

Democrat and Sentinel.

THE BLESSINGS OF GOVERNMENT, LIKE THE DEWS OF HEAVEN, SHOULD BE DISTRIBUTED ALIKE, UPON THE HIGH AND THE LOW, THE RICH AND THE POOR.

NEW SERIES.

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An Address to the People of the United States, and Particularly to the People of the States which Adhere to the Federal Government.
As members of the Thirty-eighth Congress, politically opposed to the present Federal Administration, and representing the opposition Union sentiment of the country, we address ourselves to the people of the United States, and our object will be to show—as far as may be done within the limits of an address—that there is good reason for changing the Administration and policy of this General Government through the instrumentality of suffrage in the elections of the present year.

It is our settled conviction that men now in public station, who control the policy of the Government, cannot or will not perform the 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 the Government as will prevent abuse and secure honesty, economy and efficiency in the public service.

Publicly, and privately, by passing resolutions, and from the President of the United States and from the majority in Congress upon whom all restraints on a despotic misgovernment would be wasted, and less our lives to our fellow-countrymen no longer, and we appeal to them to interfere in public affairs, and by a proper exercise of the sovereign electoral power, to elect those United States shall be better governed, trained, tranquilized and saved.

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 effective check upon its action from an opposing interest or party, since its accession to 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 in 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 users; 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 revolved 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 and 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.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.
The evil of uncontrolled party domination in Government will be greater or less, according to the character and objects of the party in power. The Democratic party which ordinarily has administered the Government of the United States, even in the utmost plenitude of its power, did not fall into gross abuse or threaten the liberties of the country.—Although it required to be checked on occasion, and that its policy and conduct should be subjected to rigid scrutiny by an active opposition, there was great security against its abuse of its powers in the principles and doctrines to which it held; for its creed was established for it by men of the most sterling virtue and profound wisdom, who justly comprehended the nature of free Governments, and the dangers to which they are exposed. Strict construction of the constitution, a sparing use of the powers of Government, moderate expenditures and equal laws, became the articles of a 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.

THE PARTY OF THE ADMINISTRATION.
Its main strength lies in States which voted against Mr. Jefferson in 1800, against Mr. Adams in 1812, against An-

draw Jackson in 1828, and against Mr. Polk in 1844; and it embraces that school of opinion in this country which has always held to extreme action by the 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 pretensions. Besides, it is essentially sectional and aggressive, the very embodiment of that disunion partyism foreseen and denounced by Washington 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 entrusted 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 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 assertion of republican fitness for the possession of Government powers may be illustrated, established and made good against any possible contradiction.

RAISING OF TROOPS.
Under this head the address recapitulates the mode adopted in raising troops in 1863, and adds:
The army here, mainly, the character of a public force, contributed by the States under the fifth and sixth clauses of the eighth section of the first article of the constitution, which authorizes Congress "to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions;" and "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."

The power of the Federal Government to call for troops, and the power of the States to supply them, organizing them into companies and regiments and appointing their officers, were unquestionable, as was also the power of the States to select these troops which they were to contribute by draft or lot.

But early in 1863 a new system for the raising of troops was established by act of Congress. This was a system of conscription, (the word and the idea being borrowed from the French), and was without example in 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 act has been questioned, and it is one of the debatable points which belong to the history of the war. For it has been argued with much force and reason that the power of Congress to raise armies, although a general power is not unlimited and that laws of conscription by it are not "necessary and proper" when the forces required can be raised with perfect certainty and convenience from the militia of the States under the provisions of the Constitution above cited. 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 authors of the law to deprive 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 a measure of the party to increase its influence and power, to prevent the possibility of any participation therein by the governments of the States.

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.
If a necessity for raising troops by conscription be asserted, that it would follow that the revolutionary policy of the Administration has claimed and disgusted the people that chilled the enthusiasm which in the earlier days of the contest filled our patriot army with brave and willing volunteers.

FINANCES AND CURRENCY.
The unnecessary waste of public resources in the war; the enormous sums expended upon foolish and fruitless military expeditions (sometimes badly planned and sometimes badly executed and 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 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 filtering away the public energy upon other subjects besides military success.

In addition to which stand forth the fact that this occasion of war has been seized upon to establish a system of government paper money, which has caused the public expenditures and the public debt to be one-half greater than they would otherwise 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 overestimated, and to avert it, its mitigation 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 depressed, for great numbers of laborers are employed in the war, and abstracted from industrial pursuits.
Increased rates of value press heavily upon persons of fixed incomes, and upon all who are disabled or engaged in unprofitable employments.
The war does not create wealth, but consumes it; and consumes also the laborers by which it is produced. It deprives the produce of past and present industry and checks the growth of population, upon which future prosperity depends.

OPPOSITION TO BE ORGANIZED.
The sure restoration of the Union and of a true administration of our system of constitutional government await 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 prevent them to their own sinister designs.

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 at the sacrifice of liberty? Exit in the State will not die out if left to itself. 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 will seek to arouse 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 of national redemption, and its success will be the triumph of free government and will extricate us from the laws 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 meantime it has struck heavy blows at liberty, and is carrying us away from all the old landmarks of policy and administration. We are literally drifting toward destruction, with the knowledge that those who have charge of our vessel of State is unfit to direct its course.

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 future from convulsion and despotism.

RECONSTRUCTION.
The propositions which should obtain in 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 basis of Union for the States composing the Confederacy, and it is to stand as it is, in full integrity, 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 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. These 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.—The 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 costs 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 instrument, 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 revolt, and war and misgovernment, we may conclude that additional securities for liberty and Union should be established in the fundamental law. But these securities must consist of limitations, rather than extension of Federal authority, and must not invade those fields of power which were 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, on the Government of the United States, as the most indispensable and vital regulation possible for our safety and continued existence as a republic.
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 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 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. 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.
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 these 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 point to a simple alternative between the subjugation and independence of the South.
And as we are justified in concluding upon the whole case, that if the Union is to be restored, liberty preserved, and prosperity renewed to this country, those results must follow the defeat and rejection of the administration by the American people.
The defeat of Mr. Lincoln removes the main obstacle to re-union, and restores at once the just rule of the Constitution upon the adhering States.
There are but two classes of men in this country who may rejoice in existing conditions. First, those who make money out of the war, and second, those who desire to achieve emancipation by it. As to the former, their thirst for sudden wealth is gratified, and it is not in their nature to regret deeply those calamities which fall upon their fellow countrymen, but from which they are exempted. And so to the radical abolitionists, his cup of enjoyment is almost full. He believes that emancipation will take place or the Union remains broken forever. Either result satisfies him, profoundly and wholly, and no possible event during his existence can compete with either of these in merit and excellence.
But has not the country borne all it can reasonably bear? In fact, much more than it can reasonably bear, for the gratification of these two classes of men, and still not the Administration of the Government under favor of which they nestle in power and gratify their unholy creed and their detestable passions, be thrown out of power, thus relieving the country from this nightmare of corruption and fanaticism which is pressing out its very existence.
Short sighted and passionate men rush on to accomplish an immediate object, unable to perceive the consequence which lie beyond the present moment, and unwilling to believe that new obstacles in their path of passion and vengeance will succeed to the existing ones. They vainly think that if slavery be struck down by force, regardless of law or civil obligation, and negro equality be established in its stead, no subject of difficulty, no cause of national peril, no "stone of stumbling" will remain in our path of national progress. Vain delusion! Such expectations are proved to be false by a thousand examples in history. The source of danger is in these wild passions let loose in the land which will not regard civil obligations, and which in their headlong fury tread under foot both public law and individual right. We do not deny theory, but we assert that statesmanship is concerned mainly in the domain of the practical, and that in the present imperfect condition of human affairs it is obliged to modify general ideas and adapt them to existing conditions, which are infinitely diverse in different countries and at different times. And as all political powers are conventional, that is established by express or implied consent, the validity of any political act must rest upon the ground that it is authorized. Some distinct authority must be shown, or we must determine against its existence. And to the existence of a free Government, and to the harmony and prosperity of a country wherein it is established, there must be a profound and constant respect by rulers and by people for all those things which have been agreed upon or instituted in a republic.
(Continued on the Fourth Page.)