the present excitement we have already had a sad foretaste of the universal suffering which would result from its destruction. The calamity would be severe in every portion of the Union, and would be quite as great, to say the least, in the Southern as well as the Northern States. The greatest aggravation of the evil, and that which would place us in the most unfavorable light before the world and posterity, is, I am firmly convinced, that the secession movement has been chiefly based upon a misapprehension at the South of the sentiments of the majority in several of the Northern States. Let the question be transferred from political assemblies to the ballot-box, and the people themselves would speedily redress the serious grievances which the South have suffered. But, in Heaven's name, let the trial be made before we plunge into armed conflict upon the mere assumption that there is no other alternative. Time is a great conservative power. Let us pause at this momentous point and afford the people, both North and South, an opportunity for reflection. Would that South Carolina had been convinced of this truth before her precipitate action! I, therefore, appeal through you to the people of the country to declare in their might that the Union must and shall be preserved by all constitutional means. I most earnestly recommend that you devote yourselves, exclusively, to the question how this can be accomplished in peace. All other questions, when compared with this, sink into insignificance. The present is no time for palliations; action, prompt action, is required. A delay in Congress to prescribe or to recommend a distinct and practical proposition for conciliation may drive us to a point from which it will be almost impossible for us to recede.

A common ground on which conciliation and harmony can be produced is surely not unattainable. The proposition to compromise by letting the North have exclusive control of the territory above a certain line, and to give Southern institutions protection below that line, ought to receive universal approbation. In itself, indeed, it may not be entirely satisfactory; but when the alternative is between reasonable concession on both sides and a destruction of the Union, it is an imputation upon the patriotism of Congress to assert that its members will hesitate for a moment.

Even now the danger is upon us. In several of the States which have not yet seceded, the forts, arsenals and magazines of the United States have been seized. This is by far the most serious step which has been taken since the commencement of the troubles. This public property has long been left without garrisons and troops for its protection, because no person doubted its security under the flag of the country in any State of the Union. Besides, our small army has scarcely been sufficient to guard our remote frontiers against Indian incursions. The seizure of this property, from all appearances, has been purely aggressive, and not in resistance to any attempt to coerce a State or States to remain in the Union.

At the beginning of these unhappy troubles I determined that no act of mine should increase the excitement in either section of the country. If the political conflict were to end in a civil war, it was my determined purpose not to commence it, nor even to furnish an excuse for it by any act of this government. My opinions remain unchanged, that justice as well as sound policy requires us still to seek a peaceful solution of the questions at issue between the North and the South. Entertaining this conviction, I refrained even from sending reinforcements to Major Anderson, who commanded the forts in Charleston harbor, until an absolute necessity for doing so should make itself apparent, lest it might unjustly be regarded as a menace of military coercion, and thus furnish, if not a provocation, at least a pretext for an outbreak on the part of South Carolina. No necessity for these reinforcements seemed to exist. I was assured by distinguished and upright gentlemen of South Carolina that no attack upon Major Anderson was intended, but that, on the contrary, it was the desire of the State authorities, as much as it was my own, to avoid the fatal consequences which must eventually follow a military collision.

And here I deem it proper to submit, for your information, copies of a communication, dated December 28, 1860, addressed to me by R. W. Barnwell, J. H. Adams and J. L. Orr, "Commissioners" from South Carolina, with the accompanying documents, and copies of my answer thereto, dated December 31.

In further explanation of Major Anderson's removal from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumpter, it is proper to state that, after my answer to the South Carolina "Commissioners," the War Department received a letter from that gallant officer, dated December 27, 1860, the day after this movement, from which the following is an extract:

"I will add, as my opinion, that many things convinced me that the authorities of the State designed to proceed to a hostile act."

Evidently referring to the orders dated December 11, of the late Secretary of War.

"Under this impression, I could not hesitate that it was my solemn duty to move my command from a fort which we could not probably have held longer than forty-eight or sixty hours to this one, where my power of resistance is increased to a very great degree."

It will be recollected that the concluding part of these orders was in the following terms:

"The smallness of your force will not permit you, perhaps, to occupy more than one of the three forts; but an attack on, or attempt to take possession of either one of them, will be regarded as an act of hostility, and you may then put your command into either of them which you may deem most proper to increase its power of resistance. You are also authorized to take similar defensive steps whenever you have tangible evidence of a design to proceed to a hostile act."

It is said that serious apprehensions are, to some extent, entertained, in which I do not share, that the peace of this District may be disturbed before the 4th of March next. In any event, it will be my duty to preserve it, and this duty shall be performed.

In conclusion, it may be permitted to me to remark that I have often warned my countrymen of the dangers which now surround us. This may be the