

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE BY The Democracy of Wisconsin.

ADOPTED IN STATE CONVENTION, AT
MILWAUKEE, SEPT. 24, 1862.

We address you in a time of great trial and calamity. We address you in a time of national suffering and sorrow. We address you in a time of fearful peril to the Union and to the free institutions established by our fathers in the several States. We do so with a solemn sense of the responsibilities resting upon us in common with the whole American people. We do so with the single design of contributing all our aid to the preservation of the Union, the Constitution and the liberties of the States. And we do so, according to our lights, fearlessly and openly, let whatever new power from upon the ancient American birthright of freedom of speech.

Our State Constitution, asserting the inviolable right of liberty of political discussion, adopts an American maxim as old as American independence, when it declares that "the blessings of a free government can only be maintained by frequent recurrence to fundamental principles. And whosoever, in whatever position, asserts that there has come a time in American history, when freedom of speech should be suppressed, when the safeguard of political opposition should be abandoned, and the voice of all parties, except one, should be silenced; when the Administration of the Government should pass unscathed and unimpeded, when the institutions of our country should give way to passive submission to our rulers, has little sympathy with the spirit of the liberty won by the valor of our fathers, or of the free institutions established by their wisdom. In a free country the freedom of the people abides in peace and war, in domestic tranquility and civil discord. The Administration of the United States, and the Constitutions of the several States, provide alike for all the exigencies of peace at home and abroad, of foreign war, and of domestic insurrection. The Constitution of the United States, and the laws enacted in pursuance of it, are the supreme law of the land in all conditions of the country. The Constitution is inviolate in circumstances of peace and war, and the Government. State necessity has no power to suspend the Constitution or abridge the freedom of the people. State necessity, as an excuse for invading popular liberty, has been in all history the tyrant's plea. When popular liberty succumbs to the cry of State necessity, the land has already ceased to be free.

Loyalty, in America, is the franchise of no office or office. American loyalty is fidelity to the Constitution alone. Fidelity to the Constitution is loyalty to the Union. There is no Union outside the Constitution. The Constitution is the Union. And whatever man, officer, or party, assumes to be true to the Union, and not to the Constitution as our forefathers made it, and our fathers enjoyed it, is disloyal to both. Hence, whatever man, officer, or party, who is not devoted to the country or the Constitution. The Administration is not the Government. The Government established by the Constitution, and rests in its provisions. The Administration is as subject to the Constitution, and as responsible for its observance, as the people. The Administration does not change. And when the Administration violates the Constitution, loyalty to the Administration may become disloyalty to the Union. Devotion to the Constitution is the only American loyalty.

In times of peace and prosperity, there is little danger of the loyalty of the people forsaking the Constitution for the principles of a party, or the policy of an Administration. But in days of civil discord and confusion, there is danger of patriotism being blinded, mistaking the objects of its faith, and transferring to the servant of its altar the devotion due only to the altar itself. And in such days it is the duties of all parties to consider well their position, and to determine how far their loyalty to the Constitution is consistent with their support of the Administration of the Government.

Almost as old as the Union, founded in the broad principles of the Constitution, identified with all the prosperous history of the United States, the Democratic party has no new principles to enunciate, no new loyalty to pledge. It has always been, as it is, the party of the Constitution. Its career, the history of the Constitution has been its only career. It has been depressed by defeat and elated by success, and has at times mistaken the true path of duty. But it has never lost sight of the Constitution, or wandered far from its ways. Its history chronicles a devotion to the Constitution, and a sympathy with the spirit of the people, as just and steadfast as human devotion can attain. It has not sought to do wrong right, it has not been often or long wrong. Human history can say no more for any party, in any age or country. The Democratic party needs no platform but its history. But in this unprecedented and terrible crisis, it becomes us to consider the application of old principles to new conditions.

The Democratic party has many antagonists. The Federal party, the National Republican party, the Whig party, have successively struggled with it, with varied success. But this was not accidental. The Democratic party was as subject to accident as its rivals. It has been frequently defeated. But it has survived all its defeats, while its ancient enemies have not survived one. The reason is apparent. It was founded on the true principles of our Government, and guided by true sympathy with the spirit of American institutions. They rested in a narrow comprehension of the genius of the American people, and in mistaken views of the principles of the Constitution. They died the death of error; it lives the life of truth.

The history of the country is the history of the Democratic party. With occasional intermissions, it has administered the National Government and guided the mark of American history. Under its influence, the true spirit of the Constitution displaced the narrow and un-American comprehension of our system of Government which originally prevailed, and gave tone to the Administration of the elder Adams. Under its influence the commercial and economic interests of the country were emancipated from the hot house system of tariffs and currency, which bound American energy and skill in the chains of European theory. Under its leadership, the American flag was carried in glory through war, and sent in peace floating in security over the seas of commerce. Under its leadership the area of the country was almost doubled, and new fields of enterprise were populated by prosperous American communities. Under the guidance of no other party was any great stride made in civil or commercial prosperity, was a war ever waged with a foreign enemy, was an acre of territory ever added to our vast domain. The Democratic party led the country from its feeble and poor condition at the beginning of the present century, to the great and glorious empire of freedom, the unparalleled political and material prosperity, in which it met with its last defeat in the Presidential election of 1860.

Such defeats of the great party of the country never before occurred, and were permanent. It is the history of the Democracy that the Administration of the Government upon its defeat, and surrendered it again upon its success, the Constitution and the Union remaining unimpaired. The ancient antagonists of the Democracy, whatever their sins of doctrine or action, were

mines of the Constitution, on the safeguards of which both were revolutionary. It would be idle to show the revolutionary character of the secession party. Its revolutionary purposes were avowed. The Republican party was no less revolutionary, though its revolutionary tendencies were less manifest.

It is evident, from what has already been seen, that Washington and Jackson, fit representatives of the sagacious and patriotic of the past who have saved the American Republic, are essentially so; for no sectional party could accomplish any end, except by the severance of the bonds of fraternity and unity between the different parts of the country upon which the Union rests. It is not we who say, it is the sagacious and patriotic of the past who have saved the American Republic every sectional party is essentially disloyal to the Union.

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"Resolved, That the Government formed by the Constitution of the United States was not made the exclusive right or final judge of the extent of its powers delegated to itself; but that, as in all other cases of compact having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for itself, as well in infusions as of the mode and measure of redress."

"Resolved, That the principle and construction contended for by the party which now rules in the councils of the nation, that the General Government is the exclusive judge of the extent of the powers delegated to it, stop nothing short of despotism, since the doctrine of the exclusive right to every constitutional call for men, money, and other measures of their powers; that the several States which formed that instrument, being sovereign and independent, have the unquestionable right to judge of its infraction; and that a positive defiance of those sovereignties of all unauthorized acts done or attempted to be done under color of that instrument, is the only just and rightful mode of redress."

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Thus the Republican party, as well as the secession party, was revolutionary. And these revolutionary parties grew in numbers and influence down to the Presidential election of 1860, when the Democratic party was defeated by the sectional influences of both.

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The Democratic party nominated as their candidate a statesman, now no more, of great experience and ability in public affairs, of great energy and integrity of character and of the highest moral and political principles. He was elected, and the question of slavery in the Territories, whose whole public life was devoted to the maintenance of the Constitution as it is, and the Union as it was; and whose zeal for the preservation of the country sacrificed his life in its prime.

The history of the Convention which nominated Mr. Douglas, plainly shows that the Democratic party of the South, and the people of the South with them, save by defeating the candidate of the Democratic party. The whole tone and temper of the Republican leaders and press at the North, before and during the session of the Convention, plainly shows that they had no hope of electing their candidate, save by diverting the attention of the Republican party to the secession candidate. Thus the action of the two sectional parties tended to the same result of the Presidential election. Had Mr. Douglas been elected, secession could have prevailed at the South; and the several aims of both sectional parties would have been alike defeated.

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It is true that the Republican party avows its abolition tendencies less manfully than the old Abolition party. They assume to interpose the African race in the way of the abolition of slavery in the Territories and other places subject to the jurisdiction of the United States only, and not in the States. This thin disguise of their real policy is fully exposed by the uniform course of the party in the States, by their resistance of the fugitive slave law, by their avowal of an irrepressible conflict between the institutions of the North and the South, and by the whole tenor of their legislation wherever and whenever they have been in power. That a large and respectable body of the party have no sympathy with its abolition pretensions, and perhaps there is no room for doubt that the abolition element in that party is its largest, most energetic, and influential element.

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both Houses of Congress at its late session. We do not, the general tenor of these discussions against the rights of slavery in the slaveholding States, and in favor of the exercise by Congress of powers not delegated by the Constitution, to be eminently dangerous in sustaining the spirit of secession at the South, and creating a disregard for the Constitution at the North.

We denounce the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, at the cost of the United States, as unconstitutional, and peculiarly mischievous at this time in giving force to the distrust of the North in all the slave States.

We denounce the sweeping and indiscriminate measures of confiscation and emancipation, as unconstitutional, and as having a strong tendency to unite the whole South against the Union, as one man.

We believe that these and kindred things have had a great weight in diminishing the numbers and influence of the Union party at the South.

We deny the power of the Executive to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* in the loyal States. We deny that this act, materially changing the laws of the land, is an Executive act. We have the authority of the Supreme Court of the United States, pronounced by the voice of Chief Justice Marshall as long ago as 1807, and affirmed by every commentator on the Constitution since, that under the Constitution of the United States, it is a legislative power. No king has assumed such a power in England, since the revolution.

We deny the power of the Executive to make arrests in the loyal State. The suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, if validly done, would not authorize this. There are Federal Courts in all the loyal States with full power and jurisdiction to punish all crimes against the United States. No exercise of Executive power has ever been more odious than that of *habeas corpus*, by which the Executive arrests and imprisons without judicial writ, accusation, or trial. We hold this practice of arrest in the loyal States, of persons not in arms against the Government, to be in violation of Sec. 2, Art. 3, of the Constitution of the United States, and of Art. 4, 5 and 6 of the amendments thereto. And we consider this practice as unnecessary, and tending to bring the Constitution into disrepute.

We deny the power of the Executive to suppress newspapers. The press is judicially responsible for abuses; but the freedom of the press, subject to judicial remedies, is essential to the freedom of the people. And we protest against the manifest partiality with which this new and dangerous power is exercised. We do not believe that there is sufficient ground for the recent semi-official definitions of the crime of treason. "Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort." In commenting on this definition in the Constitution, Justice Story quotes with approbation the remark of Montesquieu, that if the crime of treason be indeterminate, that alone is sufficient to make any government dependent on arbitrary power; and he denounces, as the Supreme Court of the United States had rejected, the doctrine of *constructive treason*. It was in apprehension of the dangers of constructive treason, that the definition of this crime was introduced into the body of the Constitution itself, and it is in violation of the same in keeping the rights of a free people in such vague phrases as *disloyal practices*. The Statutes of the United States apply provide for the punishment of treasonable crimes under the Constitution, and we recognize no power in the Executive to enlarge them.

We deny the power of the Executive to transport persons accused of crime in the loyal States, from the States to other States, or to other States or place for trial; to cause the trial of any person in the loyal States for any crime before military tribunals or other Courts, except before a jury in the Constitutional District Courts of the United States; or to subject such persons to such trial, except by the consent of a grand jury. These rights are guaranteed to every citizen, under all circumstances, by the Constitution itself. And we fully believe that the loyal people of the United States are worthy of their fathers, who framed the Constitution, and will be found unwilling to surrender rights so sacred and so essential to their liberties.

We believe that the Executive acts of which we complain, were done either in inadvertence by subordinate officers, or in the deliberate purpose of subverting the Constitution, or with the sanction of the President. The stretch of power, however, is too great and too dangerous to the liberties of the people, to pass without the protest of the free and loyal Democracy. If done as a part of a full and complete policy, they strike at the root of American liberty, and we are drifting from the safe anchorage of the Constitution into an unknown wilderness of cruel wars.

Let whatever may come, the Democracy will abide by their time-honored principles, by the Constitution and the Union. "We will neither surrender our rights, nor forsake them. We will maintain our constitutional liberty on all hazards, and as a necessary step towards that end, we will maintain the Union in like manner. We are for the Constitution as it is, and the Union as it was."

We call upon our brethren throughout the State to organize the party for the coming election of members of Congress, and of the State Legislature. We call upon them to nominate, to be tried and to vote, and to support, on strictly party principles, the support of all persons, but acting in affiliation with no other party or faction whatever. We call upon them, for the sake of "liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable," to exert all their constitutional right and power to elect conservative men, who will not blasphemously assume to do any official act in the name of God, which cannot be done under the sanction of the Constitution. So doing the Democracy of Wisconsin will best serve the cause of the Union, and give the highest proof of their loyalty to the Constitution.

We claim the right, as free and loyal American citizens, to discuss the conduct of the Administration, and to censure it when we deem it worthy of censure. We claim the right, as free and loyal American citizens, to surrender it. We utterly deny to the Executive of the United States the power assumed by Congress in the Session act of 1798, to suppress opposition to the Administration, or restrict the full freedom of political discussion in the loyal States. This would be to assume a power above the Constitution. The Administration has no more power to suspend the Constitution than have the records. The Administration is the child of the Constitution, and the servant of the people. The child must not reject the authority of the parent, nor the servant usurp the rights of the master. The Constitution and the laws give the Administration ample power to protect itself and enforce its authority in the loyal States; and it would be a crime, if it were not a crime, to attempt to bring anarchy and disorder, to disregard the Constitutional rights of the loyal States and their people. We cannot bring ourselves to the belief that such a reign of terror is impending over us. We respect the Administration too much for such an apprehension. But if such times are upon us, we must play our parts like men, and not desavow our principles and opinions like cowards. Loyalty to the Constitution and Government is no palliation for the unallowed act of secession, was no ground for the risks, sufferings, horrors, and ruin of the most shameful and detestable civil war known in the history of civilized man.

The standard of revolt was raised, and civil war began. Whatever may have been the rights of the South, and whatever may have been the cause which prepared the South for revolution, the sole guilt in the war itself rests with the Southern party of secession.

Congress has declared the war is waged by the Government of the United States, not in

which he has purchased, must take out both licenses. So must a druggist, who also makes patent articles, or medicines, &c., for which he has a private formula or receipt.

4. Persons keeping bar-rooms or saloons, for the sale of liquors, must take out a liquor dealer's license. If they also furnish food, they must, in addition, take out an eating house license; and the sale of cigars, &c., requires a tobacconist's or retail dealer's license, besides billiard tables requires a special license, and bagatelle tables are reckoned as billiards.

5. Commission merchants who are also ship or commercial brokers are required to take out two licenses.

6. Grocers selling flour by the barrel or salt by the sack, or any other article in the original package, are reckoned as wholesale dealers.

7. Stamps must be attached to the papers requiring them at the time of their execution, and must be obliterated by the person writing the initials upon them. Telegraphic dispatches must be stamped and affixed when delivered to be transmitted. But railroad and telegraph companies are not required to stamp their own dispatches over their own lines.

8. Arrangements will be made with the collector of this district to supply stamps to parties desiring to purchase \$50 worth or over, at the rates of discount established by the Treasury Department.

9. Notes and bills of exchange drawn for a certain sum, with interest, will be stamped according to the principal sum. Foreign currency will be estimated according to the real par of exchange, the pound sterling, for instance, at the rate fixed for sovereigns, not at the nominal rate of 4 1/2; nor at the market rates of exchange, which is no something above the real par.

10. On and after October 1st the following instruments must be stamped: All agreements, appraisements, checks, sight drafts, promissory notes, inland and foreign bills of exchange, receipts, leading to foreign ports, packages, &c., per express, bonds, certificates of stocks, or profit, of deposit in banks, of damages, and all other certificates, charter parties, brokers' memoranda, conveyances, mortgages, bills of lading, receipts, patches, custom-house entries and manifests, policies of insurance—life, marine, and fire, and renewals of same—passage tickets to foreign ports, powers of attorney, proxies, produce of wills, protests, warehouse receipts, and other original process of commencing suit. Also, patent medicines, perfumes, and playing cards.

In reference to public houses and liquor dealers it is defined that in a tavern or public house where liquor is sold, license must be taken for each business, the license for the tavern to be according to the rental, and the license for liquor in all cases of retail to be twenty dollars. In a saloon, where liquor is sold, one license for each saloon, and one for each quantity in wholesale, and the license is one hundred dollars. Restaurants which furnish board, and which keep liquors, are required to take out a license for a tavern, and a license for a saloon, and a license for the liquor bar, of twenty dollars, and a license for the eating bar, of ten dollars, when the receipts amount to or exceed one thousand dollars per year. Eating houses are permitted to keep confectiories without an additional license.

All dealers in liquor by retail are required to pay a license of twenty dollars per year. The penalty for refusal or failure to take out license is a fine of three times the amount of duty or tax imposed by the law, one half of which goes to the informer. These taxes are, of course, in addition to the State and city licenses now imposed, and the accumulation of expenses will materially affect the minor dealers who abound in every part of the city. The prevention of delinquents is made imperative on the Collectors, who hold the names and residence of all dealers, so that escape from the penalty is next to impossible.

RAILROADS.
PERU AND INDIANAPOLIS RAILROAD.
1862. **NEW ARRANGEMENT.**
NEW ROUTE TO CHICAGO VIA KOKOMO.
32 MILES SHORTER THAN OTHER ROUTE.

ON AND AFTER MAY 5, 1862, trains will be run as follows:

A Mail Train will leave Indianapolis at 11:30 A. M., stop at all stations and make close connection at Kokomo with train on the Chicago and Indiana Air Line Railroad for Logansport, Valparaiso and Chicago, and arrive at Peru at 10 P. M. Time to make connections with trains on the Toledo and Wabash Railroad, going East and West.

Returning, the same train will leave Peru at 6:00 A. M., after the arrival of the train on the T. & W. R. from the East, and arrive at Indianapolis at 9:20 A. M. in time to make connection for all points East, South and West.

An Express train will leave Indianapolis at 10:30 P. M., connect at Kokomo with train for Logansport, and arrive at Peru at 6:00 A. M. in time to make connection with trains going East and West on the Toledo and Wabash Railroad.

Returning the same train will leave Peru at 12:00 M., making close connection at Kokomo with the train on the Cincinnati and Chicago Railway from Chicago, Valparaiso and Logansport, and arrive at Indianapolis at 6:10 P. M. in time to connect with the evening train for Toledo, and with the Toledo and Wabash Railroad for Cincinnati, Louisville and other points.

Special attention given to the transportation of live stock, produce and other freight.

DAVID RAGY, General Agent and Superintendent.
T. H. HANCOCK, General Ticket Agent. **APR 21-1862**

Short-Line RAILROAD!
Shortest Route by Thirty Miles!
NO CHANGE OF CARS TO CINCINNATI!
Three trains leave Indianapolis daily, (Sundays excepted.)

1. **MAIL TRAIN**—6:20 A. M.—CINCINNATI LIGHTNING Express arrives at Cincinnati at 10 A. M., and Lexington, Ky., 7:30 P. M.

2. **Second Train**—10:40 A. M.—Cincinnati Mail, arrives at Cincinnati at 10 P. M., making close connection with Miami Railroad for Logansport, Columbus, Newmarket, Zanesville, and Wooster, and arrives at Cincinnati at 11:30