Loetry.

ALL FOR THE NIGGER On our carpets and dishes, our tables and bed, On our tea and our coffee, our fuel and lights, And we're taxed so severely we can't sleep o'nights. —And it's all for the nigger, great God can it be, The home of the brave and the land of the free? We are stamped on our mortgages, checks, notes and bills,

On our deeds, on our contracts and on our last wills; And the Star Spangled Banner in mourning doth wave, O'er the wealth of the nation turned into the CHORUS-And it's all for the nigger, &c. We are taxed on our offices, our stores and our On our stoves, on our dishes, our brooms and our mops, On our horses and cattle, and if we should die, We are taxed on the coffin in which we must

Chorus-And it's all for the nigger, &c. We are taxed on all goods by kind Providenc given,
We are taxed for the Bible that points us to
Heaven: And when we ascend to that Heavenly goal, They would, if they could, stick a stamp on ou

Сповия—And it's all for the nigger, &c. But this is not all, not the money alone, Does the Rail Splitter claim to build up his throne,
If you hav'nt three hundred your body must And if killed in one month, it's all very well. CHORUS-And it's all for the nigger, &c. Now, boys, will you tell me just what it has To elect old Abe Lincoln and all his black host? Just five hundred thousand our country's best

blood, Have been slain, and their bodies lie under the sod. CHORUS And it's all for the nigger, &c. And then there's Two THOUSAND MILLIONS an more, Has been stolen and spent in this unholy war: And poor men who have worked for ten years that are past,
And have saved up three hundred—'tis stolen
at last.

THE DESPAIRING LOVER. Distracted with care, For Phyllis the fair; Since nothing could move her, Poor Damon her lover, esolves in despair o longer to languish, or bear so much anguish at mad with his love, To a precipice goes; Where a leap from above Would soon finish his woo When in rage became there, His torments projecting And sadly reflecting, That a lover forsaken And that he could die

Democratic Congressional

Address. You have not, as good Patriots should do studied
The public good, but your particular ends;
Factious among yourselves, preferring such
To affee and honors, as ne'er read
The elements of saving policy;
BUT DEEPLY SKILLED IN ALL THE PRINCIPLES
THAT USHER TO DESTRUCTION!

[Timoleon to the Citizens of Syracuse.

As members of the Thirty-Eighth Congress, politically opposed to the present federal administration, and representing the eral 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.

strumentality of suffrage in the elections of the present year.

It is a settled conviction that men now in public station, who control the policy of the government, cannot or will not perform those duties which are necessary to save the country and perpetuate its liberties. Many of them are engrossed by political and personal objects which do not comport with the public welfare, and will not subserve it; others have false or perverted views of our system of free government, or are inspired by passions which continually mislead them; and the opposition in Congress are powerless to check the majority, and are unable even to secure such investigation of the executive departments and of the conduct of conservations.

unable even to secure such investigation of the executive departments and of the conduct of government officials as will prevent abuse and secure honesty, economy and efficiency in the public service.

Profoundly, painfully impressed by passing events, we turn from the President of the United States and from the majority in Congress, upon whom all remonstrance against misgovernment would be wasted, to address ourselves to our fellow countrymen at large; and we appeal to them to interpose in public affairs, and by a proper exertion of their sovereign electoral power, to decree that these United States shall be justly governed, reunited, tranquilized and saved!

ENGROSSMENT OF POWER.

ENGROSSMENT 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 into 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. Carrying all the Northern, Western and Pacific states, with a single exception, at the Presidential election of 1860, and being relieved from all Southern opposition in Congress by the withdrawal of the States of that section, it was able to do its will and pleasure without check or hindrance in the government of the United States, All public patronage was subsidized to its uses; all government outlays (and they were enormous in amount) were disbursed by its of lic patronage was subsidized to its uses; all government outlays (and they were enormous in amount) were disbursed by its officials; all public power was wielded by its arm; and this condition of things has continued to the present time. It has revoled in power, and of inevitable necessity, from its very nature and from the opportunities presented it, it has abused its powers; it has forgotten, or despised, or trampled under foot the duties imposed upon it by the people, and the objects announced by it in the outset have been supplanted by others, which now inspire its action and occupy its hopes.

which now inspire its action and occupy its hopes.

No truth is more certain, none better established by history, than this, that political power is aggressive; that it will always seek to enlarge itself and to increase its domination, and that no free government is possible where, by the very constitution of the government itself, power is not made a check to power. Freedom is secured by the action and reaction upon each other of political force, so organized and so limited that no one can absolutely dominate over or control the rest. And hence the necessity of constitutions which shall divide and arrange the powers of Government that no single interest, class, or individual shall become supreme, and engross the whole mass of political power. Now the capital mischief (or rather, source of mischief and evil) in the government of the United States during the past three years and at this moment is, that a single political interest or party, of evil constitution, has obtained and exercised the whole mass of government powers, free from all check or limitation whatsoever. The fatal results are obvious. It has been false to its promises made as the condition upon which it obtained power; it has suspended the ancient writ of liberty, the "habcas corpus," rendering it impossible for the citizen to obtain redress against the grossestoutrage; it has changed the war into a humanitarian crusade outside of any constitutional or lawful object; it has grossly mismanged the war in the conduct of military operations; it has degraded the vurrency of the country by profuse issues of paper money, and coniscated private property by a legal-tender enactment; and, to retain its power, that it may riot in plunder and be subjected to no check and mo restraint from public opinion, it has undertaken to control State elections by direct military force or by fraudulent selections of voters from the army. These are some of the results already achieved, and "the end is not yet?" No impartial observer can contend it in the Williad States.

T hopes,

No truth is more certain, none better es

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 plendinde of its power, tild not fall into gross abuse or threaten the liberties of THE DEMOCRATIO PARTY.

the country. Although it required to be checked upon occasion, and that its policy and conduct should be subjected to rigid and conduct should be subjected to rigid scrutiny by an active opposition, there was great security againt its abuse of its powers in the principles and doctrines to which it held; for its creed was established for it by heid; for its creed was established for its year men of the most sterling virtue and pro-found wisdom, who justly comprehended the nature of free governments and the danthe 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 political creed which preserved the government from abuse and degeneracy, kept the States in harmony, and secured the growth and development of a material prosperity unexampled in the history 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 pressived.

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. Yet such opposition always existed, and was no doubt recessary to the safe and successful action of the Government under its management.

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 outping in this case. Polk in 1944; and it embraces that school of 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 expenditures, and, generally, to constructions of the Constitution which favor Federal authority and extend its propensions. Besides, it is essentially sectional and aggressive—the very embodiment of that distunion partyism foreseen and denounced by Washington and Jackson in those farewell addresses which they left on record for the instruction ton and Jackson in those farewell addresses which they left on record for the instruction of their countrymen, and by Henry Clay in a memorable address to the Legislature of Kentucky. That it could not safely be imtrusted with the powers of the Federal government is a conclusion which inevitably results from this statement of its composition and character. But the question is no longer one of mere opinion or conjecture.—Having been tried by the actual possession of government powers and been permitted raying been tried by the actual possession of government powers and been permitted to exhibit fully its true nature, it has completely justified the theory which condemns it; as will 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 possession of government powers may be illustrated, established, and made good against any possible contradiction.

MILITARY INTERFERENCE WITH ELEC-

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 covering the sending the sending the sending that the sending the sending that the sending that the sending the sending that th cipate 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 increased appointments to civil office, and the employment of vast numbers of persons in all parts of the country in the business of government, the administration and its party have been enabled to influence elections to an alarming extent. The powers conferred 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 of individual property, have been used in an infinite number of ways for party purposes, and to secure to the Republican interests, in the Federal and State governments, the continued possession of power. The injustice and corruptive tendency of this system eannot be denied and alone should be held sufficient to condemn the party of the administration. It is notorious that time after time, on the eye 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 administration. 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 scales between parties, and to secure an administration triumph. And this has been done, not apon the principle of sending home citizen soldiers indiscriminately and without reference to their political opinions and attachments, (which would have been just,) but upon the principle of selecting Republican 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 unscrupulous power has defeated the true expression of popular opinion, and obtained political advantages which were shameful to it and deeply injurious to the contry. Will a 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?

Scenal. 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

ress or expected.

dgment of our countrymen.

CREATION OF BOGUS STATES.

RAISING OF TROOPS. 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 professional and the states in the state of profession were at the state of professional and the state of the stat 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 con-gressional district in Kentucky, no robel raid or invasion into them was then in pro-cress or expected. ress or expected.

3. That in each of them there existed an 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 these Security of rederal 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,) out that the interference in most cases was against the desire, and notably in the case of Maryland against the protest, of State authorities, f Maryland against the protest, of State uthorities.

5. That thousands of qualified persons vere prevented from voting at those elections, and in most of those States the result of the election was changed from what it would have been without military intererence. The aged and timid were deferred rom attending the elections: many who

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. The full proof of all this appears in a number of contested-election cases in Congress, in official papers from the Governors of the States in question, in reports of the committees of the State Legislatures, and from other reliable sources; and we recommend the whole subject, as one of fearful importance, to the examination and judgment of our countrymen. CONSCRIPTION.

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 arms-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 of 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 cerfainty and convenience from the militia of the States under the provisions 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 substituted? No clear and adequate reason for the measure appears in the debates of the Congress which passed it, unless the suggestion made by one of its leading supporters in the House of Representatives, that it was in hostility to "the accursed doctrine of State rights," be accepted as such reason. We must, therefore, conclude that it was the policy of the troops raised, and to absorb that nower into the hands of the Edden. The steps taken toward 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 1,596,318; 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 United States, and have States iast 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 to the Senate of the United States, and representatives from the same territory were admitted into the Federal House 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 pretense of necessity can be shown. A part of the adhering Virginia territore. overnment of the United States, and have the policy of the authors of the law to de-prive the States of the appointment of the officers of the troops raised, and to absorb that power into the hands of the Federal Administration; that the act was the meas-ure of a party to increase its influence and power, and to prevent the possibility of any participation therein of the governments of the States.

We believe it to be certain that this meas-ure has entailed great expense upon the

ther proceeding for which no warrant of power or pretense of necessity can be shown. A part of the adhering Virginia territory was permitted to form itself into a new State, was admitted into the Union under the name of West Virginia, (although the Constitution of the United States declares that no State shall be divided for the formation of a new-one without the express assent of the Legislature thereof,) and senators therefrom were admitted into the United States Senate. A very small part of the old States not included within the boundaries of the new-one, remained within our military lines, for the distance of the new-one, remained within our military lines, for the distance of the new-one, remained within our military lines, for the new-one, remained within our military lines, and the line within our military lines. Thus, under Republican manipulation, one-third of the ancient State of Virginia and the state of 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 no more efficient than the system which required State co-operation, it has been much less satisfactory.

ginia has four votes in the Senate of the patriot army with brave and willing volun-

ginia 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 "Ancient Dominion," with a population a little exceeding one-half that of Pennsylvania, is represented by four senators in the Congress of the United States, and by two in the Confederate Congress at Richmond! Pewerduric States. 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 these these for the state of the stat States, and by two in the Confederate Congress at Richmond! Pennsylvania, with her three millions of people, remains true to the Union, and retains her former vote 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 een 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 some states debtedness 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 in 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 substitutes to fill up its quota from its own citizens. But the general government has permitted the agents of such interests in a State to go into other States, and into the southern country, and obtain enlistments for bounties, both of white and black troops, to be credited upon the quota of the State of the agent. If it shall happen hereafter that local payments of bounties, whether by States or municipalities within them, be assumed by the Government of the United States, the inequalities of the system, and its extravagance in many cases, will become a matter of concern to the people. And it is just matter of complaint against those who have held authority in the Federal government, that by their policy and want of policy on this subject, the burden of the war has been vastly increased, and been distributed irregularly and unfairly. onstitutional provision forbidding it, and wolded only upon a strained construction or implication totally at variance with the plain fact. Against the plain truth of the case, and without necessity, it was assumed that the Legislature of a fragment of the State represented the whole for the purpose of assenting to its division and the erection therefrom of a new member of the Federal Union. We pass from this case to speak of matter more recent. A State government has been set up in Louisiana, under the supervision of a major-general of the United States army, which, although it holds the allegiance of but part of the population, we suppose is to have the former representation 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 which may follow them, the President of the United States through the officers of the army 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 We pass from this case to speak of matter

, must be fresh in the reconection of buntry, as must also be the military ter by which that attempt was rendered But why refer to particular cases? Why 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 dur-

whole or in part from the Confederates dur-ng 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 produpptings of the 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 whenever 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.

howise 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 American executive. The one-tenth part of a population are to exercise the powers of the whole, and, if Congress concur, are to be represented in the government of the United States and in our electoral colleges for the choice of President, as if they were the whole! And this one-tenth is to be made up of men who solemnly swear that they will obey and keep all the President's prochamations upon a particular subject, issued during the present war; not 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 ever before required of citizen or subject, in any age or country, to obey and keep the future and unknown edicts of the executive will? And if usurped authority can accomplish its object a handful of man in a State de recognized as the true governme 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 United States, and enter electoral colleges to extend the power of the master to whom their fealty is sworn. eir fealty is sworn.
The lawless and dangerous character

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 measures in the prosecution of the war, and to some of those measures we will now direct attention.

and to some of those measures we will now direct attention.

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-live 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. Thus the case stood as to the raising of troops at the comment 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 officered as companies and regiments by Stateauthority. 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. But for the after purposes of the Administration it was perfectly leasible for it to call for additional troops in the manner heretofore 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. The army bore, mainly, the character of a public force contributed by the States under the fifteenth and sixteenth clauses of the eighth section of the first article of the Constitution, which authorize Congress "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

quired State co-operation, it has been much less satisfactory.

If a necessity for raising troops by conscription be asserted, then it would follow 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

We have but to add under this head that additional pay to our citizen soldiers is but just and reasonable, and ought long since to have been provided. The great depreciation in the value of 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 war, and even for the preservation of the treasury from embarrassment and the country from from pecuniary convulsion; and whatever differences of opinion may exist as to measures of government policy, their merits and sacrifices demand recognition and gratitude from the whole mass of their countrymen.

This gigantic scheme for the employment of negro troops at full rates of expense is, therefore, unwiscent contracts.

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, it 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 afterwards. and afterwards. DANGERS IN CONNECTION WITH THE WAR.

pecuniary outlay and indebtednes The pecuniary outray and indepteuness 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 Concept as a legitimate chiest of national asgress 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.

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 expediture of the public measures of the war, and who have resorted to one expediture. wat, 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 are demanded.

NEGRO TROOPS. But a subject which requires particular actice is the employment of negro troops in the war. An act of Congress passed the Yest day of July, 1862, authorized the President the receiver in the three passes. 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 military or naval service for which they be found competent, persons of African descent; and such persons should be enrolled and organized under such regulations, not inconsistent with the Constitution and laws, as the President might prescribe;" and further, that they "should receive ten dollars per month and one ration, three dollars per moith and one passed to the present session of Congress (except an imperfect provision in an act of 1862) the President, in his message of becember 1863, announced, that "of those who were slaves at the beginning of the rebellion, fully one hundred thousand are now in the United States military service, about one half of which number actually bear arms in the ranks."

At the present session, on the 24th of February, an act amendatory of the conscription law of 1883 was approved the texes.

tion law of 1863 was approved, the twenty-fourth section of which provides for the en-rollment of colored persons between twenty and forty-five years of age; that slaves of loyal masters enrolled, drawn and provided loyal masters enrolled, drawn and mustered into the public service, shall be free, and one hundred dollars each shall be paid to the master; and that in the slave States represented in Congress, the loyal master of a slave who volunteers into the public service shall be paid a sum not exceeding three hundred dollars, out of the military commutation fund.

commutation fund.

By the Army Appropriation hill, approved June 15, 1864, it was further provided, "That all persons of color who, have been or may be mustered into the military service of the United States shall receive the same uniform, clothing, arms, equipments, camp equipage, rations, medical and hospital attendance, pay and emoluments other than bounty, as other soldiers of the Englar and volunteer forces of the United States of like arm of the service, from and after the first day of January, 1864; and that every person of color who shall hereafter be mustered into the service, shall receive such sums in bounty as the President shall order in the different States and parts of the United States, not exceeding one hundred dollars [each]."

This enactment is similar in terms to a bill which passed the Senate in March last, upon the consideration of which it was announced that at least two hundred thousand colored troops would be raised. Adding to this number the number stated by the President to be in service in December last, would make one quarter of a million of troops of this description.

The measures above mentioned would establish 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 whites as to compensation and supplies; and, Third, The payment to the loyal master of a slave of a bounty of one hundred dollars when the slave is drafted into the service, or a bounty not exceeding three hundred dollars 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 of undisciplined and ignorant negroes; to recognize the principle of buying negroes from their masters, whether public interests require it or not, and to incur the risk of breaking down in the war because of the inefficiency of the forces employed in its prosecution; besides it is notorious in purs

INCREASE OF SOLDIERS' PAY.

INCREASE OF SOLDIERS' PAY.

The immedaite result of this policy of negroism in the war has been to postpone, and at last to limit, the increase of compensation to our citizen soldiers. Bills providing such an increase were permitted to lie unacted upon in Congress for more than five months of the present session, and the bill finally adopted for that purpose was inadequate and made to take effect only from the first of May, 1864. It increased the pay of privates from thirteen to sixteen dollars per month (without distinction of color) and the pay of officers in somewhat similar proportions. But the smallness of this increase, as well as the delay in enacting, was occasioned by the extravagant measures above mentioned. The treasury, strained by the payment of enormous sums to negroes by reason of their employment in increased numbers and at increased rates of expense, could illy respond to the just demands made upon it in behalf of our citizen soldiers.

Besides it is instructive to observe that in this legislation by Congress, while increased pay to white troops begins on the first of May, an increase to colored troops dates from the first of January. And a provision contained in the act of 15th of June authorizes the Attorney-General of the United States to inquire whether increased may no May, an increase to colored troops dates from the first of January. And a provision contained in the act of 15th of June authorizes the Attorney-General of the United States to inquire whether increased pay under former laws cannot be allowed to negroes employed in the public service before the beginning of the present year, who were free on the 19th of April, 18til, and if he determine in favor of such allowance his decision shall be carried into effect by orders of the War Department. The majority in Congress, in pursuing this phantom of negro equality, are as improvident as they are impassioned. The decision of the War Department (in accordance with the opinion of its solicitor) as to the compensation of negroes under former laws, is to be opened and subjected to review by the Attorney-General, in the hope that some additional meaning may be wrung out of the old statutes justifying additional expenditure upon a favorite object. It ought to be manifest to eyety reasonation of the shand that negroes in service should be paid less than white troops, and that the increase of their pay from ten to sixteen dol-

lars per month was unnecessary and profli-gate. The market value of their labor is known to be less than that of citizens, and it is equally clear that their services are much less valuable in the army. We have but to add under this head that

Under this head may be mentioned the FINANCES AND CURRENCY

THEANCES AND CURRENCY.

The unnecessary waste of the public resources in the war; the enormous sums expended upon foolish and fruitless military expeditions, (sometimes badly executed and supported.) and the other enormous sums corruntly commissions. supported,) 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 bear 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 the war by depriving us of allies and sympathy in the enemy's country, and frittered away the public energy upon other objects besides military success.

In addition to which stands forth the feet

In addition to which stands forth the fact In audition to which stands forth the fact that this occasion of war has been seized upon to establish a system of government of paper money, which has caused the public expenditures and the public debt to be lie expenditures and the public debt to be one-half greater than they would otherwis have been, and introduced numerous and have been, and introduced numerous and most serious evils and dangers into all the channels of commercial and business life. The crash of this system, and the failure of all the delusive hopes and arrangements based upon it, is not merely a possible, but a probable event in the future. The ruin and suffering which such an event would entail cannot be overstated, and to avert it, or to mitigate its force is one of the ruin

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 settling our future policy. Upon questions of currency and finance, we must revert to the ideas of former times, in which alone can safety be found.

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. But the appearances of prosperity to which they refer us, are delusive. Production in the country is now decreased, for great numbers of laborers are employed in the war, and abstracted from industrial pursuits.

Increased rates of value press upon persons of fixed incomes, and upon all who are disabled, or engaged in un-profitable employments.

The war does not create wealth but consumes it, and consumes also the laborers by whom it is produced. It devours the products of past and products.

by whom it is produced. It devours the products 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 profuse 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 a day of suffering and retribution.

This expenditure and the accumulation of debts, public and private, cannot go on indefinitely, or for any considerable time. The day of payment, which will be also the day of trouble, will surely come. Great suifering will fall upon the people. Those 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 evil feature of public policy, will be smitten equally with the guilty.

The vast debt, created in great part by profligacy and mismanagement, is a source of profound anxiety to the people, who

The vast debt, created in great part by profligacy and mismanagement, is a source of profound anxiety to the people, who must pay it, and to the capitalists who hold it. Its obligation rests upon the security of the national ability and honor. But to prevent its growth beyond the point where bankrupter threatens it with destruction, the folly and corruption which now waste and devour the wealth of the people must meet with speedy and condign overthrow.

FOREIGN INTERVENTION.

FOREIGN INTERVENTION.

Another danger to be apprehended under our present rulers—one which has been speculated upon often since the war began, and which is possible hereafter—is the intervention of some foreign nation in the pending struggle. There is an example of such intervention in our history, which deserves contemplation by those who would justly judge our present situation, and make provision against future dangers.—Our fathers revolted and were sorely chastised therefor by their monarch. The sword smote them in all their coasts; their wealth was dried up, their cities occupied by their FOREIGN INTERVENTION. smote them in all their coasts; their wealth was dried up, their cities occupied by their foes, their land ravaged. They were pushed to the extremity of endurance; they became spent and exhausted by the conflict. But in their hour of extremest peril, France, at the instance of a Pennsylvania Diplomatist, extended them her powerful assistance, and they emerged from the 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 and protracted, until a foreign power may be induced to assist our antagonist, as France assisted the revolted colonies of the third George? 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 calculated to avert the evil consequences of its action at home Theorem. been calculated to avert the evil consequences of its action at home. That diplomacy has not been wise, judicious, and manly, but feeble, pretentious, and offensive. It should therefore be one of 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 command respect at home and abroad.

DANGERS 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 GOVERNMENT.

ceed to state them distinctly.

OPPRESSIVE GOVERNMENT.

If already we have experienced the arbitrary disposition and unlawful practices of our rulers, what may we not experience after some time has elapsed, and when military success has rendered them still more insolent? If their assaults upon law and upon right be so numerous and flagrant while they are subjected to opposition and struggling to maintain their position against an open foe, 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 upon necessities which cannot long exist. Not only is the excuse that this policy of the Administration is necessary in view of the public interests, false 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 war. If it be necessary now to do unlawful things and trample upon individual rights in adhering communities, the same pretended necessity will exist hereafter.—Will it not be as necessary to uphold arbitrary government in order to subdue existing rebellion? When did a ruler who had deprived his country of its liberties ever voluntarily restore them? That people who will accopt excuses for tyranny, will always be abundantly supplied with them by their rulers, and especially will they be furnished with this argument of necessity which will expand itself to the utmost recumstances.

Our ancestors who settled this country and established the covernment of the

quirement of despotic power under all circumstances.
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 desupt the hands of official power by constitutional limitations, by checks and balances established in the very framework of government, and by inculeating among

the mass of the people, in whom was to be lodged the ultimate or sovereign power, a profound respect for all princeton 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 surreader the principles to which they held, or permit ourselves to be deluded by those arguments of power which they despised and rejected.

Success itself in the odicus 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. Necessarily, 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 constitutions!

reteral 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. Men must be chosen for public station who will know how to save to a bleeding country what is left and restoration. bleeding country what is left, and restor what is lost, by securing peace on constitu-tional and just terms.

CORRUPT GOVERNMENT. Another danger to be considered is, corrupt government, the necessary consequence of arbitary 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, revenue system of gigantic proportions, will create numerous avenues of corruption, and when the government is administered upon principles of coercion, it must necessarily subsidize large numbers of persons in order to maintain its authority. It is ever thus that strong governments, 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 perfect good faith, and individual rights perfectly respected, is the only one which can be pure.

INSCURITY.

But it is equally true that a free government, not one free in form merely, but in fact, is the most secure, both as regards danger from external force and from internal convulsion. If it be established for a peoplo not base minded but civilized and honorable, it will impart to them enormous force for resisting foreign aggression, while it preserves them from internal revolt. Unquestionably, under ordinary conditions, that government is most secure which is most free. But in the hands of a sectional party the future of this country is not secure. Not only is the danger of renewed revolt a nossibility of the future but the dangers of nossibility of the future. INSECURITY. Not only is the danger of renewed revoit a possibility of the future, but the dangers of a foreign war are immensely increased. A disaffected population weakens the government in resisting invasion, and if such disaffection be sectional, then the country has a weak part through which a foreign for may strike its effectual and fourful blows.

A still more important consideration remains to be stated. We mean the social question—the question of the relations of race—with which our rulers are so little fitted to deal, and upon which such extreme, offensive and dangerous opinions are held by their prominent supporters. Whatever may be determined as to the negro race among us, it is manifest it is untitted to participate in the exercise of pointical power, and that its incorporation, socially, and upon a principle of equality with the mass of our countrymen, constitutes a danger compared to which all other dangers are insignificant. We suppose the men who established suffrage in this country, and from time to time have subjected it to new regulation, proceeded upon the principle of vestive it is. CORRUPTION OF RACE.

regulation, proceeded upon the principle of vesting it in those who were litted for its exercise. Political powers being in their nature conventional, it is proper that they be established upon a basis of utility and convenience, and in such manner that they will not be subjected to abuse. Pursuing the same line of action pursued by our fathers, suffrage is to be withheld from those members of the social body who are manifestly unfit to exercise it, and whose participation therein must necessarily lead to abuse. Manifestly, a race of mankind who cannot support free institutions, regular government, productive industry, and a high degree of civilization, of themselves, acting in an independent capacity, are unfit for performing the functions of freemen in conducting the business of government among as. The argument of equality of rights for all men fails in their case, because of the absence of the conditions upon which it is founded. In the organization of a state, it is perfectly manifest that the social body cannot be idontical with the political; that wast numbers comprised within the former are not to be included in the latter. We do not, in this country, include females, minors, unnaturalized foreigners, particular criminals, nor the insure, among those who exercise the right of sulfrage. Incapacity or other inferior race, who may be casually or permanently placed among us. Chinese, Malays, and the same ground of exclusion precisely exists in the case of the negro or other inferior race, who may be casually or permanently placed among us. Chinese, Malays, and the uncivilized Indians, fall within the safte principle of exclusion. There is no reason why any general incapacity or insufficient capacity for electoral action should be ignored in the case of one of these classes and not in another. Our governments were established by white men and their posterity forever, and it is for the common advantage of all states and conditions of human beings, that the exclusion of the inferior races from suffrage should

opposition to be organized.

In view of the foregoing considerations, and of many others which might be mentioned, an appeal for popular action against the evils of the time and the dangers which threatens us, must be thought timely and proper. The sure restoration of the union, and of a true administration of our system of constitutional government, awant the success of a great opposition party, actuated by just aims, and inspired by an earnest, patriotic determination to save the country and perpetuate its liberties.

The idea of ignoring party in the accomplishment of great public objects cannot be accounted one of wisdom. Great masses of men in a free country can act usefully and steadily only through some organism which combines their power and gives it direction. Without organization, their strength (all-powerful when concentrated) is dissipated and wasted, and the adventurous few seize upon the powers of government, and pervert them to their own sinister designs.

No truth is more certain than this, that the destructive elements of society (for instance, fanaticism and rapacity, by both of which we are now afflicted) can be held in permanent check in a republic only by uniting patriotic and just men against them in some enduring association, which shall act steadily and powerfully upon government and preserve it in its due course.

The problem for us now to solve is this: Are the people of the United States competent to organize themselves in defense of their system of free government and yountary union, or must they resort to a dictator, armed with large powers, who will crush faction and restore peace and union at the sacrifice of liberty? Evil in the state will not die out if left to itself. Someinstrument adequate to its extirpation must be sought and found, in the direction of either dictatorial or popular power. OPPOSITION TO BE URGANIZED.

which governments are established to pro-tect and defend.

despotic principle to a strong executive government of large and concentrated powers, those who have faith in our American principles will look to the people, and will seek to rouse and organize them and direct their united strength against the evils of the time. Thus we believe the nation may be saved, and saved by itself, and be prepared to resume its career of posperity, rudely interrupted by the war.

A great opposition party, made strong enough to carry the elections of 1864, is now the appropriate instrument for national redemption, and its success will be the triumph of free government and will extricate us from the jaws of destruction.

That the party of the Administration

cate us from the jaws of destruction.

That the party of the Administration is both vicious and incapable has been most abundantly proved, and ought no longer to be denied. It has failed to restore the Union after three years of trial, though possessed of all the powers of government and of all the resources of the country. And meantims it has struck heavy blows at liberty, and is carrying us away from all the old landmarks of policy and administration.

We are liverally drifting towards destruction, with the knowledge that those who have charge of our vessel of state are until Hon, wan the knowledge that those with have charge of our vessel of state are unfit to direct its course. But there is yet time to avert much o

But there is yet time to avert much of calamity. The future at least may be made secure. To all who really desire the Union restored, and along with it honest, constitutional government, the appeal may now be made to assist in elevating a party to power which will be faithful to the Constitution, which will unite together the Union elements of the whole country, will chastise corruption and fanaticism from the public administration, and will secure the luture from convulsion and despotism. administration, and will secure the future from convulsion and despotism.

Let the fact sink deeply into the hearts of our countrymen, that the great obstacle to peace, to re-union, to integrity in public affairs, and to the renewal of prosperity, is the presence at the capital of the nation of the chiefs of a sectional party, who have been instrumental in plunging the nation into "a sea of troubles," and who are both incapable and unwilling to save it.

POLICY OF THE OPPOSITION.

eapane and unwilling to save it.

POLICY OF THE OPPOSITION.

Having already spoken with just freedom of the Administration and of its policy, and conduct, we proceed to indicate the position and views of the opposition, who contend with the Administration for the possession of popular favor.

We hold that all laws duly established and existing shull be kent and bear. possession of popular favor.

We hold that all laws duly established and existing shall be kept, and kept as well by persons in official station as by the mass of the people. Disregard of law and of rights established and guaranteed by it is one of the great evils of which just complaint must now be made. A change of Administration and of party power will secure throughout the whole country subject to our jurisdiction, a just, faithful and uniform administration of the laws by the courts and by the President and his subordinates, and it will secure in the Congress of the United States, faithful obedience to the Constitution and an inonest construction of the powers conferred by it upon the legislative authority. The interruption of justice caused by an unnecessary suspension of the habeus corpus in the unrevolted States will forthwith terminate; arbitrary arrests of persons in civil life will become unknown, and a prelended necessity overriding justice and right, and made the pretext for various forms of oppression and injustice, will disappear before a returning sense of obligation and duty in our rulers.

In the policy of the Federal Government there will be no recognition of destrine.

tion and duty in our rulers.

In the policy of the Federal Government there will be no recognition of doctrines which tend to the social debasement and pollution of the people. The profigate and permicious theories which, under the garb of philanthropy and a regard for human rights, would overthrow the natural barriers between different races, and ignore wholly organic laws of difference between them, will not be promoted or favored in the policy of the government of the United States. ates. There will be an earnest and proper effort made to retrace the steps already taken in debasing the currency of the United States by large and unnecessary issues of paper

by large and unnecessary issues of paper money; a system at once unauthorized and injurious, which impoverishes the country and distributes the earnings of labor to hands that have not earned it, will invite immediate revision and ultimate removal from the statute book of the United States. The troops raised for the public service, whenever a necessity for raising them shall exist, will be rightfully obtained through the algency of the State Governments and be exist, will be rightfully obtained through the agency of the State Governments and be offered by State authority; thus securing, in the raising of armies for extraordinary occasions, the true intent and meaning of the Constitution, and preserving the armies of the United States form undue political control of the Federal Executive.

The action of the Government in its financial disbursements and other features of its administration, will be thrown open to full investigation, and an earnest effort be made to purge it in all its branches of corruption. Economy of outlay, so much spoken of by those who now hold power previous to their election and so little regarded by them since, will be reinstated in the practice of the Government as one of the essential rules of its action.

The doctrine that the States shall possess and exercise all ungranted powers, and shall be free within their interpretations.

and exercise all ungranted powers, and shall be free within their jurisdiction from the eneroachments of Federal authority, shall be rigidly maintained. The system of public revenue shall be adjusted so as to bear equally upon all sections and interests, and the unnecessary increase of officers in collecting it, as well as in other departments of public service, shall be avoided.

The exertion of public force in the war to be exclusively for the object for which the war was begun, to wit: the restoration of the Union and the jurisdiction of our laws over the revolted country; and being confined to that object, and relieved from the incumbrance of other objects, to be brought to a speedy and honorable conclusion. But further, it may be confidently asserted, that an opposition triumph in our elections will call into existence moral forces more powerful even than physical force for securing peace upon the basis of reunion. And it may be the only means for securing that great object, hitherto unrealized, and postponed and prevented by the policy and incapacity of our rulers.

Beside the revision of our domestic policy and the restoration of constitutional principles therein, the great objects to which we took, are, the conclusion of the war and the just determination of the questions connected therewith. The burden of this contest has become intolerable. Patience has been exhibited by the people of the United States to the utmost extent of forbearance. They were told the war would last but sixty days; they were told that the South were not united; they have been deluded throughout the contest, now more than three years in duration, by promises of speedy success; they have been told to trust and applaud military chieftains who were afterwards retired from the service, and denounced and calumniated by those who had inculcated their praise; they have been constantly supplied with lase information about current events, and have still offered them promises of speedy and complete success; they have been constantly suppli ented hereafter, by the evil and odious

prevented, and will be hindered if not prevented hereafter, by the evil and odious policy and the incapacity of the Administration itself.

These have united the South; these have nerved the arms of Southern soldiers in the tield, and inspirited them to united, earnest, determined resistance to our arms; these, in the darkest moments of the contest, have rendered their submission impossible. They and the populations they represent, have seen before them the alternative of complete independence on the one hand, as the possible result to be achieved by valor, skill, and endurance; and on the other, as the result of submission, confiscation, emancipation disgrace, and their on rule of the conqueror; and viewing their position as presenting

s possible to conceive its dangers and to make reasonable provisions against them. Certainly, it is possible for the people of the are now afflicted) can be held in permanent check in a republic only by uniting patriotic and just men against them in some enduring association, which shall act steadily and powerfully upon government and preserve it in its due course.

The problem for us now to solve is this. Are the people of the United States competent to organize themselves in defense of their system of free government and voluntary union, or must they resort to a dictator, armed with large powers, who will crush faction and restore peace and union at the sacrifice of liberty? Evil in the state will not die out if left to itself. Someinstrument adequate to its extirpation must be sought and found, in the direction of either dictarbial or popular power.

Instead of looking to a dietator, to the

peace, and will be represented by men com-petent alike to conduct war and to secure peace, who will call into existence, for the

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EGAL AND OTHER NOTICES

redemption and reunion of the country, moral influences more potent than physical force, and who will achieve their mission before exhaustion and intolerable suffering have been incurred. RECONSTRUCTION.

RECONSTRUCTION.

The propositions which should obtain the reconstruction of the Union are not difficult of statement, and when contrasted with the policy of the administration will appear to peculiar advantage.

The first is, that the States shall stand as before the war, except as to changes which may be agreed upon between or among them. The Constitution of the United States is the rightful and only bond of union for the States composing the confederacy, and it is to stand as it is, in its full intensity, until the parties who are bound by it shall change its terms or add to it new provisions. Any other doctrine is revolutionary and destructive and to be utterly rejected, whether founded upon Presidential proclamations or statutes enacted by Congress. The powers of the Federal Government is obtined. founded upon Presidential proclamations or statutes enacted by Congress. The powers of the Federal Government in all its branches are confined within the provisions of the Constitution and cannot transcend them. Therefore the Constitution as it is, including its power of regular amendment, is the leading doctrine of the great party which proposes to save the nation in this day of its sore trial. Let the false and guilty doctrine that the President of the United States by proclamation, or the Congress thereof by statute, can prescribe, alter, add to or diminish the conditions of union between the States be discarded at once and forever, and most of the difficulties which appear to attend the question of reconstruction will wholly disappear. Those departments of the Government are confined to particular legislative and executive duties, and cannot fouch or determined the states. tion will wholly disappear. Those departments of the Government are confined to particular legislative and executive duties, and cannot touch or determine the relations of the States with each other. That field of power is sacred to the great organized communities by whom the Union was formed and by whom alone it can be subjected to modification or change. We have fought to restore the Union, not to change it, much less to subvert its fundamental principles, and the accomplishment of its restoration is the compensation we propose to ourselves for all the cost and sacrifices of the struggle. But what is impossible to the President or to Congress it is competent for the States, in their sovereign capacity, by free mutual consent, at the proper time, to perform.

The American States required a compact of union to go through the war of the revolution, and it was made. Subsequently they required an amended compact, creating a more intimate union, to secure to them the fruits of independence. From their deliberations on the latter occasion there resulted that most admirable instruthere resulted that most admirable instru-ment, the Constitution of the United States, under which the republic has existed and prospered for more than seventy years.— And now, under our experience of revoid and war and misgovernment, we may con-clude that additional securities for liberty and Union should be established in the fundamental law. But these securities must consist of limitations rather than of extensions of Federal authority, and must not invade those fields of power which were left sacred to State jurisdiction in the origi-nal scheme of Union. here resulted that most admirable

left sacred to State jurisdiction in the original scheme of Union.

The Constitution should provide against
the uncontrolled domination of sectional
parties, South or North, in the Government
of the United States, as the most indispensable and vital regulation possible for our
safety and continued existence as a republic. We refer upon this point to our remarks at the beginning of the present address, as exhibiting the grounds upon which
this most important proposition may stand,
and as illustrating in its utility and necessity beyond all cavil or question. An adequate, real, and efficient check in government, securing a balance of power between
politic interests, is unquestionably the highest and most important point in constitutional science; and it is most evident that
because our system has been found defactive in this porticular. est and most important point in constitutional science; and it is most evident that
because our system has been found defective in this particular, we are now involved
in war and scourged by misgovernment in
its most intolerable, odious, and lawless
forms. The checks already provided in our
Constitution, and which have been so salutary in their action and influence upon the
Government, must be supplemented by
some proper provision which shall more
perfectly perform the office and function for
which they were designed. For it is now
proved amid the blood and tears of this nation, that all balance in our Government
may be lost and all its checks be found insufficient to curb the insolence and guilt of
faction and secure obedience to those fundamental principles of liberty, law and
right, which were established by our fathers. We are at war, and blood flows, and
wealth is wasted, and fanaticism runs riot,
and the Constitution is broken, and we are
bowed down by bitter grief and sorrow in all
our homes, because a sectional faction rules
the government of the United States, free
from restraint, or curb, or limitation of its
powers. And it should be made impossible
that this condition of things can again exist, after we have once extricated ourselves
from the grasp of calamity.

There should also be a judicious limitation upon the distribution of federal patronage. The prodigious growth and present
extent of that patronage in official appointments, constitutes a fertile source of corruption and danger. Nearly the whole mass of
federal appointments are poised every four
years upon a presidential election, intensirying and debasing the struggle for power,
and sowing the seeds of corruption broadcast throughout the land. Purity, economy
and justice in government become almost
impossible under this system, and their restoration and maintenance demand its
amendment. A change by which the great
body of public officers would hold for fixed
terms, and be removable only for lawful
cause, would be

AMNESTY. Another proposition pertaining to reconstruction is, that as to individuals there shall be amnesty except for particular offences. All the excesses of a State cannot be visited with judicial punishment. Both necessity and policy require that, at the conclusion of such struggie, the mantle of oblivion shall cover the past. A nation torn by civil war demands repose at its conclusion, that society may be reorganized and that the passions and demoralization produced by war may disappear before the renewed action of noral forces. Laws of confiscation and treason may be politic and produced by war may disappear before the renewed action of moral forces. Laws of confiscation and treason may be politic and necessary to prevent, insurrection or to check it in the outset, but they become inapplicable when revolt has ripened into public war, and one entire people are organized against another. Penal enactments when directed against a whole population are odious and useless, and their tendency is to prolong and intensity war, and to embarrass or prevent its just conclusion. Their office is to chastise individual offenders within government jurisdiction, and not entire communities contending for independence or other public object. The laws of war necessarily and properly obtain between the parties to a war pending the contest, and displace or supersede those of municipal enactment. Ammesty therefore, within the termination of such a contest as that in displace or supersede those of municipal enactment. Annesty therefore, within the limit of public safety, follows of course the termination of such a contest as that in which we are now encourse. termination of such a contest as that in which we are now engaged.

It may be added that clear justice requires, that unionists who have fled from the revolted country should be restored to their estates, and that the particular wrongs infitted upon them should as far as possible be redressed.

We have thus taken notice of several questions connected with the subject of reconstruction and indicated our views upon them. How much opposed those views are to the policy of the Administration will appear upon the most cursory examination. They point to the determination and settlement of disputes upon a just and reasonable basis, and to the security of the country against the recurrence of war hereafter; while the policy of the Administration points to a simple alternative between the subjugation and independence of the South. If we succeed in the war, we have a conquered country to hold and govern as we best may; and if we fail in the war, a rival and hostile power will be established beside us. The Administration has no instrument for national redemption, except physical force (which it has shown itself hitherto incompetent to wield), and whether it succeed or fail, the future is encompassed with danger. Representing radical and violent elements of population among us, its party interests require of it an uncompromising and hostile attitude, not only toward the Confederate government, but to the whole, southern people. In fact, the President virtually announces to us in his bogus State proclamation, that he can trust no men in the South, except under most stringent oaths of approval of his policy, and within the direct military influence of the army. Under the present Administration, therefore, each party to the war strives for a clean victory or an utter defeat, and no agreement between them, except one of issuint to our countrymen that this statement of fact pronounces the utter condemnation of the Administration, and establishes soliding the first proposed or is possible. We subtain the argument for its removal from power, and this, too, independent of the other one as siderations which we have presented. If ments is departed a term of the other one as siderations which we have presented. If ments is a company of the administration of the other one as siderations which we have presented. We have thus taken notice of several ly the argument for its removal from power; and this, too, independent of the other cone siderations which we have presented; Images potent in war, incapable of accuring a just on and speedy peace, competent only to waste the blood and resources of the people, it stands as fully condemned in its policy

[Concluded on the Fourth Page.]