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By J. B. OVIATT,

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Fronting the Public Square, Olean, N. Y. James M. Miller Proprietor. The Fobes House is entirely new and built of brick, and is furnished in modern style. The proprietor flatters himself that his accommodations are not surpassed by any hotel in Western New York. Carriages run to and from the New York and Erie Rail Road. 38-tf.

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Dr. M. A. Spragge would respectfully announce to the citizens of Smethport and vicinity, that he has fitted up an office, and is prepared to attend to all business in his profession. Artificial teeth inserted upon scientific principles, and so as to preserve the natural expression of the face. All operations in Dental Surgery done in a skillful manner. 10tf

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Sergeant, M'Kean Co., June 30, 1859.

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March 14, 1861-6m.

ADDRESS

OF DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF CONGRESS TO THE DEMOCRACY OF THE U. S.

Fellow Citizens:—The perilous condition of our country demands that we should reason together. Party organization, restricted within proper limits, is a public good, and indeed essential to the preservation of public liberty. Without it the best Government would soon degenerate into the worst of tyrannies. In despotisms the chief use of power is in crushing out party opposition. In our own country the experience of the last twelve months proves, more than any lesson in history, the necessity of party organization. The present Administration was chosen by a party, and in all civil acts and appointments has recognized, and still does, its fealty and obligations to that party. There must and will be an opposition. The public safety and good demand it. Shall it be a new organization or an old one? The Democratic party was founded more than sixty years ago. It has never been disbanded. To-day it numbers one million five hundred thousand electors in the States still loyal to the Union. Its recent numerous victories in municipal elections in the Western and Middle States prove its vitality. Within the last ten months it has held State Conventions and nominated full Democratic tickets in every Free State in the Union. Of no other party opposed to the Republicans can the same be said.

Shall the Democratic party be now disbanded?—Why should it? Are its ancient principles wrong? What are they? Let its platforms for thirty years speak.

"*Resolved*, That the American Democracy place their trust in the intelligence, the patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the American people.

"That we regard this as a distinctive feature in our political creed, which we are proud to maintain before the world, as the great moral element in a form of government, springing from and upheld by the popular will; and we contrast it with the creed and practice of Federalism, under whatever name or form, which seeks to palsy the will of the constituent, and which conceives no imposture too monstrous for the popular credulity.

"That the Federal Government is one of limited power, derived *solely* from the Constitution; and the grants of power made therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the Government; and that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers."

And as explanatory of these, the following from Mr. Jefferson's first inaugural:

"The support of the State Governments in all their rights as the most competent administration of our domestic concerns and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies.

"The preservation of the General Government in its whole constitutional vigor as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad.

"A jealous care of the right of election by the people.

"The supremacy of the civil over the military authority.

"Economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burdened.

"The honest payment of our debts and sacred preservation of the public faith.

"Freedom of Religion, freedom of the Press, and freedom of person under protection of the habeas corpus, and trial by juries impartially selected."

Such, Democrats, are the principles of your party, essential to public liberty, and to the stability and wise administration of the Government, alike in peace and war. They are the principles upon which the Constitution and the Union were founded; and, under the control of a party which adheres to them, the Constitution would be maintained and the Union could not be dissolved.

Is the policy of the Democratic party wrong that it should be disbanded?

Its policy is consistent with its principles, and may be summed up, from the beginning, as follows: The support of liberty as against power; of the people as against their agents and servants; and of State rights as against consolidation and centralized despotism; a simple government; no public debt; low taxes; no high protective tariff; no general system of internal improvements by Federal authority; no National Bank; hard money for the Federal public dues; no assumption of State debts; expansion of territory; self-government for territories, subject only to the Constitution; the absolute compatibility of a union of States, "part slave and part free;" the admission of new States, with or without slavery, as they may elect; non-interference by the Federal Government with slavery in State and Territory, or in the District of Columbia; and, finally, as set forth in the Cincinnati Platform in 1856, and reaffirmed in 1860, absolute and eternal "repudiation of all sectional parties and platforms concerning domestic slavery which seeks to embroil the States and incite to treason and armed resistance to law in the Territories, *and whose avowed purpose, if consummated, must end in civil war and disunion.*"

Such was the ancient and the recent policy of the Democratic party running through a period of sixty years—a policy consistent with the principles of the Constitution, and absolutely essential to the preservation of the Union.

Does the history of the Democratic party prove that it ought to be abandoned? "By their fruits shall ye know them." Sectional parties do not achieve Union triumphs. For sixty years from the inaugural of Jefferson on the 4th of March, 1801, the Democratic party, with short intervals, controled the power and the policy of the Federal Government. For forty-eight years out of these sixty, Democratic men ruled the country; for fifty-four years and eight months the Democratic policy prevailed. During this period Louisana, Florida, Texas, New Mexico, and California were successively annexed to our territory, with an area more that twice as large as all the original Thirteen States together. Eight new States were admitted under strictly Democratic Administration—one under the Administration of Filmore. From five millions, the population increased to thirty-one millions. The Revolutionary debt was extinguished. Two foreign wars were successfully prosecuted, with a moderate army and a small army and navy, and without suspension of the habeas corpus; without one infraction of the Constitution; without one usurpation of power; without suppressing a single newspaper, without imprisoning a single editor; without limit to the freedom of the press, or of speech in or out of Congress but in the midst of the grossest abuse of both; and without the arrest of a single traitor, though the Hartford Convention sat during one of the wars, and in the other, Senators invited the enemy to "greet our volunteers with bloody hands and welcome them to hospitable graves!"

During all this time wealth increased, business of all kinds multiplied, prosperity smiled on every side, taxes were low, wages were high, the North and the South furnished a market for each other's products at good prices; public liberty was secure, private rights undisturbed; every man's house was his castle; the courts were open to all; no passports for travel; no secret police, no spies, no informers, no bastiles; the right to assemble peacebly, the right to petition; freedom of religion, freedom of speech, a free ballot, and a free press; and all this time the Constitution maintained, and the Union of the States preserved.

Such were the choice fruits of Democratic principles and policy, carried out through the whole period during which the Democratic party held the power and administered the Federal Government. Such has been the history of that party. It is a Union party, for it preserved the Union, by wisdom, peace and compromise, for more that half a century.

Then neither the ancient principles, the policy, nor the past history of the Democratic party require nor would justify its disbandment.

Is there anything in the present crisis which demands it? The more immediate issue is, to *maintain the Constitution as it is, and to restore the Union as it was.*

To maintain the Constitution is to respect the rights of the States and the liberties of the citizen. It is to adhere faithfully to the very principles and policy which the Democratic party has professed for more than half a century. Let its history and the results, from the beginning, prove whether it has practiced them. We appeal proudly to the record.

The first step towards a restoration of the Union as it was is to maintain the Constitution as it is. So long as it was maintained in fact, and not threatened with infraction in spirit and in letter, actual or imminent, the Union was unbroken.

To restore the Union, it is essential, first, to give assurance to every State and to the people of every section that their rights and liberties and property will be secure within the Union under the Constitution. What assurance so doubly sure as the restoration to power of that ancient organized consolidated Democratic party which for sixty years *did* secure the property, rights, and liberties of the States and of the people; and thus *did* maintain the Constitution and preserve the Union, and with them the multiplied blessings which distinguished us above all other nations!

To restore the Union is to crush out sectionalism North and South. To begin the great work of restoration through the ballot-box is to kill abolition. The bitter waters of secession flowed first and are fed still from the unclean fountain of abolitionism. That fountain must be dried up. Armies may break down the power of the Confederate Government in the South; but the work of restoration can only be carried on through political organization and the ballot in the North and West. In this great work we cordially invite the co-operation of all men of every party who are opposed to the fell spirit of abolition, and, who, in sincerity, desire the Constitution as it is and the Union as it was. Let the dead past bury its dead. Rally, lovers of the Union, the Constitution, and of Liberty to the standard of the Democratic party, already in the field and confident of victory. That party is the natural and persistent enemy of abolition. Upon this question its record as a national organization, however it may have been at times with particular men or in particular States, is clear and unquestionable. From the beginning of the anti-slavery agitation to the period of the last Democratic National Convention it has held but one language in regard to it. Let the record speak:

"*Resolved*, That Congress has no power under the Constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts of the Abolitionists or others made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences, and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions."

Upon these principles alone, so far as relates to slavery, can the Union as it was be restored; and no other Union except the Unity or Despotism, can be maintained in this country; and this last we will resist as our fathers did, with our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

But it is said that you must disband the Democratic party to support the Government. We answer that the Democratic party has always supported the Government; and while it was in power preserved the Government in all its vigor and integrity, not by force and arms, but by wisdom, sound policy and peace. But it never did admit, and never will, that this Administration, or any Administration, is "the Government." It holds, and ever has held, that the Federal Government is the agent of the people of the several States composing the Union; that it consists of three distinct departments—the Legislative, the Executive and the Judicial—each equally a part of the Government, and equally entitled to the confidence and support of the States and the people; and that it is the duty of every patriot to sustain the several departments of the Government in the exercise of all the Constitutional powers of each which may be necessary and proper for the preservation of the Government in its principles, and in its vigor and integrity, and to stand by and defend to the utmost the flag which represents the Government, the Union and the country.

In this sense the Democratic party has always sustained, and will now sustain, the Government against all foes, at home or abroad, in the North or the South, open or concealed, in office or out of office, in peace or in war.

If this is what the Republican party mean by supporting the Government, it is an idle thing to abandon the old and tried Democratic party, which for so many years and through so many trials supported, preserved and maintained the Government of the Union. But if their real purpose be to aid the ancient enemies of the Democracy in subverting our present Constitution and form of government, and, under pretence of saving the Union, to erect a strong centralized despotism on its ruins, the Democratic party will resist them as the worst enemy to the Constitution and the Union, and to free government everywhere.

We do not propose to consider now the causes which led to the present unhappy civil war. A fitter time will come hereafter for such discussion. But we remind you now that compromise made your Union, and compromise fifteen months ago would have saved it. Repeated efforts were made at the last session of the Thirty-sixth Congress to this end. At every stage, the great mass of the South, with the whole Democratic party, and the whole Constitutional Union party of the North and West united in favor of certain amendments to the Constitution—and chief among them the well-known "Crittenden Propositions," which would have averted civil war and maintained the Union. At every stage, all proposed amendments inconsistent with the sectional doctrines of the Chicago Platform were strenuously and unanimously resisted and defeated by the Republican party. The "Crittenden Resolutions" never received a single Republican vote in either House. For the proof we appeal to the Journals of Congress and to the Congressional Globe.

We scorn to reply to the charge that the Democratic party is opposed to granting aid and support to the Federal Government in maintaining its safety, integrity, and constitutional supremacy, and in favor of disbanding our armies and succumbing to the South. The charge is libellous and false. No man has advocated any such proposition. Democrats recognize it as their duty as patriots to support the Government in all constitutional, necessary and proper efforts to maintain its safety, integrity, and constitutional authority; but at the same time they are indexibly opposed to waging war against any of the States or people of this Union in any spirit of oppression, or for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, or of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of any State. Above all, the Democratic party will not support the Administration in anything which looks or tends to the loss of our political or personal rights and liberties or a change of our present democratical form of government.

But no, Democrats, it is not the support of the Government in restoring the Union which the party in power require of you. You are asked to give up your principles, your policy, and your party, and to stand by the Administration of the party in power, in all its acts.—Above all it is demanded of you that you yield at least a silent support to their whole policy, and to withhold all scrutiny into their public conduct of every kind, lest you should "embarrass the Administration." You are thus asked to denounce one of the first principles and the chief security of a Democratic Government—*the right to hold public servants responsible to their master the people; to render the representative accountable to the constituent; the ancient and undoubted prerogative of Americans to canvass public measures and public men.* It is this "high constitutional privilege" which Daniel Webster declared he would defend and exercise within the House and out of the House, and in all places, *in time of war, in time of peace, and at all times!* It is a right secured by the Constitution—a right inestimable to the people, and formidable to tyrants only.

It never there was a time when the existence and consolidation of the Democratic party upon its principles and policy was a vital necessity to public and private liberty, it is now.

Unquestionably the Constitution gives ample power to the several Departments of the Government to carry on war, strictly subject to its provisions, and, in case of civil war, with perfect security to citizens of the loyal States.—Every act necessary for the safety and efficiency of the Government, and for a complete and most vigorous trial of its strength, is yet wholly consistent with the observance of every provision of that instrument, and of the laws in pursuance of it, if the sole motives of those in power were the suppression of the "rebellion," and no more. And yet the history of the Administration for the twelve months past has been and continues to be a history of repeated usurpations of power and of violations of the Constitution, and of the public and private rights of the citizen. For the proof we appeal to facts too recent to need recital here, and too flagrant and heinous for the calm narrative which we propose. Similar acts were done and a like policy pursued in the threatened war with France in the time of John Adams, and with the same ultimate purpose. But in two or three years the people forced them into an honorable peace with France, rebuked the excesses and abuses of power, vindicated the Constitution, and turned over the Federal Government to the principles and policy of the Democratic party. To the "sober second thought of the people," therefore, and to the ballot-box, we now appeal when again in like peril with our fathers.

But if every Democrat concurred in the policy of prosecuting the war to the utter subjugation of the South, and for the subversion of her State Government with her institutions, without a Convention of the States, and without an overture for peace, we should just as resolutely resist the disbanding of the Democratic party. It is the only party capable of carrying on a war: it is the only party which has ever conducted a war to a successful issue, and the only party which has done it without abuse of power, without molestation to the rights of any class of citizens, and with due regard to economy. All this it has done; all this, if need be, it is able to do again. If success, then, in a military point of view be required, the Democratic party alone can command it.

To conclude: Inviting all men, without distinction of State, section or party, who are for the Constitution as it is and the Union as it was, to unite with us in this great work upon terms of perfect equality, we insist that—

The restoration of the Union, whether through peace or by war, demands the continued organization and success of the Democratic party;

The preservation of the Constitution demands it;

The maintenance of liberty and free democratical government demands it;

The restoration of a sound system of internal policy demands it;

Economy and honesty in the public expenditures, now at the rate of four millions of dollars a day, demand it;

The rapid accumulation of an enormous and permanent public debt demand it—a public debt already one thousand millions of dollars, and equal at the present rate, in three years, to England's debt of a century and a half in growth;

The heavy taxation, direct and indirect, State and Federal, already more than two hundred millions of dollars a year, eating out the substance of the people, augmenting every year, demands it;

Reduced wages, low prices, depression of trade, decay of business, scarcity of work, and impending ruin on every side, demand it;

And, finally, the restoration of the concord, good feeling, and prosperity of former years, demands that the Democratic party shall be maintained and made victorious.

W. A. RICHARDSON, of Illinois.
A. L. KNAPP, of Illinois.
J. C. ROBINSON, of Illinois.
JOHN LAW, of Indiana.
D. W. VOORHEES, of Indiana.
W. ALLEN, of Ohio.
C. A. WHITE, of Ohio.
WARREN P. NOBLE, of Ohio.
GEO. H. PENDLETON, of Ohio.
JAS. R. MORRIS, of Ohio.
C. L. VALLANDIGHAM, of Ohio.
PHILLIP JOHNSON, of Penn.
S. E. ANCONA, of Penn.
GEO. K. SHIEL, of Oregon.

Note.—The names of absent members concurring in the above will be affixed to the pamphlet edition of this Address.

The New Levy for Troops.—The President has called for an additional force of 50,000 volunteers, and our information from Washington induces the belief that a further call will shortly be made for 200,000 men, with a view to give the greatest possible efficiency to both the great divisions of the army. As might be expected the call of the President has met a quick and unquestioning response. Gov. Curtin, on the first intimation from the War Department that more troops were needed, proffered from Pennsylvania any number of troops that might be required, and under instructions from Washington will send forward one regiment of infantry in a few days. The Old Keystone will furnish the first regiment under this requisition as under each of the others; and although it has now more men in the field than any other State, could make up the whole levy of 50,000 were it desired of her.

In ordering the new enlistments the Government would find great advantage by allowing to the enlisted men one or two months' advance pay. In the interim and in many cities, there are no systems of relief; and while the men would not ask for bounty money, or and reward until they have gained it, those who have wives and families would like to make some provision for them before enlisting. It is as the opinion of the most experienced enlisting officers last winter, and the same would doubtless be found true now, that two months' advance pay would command a very superior class of soldiers, in any number that might be desired.

From Gen. Halleck's Army.

Headquarters, May 31.

Our cavalry found all the fords of the enemy standing; took hundreds of barrels of beef, 7,000 stand of arms, in a large encampment on the Mobile and Ohio railroad, said to have belonged to price and Van Dorn's forces, and deserted by them on Thursday night. The rebels are being brought in in squads of 40 to 60. Our cavalry found the rebels on several roads in strong forces with artillery supported by infantry. The rebels commenced moving their sick last Monday.

Beauregard and Bragg were at Corinth on Tuesday afternoon.

The recently published card of the army newspaper correspondents gives the erroneous impression that Gen. Halleck had prohibited the reporter of the New York associated press here from telegraphing anything, even when not contraband, except such items as he approves. Gen Halleck has never used such influence over the associated press, and only erases such items as are of a contraband nature.

Washington, June 2.

The following dispatch has been received by the War Department in reply to an inquiry from Gen. Meigs:

Corinth, May 31.—If Beauregard has been at Richmond others have forged his signature, as I have received letters from him about the exchange of prisoners, &c., nearly every day for the last fortnight.

The evacuation of Corinth commenced on Wednesday and was completed on Thursday night, but in great haste, as an immense amount of property was destroyed and abandoned. No troops have gone from here to Richmond, unless within the last two days.

(Signed,) H. W. Halleck,
Maj. General Commanding.

Battle Near Richmond.

Washington, June 1.

The following despatch was received at the War Department this afternoon:—

Field of Battle, 1st, 12 M.

We have had a desperate battle in which the corps of Generals Sumner, Heintzelman and Keyes have been engaged against greatly superior numbers.

Yesterday at one, enemy taking advantage of a terrible storm, which had flooded the valley of the Chickahominy attacked our troops on the right flank. Gen. Casey's division which was in the first line gave way unaccountably and disunitedly. This caused a temporary confusion, during which the guns and baggage were lost, but Generals Heintzleman and Kearney most gallantly brought up their troops, which checked the enemy.

At the same time, however, succeeded by great exertion in bringing across General Sedgwick and Richardson's who drove back the enemy at the point of the bayonet, covering the ground with his dead.

This morning the enemy attempted to renew the conflict, but was everywhere repulsed.

We have taken many prisoners, among whom is Gen. Pettigrew and Col. Long.

Our loss is heavy, but that of the enemy must be enormous.

With the exception of Gen. Casey's division, the men behaved splendidly.

Several fine bayonet charges have been made. The Second Excelsior Regiment made two to-day.

(Signed,) Geo B. McClellan,
Major-General Commanding.

Washington, June 1.

During the whole of the battle of this morning, Mr. Lowe's balloon was overlooking the terrific scene from an attitude of about two thousand feet. Telegraphic communication from the balloon to Gen. McClellan, and in direct connection with the military wires was successfully maintained. Mr. Perk Sprind, of Philadelphia, acting as operator. Every movement of the enemy was obvious, and instantly reported. This is to be the first time in which a balloon reconnoissance has been successfully made during a battle, and certainly the first time in which a telegraph station has been established in the air to report the movements of the enemy and the progress of a battle. The advantage to Gen. McClellan must have been immense.

Washington, June 2.

Information was received at the War Department this evening that Gen. Fremont had encountered and beaten near Strasburg yesterday afternoon and this morning, a part of Jackson's army, which is in full retreat.

Advices from the army of the Potomac, dated this afternoon, show that there has been no fighting to-day. Our advance is considerably in front of the position it occupied previous to the battle of Saturday.

All the military intelligence received to-day at the War Department is of a cheering character.