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You have not, as good Patriots should do, studied The public good, but your particular ends; Factious among yourselves, preferring such Toulkes and honors, as ne er read The elements of earling policy; Bor DEERLY SKILLED IN ALL THE PRINCIPLES

AN ADDRESS

To the People of The United States, and Particularly to the People of the States which adhere to the Federal Government.

[Concluded.]

DANGERS BEYOND THE WAB.

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.

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 military success renders them still more insolent? If their assaults upon law and upon rights be so numerous and flagrant while they are subjected to opposition and struggling to maintain their position against an open foe, what may 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 can not long exist. Not only is the excuse that the 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 unnecessary 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 prevent renewed revolt, as it is to support arbitrary government in order to subdue existing rebellion? When did a ruler who had deprived his country of their liberties voluntarily restore them? That people who will accept excuses for tyranny, will always be abundantly supplied with them by their rulers, and especially will they be furnished with this argument of necessity which will expend itself to the utmost requirement of despotic power under all circumstances.

Our ancestors who settled this country and established the government of the United States, fortunately did not admit the doctrine of necessity, but proceeded, under the guidance of a most wise and just policy, to tie up the hands of official power by constitutional limitations, by checks and balances established in the vechecks and balances established in the very framework of government, and by in-litical; the vast number comprised withleating among the mass of the pe 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 our duty and false to our lineage, if we surrender the principles to which they held, or permit ourselves to be deceived by those arouments of power which they despised and reject-

Success itself in the odious power 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. Neces sarily populations within them must conduct local governments, and exercise the proper proportion of power pertaining to them in the Federal government. In short they could not be held as conquered territories unless we should change our whole constitutional system and abandon altogether our experiment of freedom; and therefore the imperative necessity of changing the issue between the sections from one of conquest to one of restoration. Men must be chosen for public station who will know how to save to a bleeding country what is left, and restore what is lost, by securing peace on constitutional and just terms.

CORRUPT GOVERNMENT.

the great mass of the people be sacrificed tury and in imitation of our example, have just complaint must now be made. A ment censorship, nor appeared anywhere to the interests of classes or individuals. assumed republican forms of government, change of administration and of party in official documents—to wit, that success A truly free government, where the authority of the rulers is supported by the free ing of the differences of race, has been the uncoerced action of the people; where prolific cause of the social and political the laws are kept in perfect good faith evils which scourge and afflict those unand individual rights perfectly respected, happy countries. Social vices prevail to is the only one which can be pure.

INSECURITY.

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 people 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, the government is most secure which is most free. But in the hands of a sectional party, the future of the country is not secure. Not only is the danger of renewed revolt a possibility of the future; but the dangers of a foreign war are immensely increased. A disaffection party actuated by just aims, and inspired by an exprest, partiatic determination. ted population weakens the government in resisting invasion, and if such disaffection be sectional, then the country has a weak part through which a foreign foe may strike its effectual and fearful blows.

CORRUPTION OF RACE. A still morn important consideration remains to be stated. We mean the social question—the question of the relations of race—with which our rulers are so littreme offensive and dangerous opinions are held by their prominent supporters. Whatever may be determined as to the negro race amonst us, it is manifest it is unfitted to participate in the exercise of political power, and that its incorporation socially, and upon a principle of equality with the mass of our countrymen, constiare insignificant. We suppose the men who established suffrage in this country, and from time to time have subjected it principle of vesting it in those who were its due course. fitted 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 in must necessarily lead to abuse. Manifestly, a race of mankind who cannot support free institutions, regular govern-ment, 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 of rights of all men fails in their case, because of the absence of the conditions upon which it is founded. In the organiza tion of a state, it is manifest that the soin 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 insane, among those who exercise the right of suffrage. Incapacity or unfitness exists, to a greater or less extent, with all and the same ground of exclusion precisely exists in the case of the negro or other inferior race, who may be casually or per manently placed among us. Chinese, Malays, and the uncivilized Indians, fall within the same principle of exclusion. There governments were established by white of State are unfit to direct its course. men and for white men and their posterity forever, and it is for the common ad-vantage of all states and conditions of hu-made secure. To all who really desire man beings, that the exclusion of the in-

complish the great and beneficent results. of which it it capable. But the social aspect of this subject of the "relations of race," is equally important with the political, and intimately associated with it. It is of the highest policy, it is of the greatest necessity, that the races should be kept distinct, socially; that they should not blend together to their mutual corruption and destruc-Another danger to be considered is, corrupt government, the necessary consequence of arbitrary principles practically applied in the affaire of the nation, or troubled and inglorious career under our rather an accompanying principle. The observation, and whose present condition wast increase of officers in all branches of may well awaken the pity-or contempt of makind. The Spaniard of the New World had not reference attenuated at the property articles. tion. If an example were needed to ad-

ferior races from suffrage should be per-

manently continued. Thus only can this

great experiment of freedom begun by our

strong governments, as they are called, by the arms or policy of the Spanish and of rights established and guarantied been told—one great and important fact thority, and must not invade those fields must be corrupt ones, and the interests of crown, and which within the present cenevils which scourge and afflict those unhappy countries. Social vices prevail to a fearful extent: society is enfeebled and eaten out by them; there is no steady productive labor, no uniform and just administration of the productive labor, no uniform and just administration of law, but constant revolutions and incomplete to the Constitution and an honest construction, a just, a just, a will be hindered if not prevented hereafter, by the uncontrolled domination of sectional 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 not to the Constitution and an honest construction of the powers conferred by it upon the field and inspired 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 not to the Constitution and an honest construction of the uncontrolled domination of sectional parties, South or North, in the Government of the United States, as the most capacity of the Administration itself!—

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These, have united the South; these, have not the individual of the uncontrolled domination of the united States, as the most capacity of the Administration itself!—

These, have united the South; the uncontrolled domination of the united States, as the of law, but constant revolutions and insecurity of all those rights, which govern-ments are established to protect and defend.

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 threaten us, must be thought spired 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, can not 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 concentle fitted to deal, and upon which such ex- trated,) is dissipated and consequently wasted, and the adventurous few seize upon the powers of the government and pervert them to their own sinister de-

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 tutes a danger to which all other dangers | held in permanent check in a republic, only by uniting patriotic and just men against them in some enduring asscia-tion, which shall act steadily and powerto new regulation, proceeded upon the fully upon government and preserve it in

The problem for us now to solve is this: Are the people of the United States competent to organize themselves in defense of their free system of 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 social body who are manifestly unfit to the State will not die out, if left to itself. exercise it, and whose participation there- Some instrument adequate to its extirpation must be sought and found, in the direction of either dictatorial or popular power.

Instead of looking to a dictator, to the 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 amongst us. The argument of equality 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 prosperity 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 is

both vicious and incapable, has been most these extensive divisions of human beings, 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 meantime it has struck heavy blows at liberty, and is carrying us away is no reason why general incapacity or in- from all the old landmarks of policy and sufficient capacity for electoral action, administration. We are literally drifting should be ignored in the case of one of toward destruction, with the knowledge these classes and not in the other. Our that those who have charge of our wessel

But there is yet time to avert much o 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 ancestors and continued by us, be carried the Constitution, which will unite togethforward successfully, and be made to ac- er the union elements of the whole country, will chastise corruption and fanati cism from the public administration, and will secure the future from convulsion and

despotism. Let the fact sink deep 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 pros-

POLICY OF THE OPPOSITION.

Having already spoken with just free-dom of the administration and of its poli-

power, will secure throughout the whole in the war and the speedy return of peace, tion of justice caused by an unnecessary suspension of the habeas corpus in the unrevolted States will forthwith terminate; arbitrary arrests of persons in civil life will become unknown, and a pretended 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 Govern-ment there will be no recognition of doctrines which tend to the social pollution of the people. The profligate and pernicious theories which, under the garb of philanthropy and a regard for human rights, would overthrow the natural barriers between different races and wholly gnore organic laws of difference between the policy of the government of the United States,

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 money; a system at once unauthorized and injurious, which impoverishes the country and distributes the earnngs of labor to cands that have not carned 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 agency of the State governments and be officered 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 from the 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 pracice of the government as one of the cssential rules of its action.

The doctrine that the States shall possess and exercise all ungranted powers, and shall be free within their jurisdiction from the encroachments 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 unnecessa-

to be exclusively for the object for which tion 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 incapacty of our rulers.

Beside the revision of our domestic policy and the restoration of constitutional principles therein, the great objects to which we look, are, the conclusion of the war and the just determination of the questions connected therewith. The buren of this contest has become intolerable Patience has been exhibited by the people subvert its fundamental principles, and of the United States to the utmost extent of forbearance. They were told the war would last sixy days; they were told the South was 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 appland military chieftsips who were afterwards retired from service, and form. public affairs, and to the renewal of prosed denounced and calumniated by those who pority, is the presence at the capital of had inculcated their praise; they have the nation of the chiefs of a sectional party who have been successful in pluncing.

earnest, determined resistance to our arms; sent address, as exhibiting the grounds these, in the darkest moments of the conthese, in the darkest moments of the contest, have rendered their submission impossible. They, and the populations they represent, have seen before them the all question. An adequate, real, and efficient ternative of complete independence on the check in Government, securing a balance one hand, as the possible result to be of power between political interests, is achieved by valor, skill, and endurance, and on the other, as the result of submis- portant point in constitutional science; sion, confiscation, emancipation, disgrace, and it is most evident that because our and the iron rule of the conqueror; and system has been found defective in this viewing their position as presenting only a choice between these results, they have and scourged by misgovernment in its girded themselves up to herculean and most intolerable, odious and lawless forms. desperate efforts and still stand defiant and unbroken.

It is not for us to foretell the future, but it is possible to conceive its dangers and to make reasonable provision against them. Certainly, it is possible for the them, will not be promoted or favored in people of the United States, by selecting new rulers, to put their public affairs, including this business of the war, upon a new footing—to remove the main obstacle to neace and reunion, which has impeded their sufferings and sacrifices unavailing for the object for which they were incurred. This is the great and necessary work to be done by them in regaining the road

of safety, and to its performance they are earnestly invited. 🧸 When the members of the present-Administration are removed from power, and patriotic and just men are made to fill obstacle to peace, and will be represented by men competent alike to conduct war and to secure peace, who will call in-to existence, for the redemption and reunion of the country, moral influence more potent than physical force, and who will achieve their mission before exhaus-

tion and intolerable suffering have been incurred.

RECONSTRUCTION.

The propositions which should obtain n 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, in its full integrity, until the parties who are bound by 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 Presid ry increase of officers in collecting it, as ential proclamations or statutes enacted offences. All the excesses of a state of war well as in other departments of public by Congress. The powers of the Federal cannot be visited with judicial punish-Jovernment in all its branches are con-The exertion of public force in the war fined within the provisions of the Constitution and cannot transcend them. The Pethe war was begun, to wit: the restors fore the Constitution as it is, including its power of regular amendment, is the leading doctrine of the great party which pro-poses to save the nation in this the 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 be tween 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 Gavernment are confined to particular legislative and executive duties, and cannot touch or determine the relations of the States with each oth

er. 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 of change. We have fought to restore the Union, not to change it, much less to the compensation we propose to our-selves for all the cost and sacrifices of the struggle.

But what is impossible to the Presi dent orto Congress it is competent for the States, in their sovereign capacity, by free

mutual consent, at the proper time, to per-The American States required a compact of union to go through the war of the nation of the chiefs of a sectional particle and water, miscarry outright, or fail in sequently they required an amended companies the nation into "a sea of troubles," and securing the objects for which they were who are both incapable and unwilling to undertaken; they have seen the prices of secure to them the fruits of independence undertaken; they have seen the prices of secure to them the fruits of independence. the Revolution, and it was made. Suball the necessaries and comforts of life go From, their deliberations on the latter up to enormous rates, beyond the ability occasion there resulted that most admirawas increase of officers in all branches of the public service; the administration of the public service of the New boundary services of the public service of the order of the public services of the public services of the public of the public services of the public servic of all who are not rich, or favored by Gov- ble instrument, the Constitution of the

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

The Constitution should provide against unquestionably the highest and most imand scourged by misgovernment in its 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 achecks be found insufficient to curb the insolence their great efforts hitherto, and rendered 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 Gov-ernment of the United States, free from their places, the people of the adhering restraint, or curb, or limitation of its powsections of the country will have done their ers. And it should be made impossible part in removing the cause of war and the 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 prepresent 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, intensifying and debasing the struggle for power, and sowing the seeds of corruption broadcast throughout the land. Purity, economy and justice in government becomes 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 one of great merit and wisdom, and is among the most desirable objects to be sought in our public policy.

AMNESTY.

Another proposition pertaining to reconstruction is that as to individuals there shall be amnesty except for particular that, at the conclusion of such a struggle, 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 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 inappliable 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 intensify 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 parties to a war pending the contest, and displace or supersede those of municipal subvert its fundamental principles, and enactment. Amnesty therefore, within the accomplishment of its restoration is the limit of public safety, follows of course the termination of such a contest as that in which we are now engaged.

It may be added that clear justice re-

quires that Unionists who have fled from the revolted country should be restored to their estates, and that the particular wrongs inflicted upon them should as far as possible be redressed.

A CONTRAST.

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 appaer upon the most cursory examinution. They point to the determina-tion and settlement of disputes upon a succeed in the war, we have a conquered ...