ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE!

BY

The Democracy of Wisconsin.

ADOPTED IN STATE CONVENTION, AT MILWAUKEE, SEPT. 3d, 1862.

We address you in a time of great trial and calamity. We address you in a time of national suffering and sorrowing. We address you in a crisis 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 propose to do so, according to our lights, fearlessly and openly, let whatever new power frown 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 whatsoever position, asserts that there has come a time in American history, when freedom of speech should be suppressed, when the safeguard of political oppesition should be abandoned, and the voice of all parties, except one, should be silenced; when the Administration of the Government should pass uncensured and unquestioned; when loyalty to 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 Constitution of the United States, and the Constituions 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 all circumstances of the people 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 officer. American loyalty is due 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. Blind submission to the Administration of the Government, is not devotion to the country or the Constitution. The Administration is not the Government. The Government is 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 may err, but the Constitution 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 convulsion, there is danger of patriotism being blindfolded, 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. In all its career, the Constitution has been its only creed. 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 and sympathy can attain. If not always 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 to-day 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 outlived many antagonists. The Federal party, the National Republican party, the Whig party, have successively struggled with it, with varied success; but have successively disappeared from history. 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 occasional success. 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 narrower 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 economical 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 all 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 carried with them permanent evil to the nation. The old opponents of the Democracy took 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 national parties, resting upon no sectional policy, representing no sectional constituency. When in power, they administered the Government upon the policy of a majority of the whole country. When in opposition they spoke for a minority of the whole country. They were loyal because they were national. The Union was safe, because they were loyal. Their success was harmless to the Constitution, because it was the defeat of a constitutional party, and not of the spirit of the Constitution itself.

The defeat of the Democratic party in 1860 has been followed by the revolt of several of the States from the Union, and by the present terrible civil war, because it was defeated by a sectional party. We reprobate that revolt, as unnecessary, unjustifiable, unholy. Devoted to the Constitution, we invoke the vengeance of God upon all who raise their sacrilegious hands against it, whether wearing the soft gloves of peace or the bloody gauntlets of war. But we affirm that the revolt and consequent civil war were a long foretold and probable result of the accession to power of a sectional party, because their success was the defeat of the spirit of the Constitution.

In so vast a union of States, of such differing interests, habits and institutions, the danger of sectional parties to the peace and permanence to the Union, was early foreseen by the fathers of the Constitution. The Father of his Country, himself, gave voice to these apprehensions in his Farewell Address in 1796. He passed a eulogium upon the Union, which no tongue or pen has since improved. He urged the "unity of the Government which constitutes us one people." He impressed upon the nation, that it was "a main pillar in the edifice of our real independence; the support of our tranquility at home; of our power abroad, of our safety, of our prosperity, of the very liberty which we so highly prize." In a spirit of prophecy, he cautioned the people and their posterity against the dangers it might encounter, and with his parting words invoked them "indignantly to frown upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now linked together the various parts." He enlarged upon the mutual dependence of the various parts of the country, North and South, East and West; he warned us against parties founded on "geographical discriminations whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views." He foretold that "one of the expedients of party is to acquire influence within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts." He forewarned us that "we could not shield ourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which would spring from these misrepresentations, which tend to render aliens to each other, those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection." Fearful prophecy, fearfully fulfilled! How the great spirit of the illustrious Washington would have mourned had he been able to foresee the full and terrible measure of the danger he foretold, the insane and terrible disregard of his holy advice which has accomplished it.

There was no reason why the several States of the Union should not have abided together in harmony for all time. Their domestic institutions, their social condition, and their habits of life, differed indeed from the beginning. And, in the language of General Jackson, "this difference was unavoidably increased by the varying principles upon which the American colonies were originally planted; principles which had taken deep root in their social relations before the revolution, and therefore, of necessity, influencing their policy since they become free and independent States." The progress of all the States was great, but frequently in different directions. But the Constitution left to the several States the exclusive control of their domestic concerns; and had the spirit of Constitution prevailed, differences of domestic institutions would never have disturbed the peaceful relations of the States in the Union. The slavery of the African race formed from the beginning the most important and dangerous of these differences. The Constitution was a compact of compromises, and in no instance more wisely or generously so than in relation to the institution of slavery. And had the several States of Union abided in their politics by that necessary and magnanimous spirit of compromise, the Union would now be undisturbed, and ancient harmony and prosperity would reign where civil war now rages.

Fanaticism is the bane of harmony. It has disturbed many States and overturned many governments. It is one of the most difficult social evils to deal with. It is a growth of prosperity, and yet gains strength under persecution. It often appeals to the most generous prejudices of humanity; it often wears the garb of religion and morality; it has wonderful powers of proselytism; it has great capacities to make wrong look like right, and to deck errors in the robes of truth. It is a terrible apostle of evil. Discord follows its lead, and revolution too often is the end of its career.

Unfortunately, among many elements of good and greatness, fanaticism emigrated to this country. From time to time, it has played its part in marring tha record of civil and religious liberty in American history. It has, from time to time, sent forth various heretical dogmas of politics. It has asserted a higher law, above the Constitution itself. It has in recent memorable words, sought to do in the name of God what could not be done in the name of the Constitution.

It finally found employment fatal to the peace of the country in political abolition. The North had rid itself of the incubus of slavery. The North was as responsible for slavery in the South, as the South itself is. But fanaticism became offended with Southern slavery; and overlooking home evils and home reforms, it devoted itself to the discussion of the evils of African slavery, clamoring against its criminality and urging its abolition. It disregarded the Constitution, and denounced its guarantees of the rights of slavery as a compact of sin and shame. Many of its teachers openly advocated disunion; and many more proclaimed an irrepressible conflict between the domestic systems of the North and the South, arguing that the States of the Union must become all free or all slave.

These dangerous and revolutionary doctrines have always been combatted by the Democratic party. The Democracy has no apology to make for Southern slavery. We regard it as a great social evil. But we regard it as a misfortune, not a crime. The crime is in the presence of the African race upon the continent. This is a crime of the past, not of the present. And even in the past, it was less the crime of the South, than of those who grew rich in the slave trade, and who now clamor for the abolition of slavery which they themselves planted. We hold this country to be the possession of the white race, and this Government to be instituted by white men for white men. We commiserate the condition of the slave; but we are unwilling to violate the Constitution in his behalf, or to disturb society by emancipating four millions of an inferior race in a land possessed by a superior race. It is the sin of history that the African race is here; once here in great numbers, the proper condition of the African was subjection in some form to the white. Equality was impossible. Nature has made social equality impossible without fatally sinning against her laws, and without social equality political equality is impossible. Nature never placed the races together; when brought together, the servitude of the inferior is the best condition for both races; a necessary evil resulting from the violation of natural law in bringing them together.

But fanaticism did not so see it. Fanaticism at the North, unembarrassed by the presence of slavery, did not see slavery as a necessary evil, but only as an abstract wrong. It could make no allowance for the condition of the South, and had no toleration for the compromises of the Constitution, or the safeguards which it extended to the institutions of the South.

For a long time the abolition party was a weak political minority; but it was from the beginning an energetic and dangerous apostle of unconstitutional doctrines, and of sectional jealousies and distrusts.

As long ago as 1837, the warrior statesman, Andrew Jackson, in his Farewell Address, warned us against it. He quoted the warnings of Washington, and said:

"The lessons contained in this invaluable legacy of Washington to his countrymen, should be cherished in the heart of every citizen to the latest generation, and perhaps at no period of time could they be more usefully remembered than at the present moment. For when we look upon the scenes which are passing around us, and dwell upon the pages of his parting address, his paternal counsels would seem to be not merely the offspring of wisdom and foresight, but the voice of prophecy, foretelling events, and warning us of the evil to come. * * * * The Federal Constitution was then regarded by him as an experiment. * * * * The trial has been made. It succeeded beyond the proudest hopes of those who framed it. Every quarter of this widely extended nation has felt its blessings, and shared in the general prosperity produced by its adoption. But amid this general prosperity and splendid success, the dangers of which he warned us, are becoming every day more evident, and the signs of evil are sufficiently apparent to awaken the deepest anxiety in the bosom of the patriot. We now behold systematic efforts publicly made to sow the seeds of discord between different parts of the United States, and to place party divisions directly upon geographical distinctions; to excite the *South* against the *North*, and the *North* against the *South*, and to force into the controversy the most delicate and excited topics, upon which it is impossible that a large portion of the Union can ever speak without strong emotions. Appeals, too, are constantly made to sectional interests, * * * * and the possible dissolution of the Union has at length become an ordinary and familiar subject of discussion.

"Has the warning voice of Washington been forgotten, or have designs already been formed to sever the nation? * * * * * Mutual suspicions and reproaches may in time create mutual hostility; and artful and designing men will always be found, who are ready to foment these fatal divisions, and to inflame the natural jealousies of different sections of the country. * * * * Delude not yourselves into the belief that a breach once made may be afterwards repaired. It the Union is once severed, the line of separation will grow wider and wider, and the controversies which are now debated and settled in the halls of legislation, will be tried in the fields of battle, and determined by the sword. * * * * The Constitution cannot be maintained, nor the Union preserved, in opposition to public feeling, by the mere exertion of the coercive powers confided to the General Government. The foundations must be laid in the affections of the people; in the security it gives to life, liberty, character and property in every quarter of the country; and in the fraternal attachment which the citizens of the several States bear to one another, as members of one political family mutually contributing to promote the happiness of each other. Hence the citizens of every State should studiously avoid everything calculated to wound the sensibility or offend the just pride of the people of other States; and they should frown upon any proceedings within their own borders likely to disturb the tranquility of their political brethren in other portions of the Union. * * * Each State has the unquestionable right to regulate its own internal concerns, according to its own pleasure. * * * * And all efforts on the part of the people of other States to cast odium on their institutions, and all measures calculated to disturb their rights of property, or to put in jeopardy their peace and internal tranquility, are in direct opposition to the spirit in which the Union was founded, and must endanger its safety. Motives of philanthropy may be assigned for this unwarrantable interference, and weak men may persuade themselves for a moment that they are laboring in the cause of humanity, and asserting the rights of the human race; but every one, upon sober reflection, will see that nothing but mischief can come from these improper assaults upon the feelings and rights of others. Rest assured, that the men found busy in this work of discord, are not worthy of your confidence, and deserve your strongest reprobation."

So spoke one of the greatest and wisest patriots of American history. Counsels so sacred and warnings so solemn, were disregarded by the Abolitionists; and the Abolition party continued to teach its treasonable doctrines, and to preach its crusade against the South and its institutions.

The results so wisely foretold, necessarily followed. The denunciation of the South at the North, was met by denunciation of the North at the South. Hostility in the North to the institutions of the South provoked hostility in the South to the people of the North. The great mass of the people of the South were loyal to the Union; but a class of public men in the South had for some time been tainted with disloyalty, and aimed to separate all the Southern States from the Union, whenever an opportunity should arise to carry the people of the South with them. These men zealously contributed to foment the Abolition excitement at the North, and exaggerated its power and importance at the South. Thus faction begot faction; and the Abolition party at the North produced the disunion party at the South. The spirit of Northern Abolition and of Southern disunion insensibly grew together for years, until the period of the last Presidential election, when a bitter animosity existed between large and powerful factions in the North and in the South.

In the meantime, in 1854–6, the Whig party most unhappily abandoned its organizations, and the present Republican party was founded on the basis of the old Abolition party. The best and most enlightened patriots of the Whigs refused all alliance with the new sectional party; but the vast body of the Whigs surrendered their national politics to its narrow and sectional bigotry. The great leaders of the Whig party were gone. The mighty voice of Webster, which always spoke for the whole country, and never uttered a sectional dogma, was silent forever. The great head and heart of Clay, whose statesmanship had served to save the Union from more than one peril, and was as broad as the Union itself, lay low in death. Had these great lights of the Whig party survived, we fully believe that they would have saved their party from the shame of prostituting itself in the unholy embraces of a sectional and revolutionary organization. But they were gone; pigmies sat in the seats of giants; the Whig party went out of being, and the Republican party was ingrafted on the Abolition party.

It is true that the Republican party avows its abolition tendencies less manfully than the old Abolition party. They assume to interfere with 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 tone of their discussion of slavery, 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 proclivities, is perhaps true; but there is no room for doubt that the abolition element in that party is its largest, most energetic, and influential element.

With the strength and influence of the Republican party, grew the strength and influence of the party of secession. Both were sectional; 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 sages and patriots of the revolutionary and succeeding eras, regarded sectional parties as revolutionary. Under our system they are essentially so; for no sectional party could accomplish any end, except by the severence 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 sages and patriots of the past who have said, that in American politics every sectional party is essentially disloyal to the Union.

In almost every State of the Union, in which the Republican party had the power, they enacted laws impeding the execution of the laws of the United States. Such laws were passed by them in this State. A Republican judiciary for this State nullified acts of Congress, assumed to overrule the decisions of the Supreme Count of the United States in cases arising under the Constitution and laws of the Union, disobeyed its mandates, and sanctioned by judicial decision the forcible rescue of prisoners held under the judicial process of the United States. But not content with this measure of disloyalty, the Republican Legislature of this State passed in 1859, and has ever since refused to rescind, resolutions setting at defiance the authority of the United States, and asserting the doctrine of secession as broadly as it has ever been asserted by any Southern State. This is well understood at home, by Democrats and Republicans; but to avoid the suspicion of exaggeration abroad, we here insert two of these resolutions in full:

"*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 of infractions 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 *discretion* of those who administer the Government, and not the *Constitution*, would be the measure 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 RIGHTFUL REMEDY."

These resolutions had relation, not to the acts of the executor of the United States or even of Congress, but to a solemn decision of the Supreme Court of the United States upon the Constitution and laws of the United States. This is the doctrine caught from seceding. South Carolina by Republican Wisconsin, and repeated by the Republican party of Wisconsin, in full communion with the Republican party of the north, to justify secession in every disloyal State in the South.

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 electional of 1860, when the Democratic party was defeated by the sectional influences of both.

The sectional party of the South succeeded in intruding some members into the Democratic Convention; and when defeated there, by the steadfast loyalty of the true Democracy, put in nomination a renegade from his party and his country. The sectional party of the North put in nomination a distinguished gentleman, the author of the doctrine that the several States must ultimately become all slave or all free.

The Democratic paaty nominated as their candidate a statesman, now no more, of great experience and ability in public affairs, of great energy and mtegrity of character and life, the author of the only just and practical solution of 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 champions of secession had no hope to carry 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 South from the Democratic candidate 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 not have prevailed at the South, and the several aims of both sectional parties would have been alike defeated.

The result was the defeat of Mr. Douglas, and the election of the Republican candidate. We have no personal objection to the distinguished gentleman who now sits in the seat of Washington. His election was perhaps less mischievous than that of any other prominent Republican. The evil of his election belongs to his party, not to himself. The good he has done is in a great degree personal to him. Republican as he is, he has not forgotten his old national patriotism. If he has not always, he has often, resisted the abolition element in his party, and stemmed the tide of its revolutionary course. In this he has done the country immeasurable service; and we hope that he will continue to stand as a barrier as well as against the most destructive faction of his own party, as against the armed enemy of the Union. The responsibilities of his position are such as might awe any man; and in all his efforts to sustain the Constitution against revolution and innovation, he has our hearty sympathy and support.

The election was the signal for the movement of secession. It was no excuse for the guilt of disunion. The insincerity and bad faith of the leaders in the movement is demonstrated by the fact that in both Houses of Congress there was a safe majority against the Republican party. But the truth is, that the apostles of secession were traitors at heart, independent of the election; and that they wanted and used the election only as a lever to precipitate the South from its allegiance. They duped the South into the belief that the entire people of the North were infected with the leprosy of abolition.

As it was, we fully believe that the majority of the whole Southern people stood loyal to the Union, and that in no seceding State, except South Carolina, was the ordinance of secession fairly carried before the people.

The election of Mr. Lincoln, though effected by a minority of votes, was carried in all the forms of the Constitution, was obligatory upon all the States and people thereof, was no palliation for the unhallowed act of secession, was no ground for the risks, sufferings, horrors, and ruin of the most shameless 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 relative guilt of the two sectional parties in the causes 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 the spirit of conquest or subjugation, nor for the purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or institutions of the States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union with all the dignity, equality and rights of the several States unimpaired; and that as soon as these objects are accomplished, the war ought to cease. Thus carried on, the war is not only expedient, but necessary; not only justifiable, but holy. It is a defensive war. It is a war of self-preservation. Disunion, once successful, would be a recurring evil; and instead of leaving a Northern Union and a Southern Confederacy, would continue its destructive career until all of the States would be broken and dissevered, until the whole country would be distracted by petty sovereignties and wasted by petty warfare. We cannot calmly contemplate disunion. We know and love the blessings of Union, but no human eye can penetrate the dark and terrible future which lies beyond the grave of the Constitution. The war for the preservation of the Constitution has all our sympathies, all our hopes, and all our energies.

But we have a right to demand, it is our duty to demand, and we do demand, that this war be carried on by the Government *for* the Constitution alone, and *under* the Constitution alone. To that end, amongst others, we retain our political organization, and will use our best efforts from time to time and at all times, to regain for the Democratic party, under the forms and sanctions of the Constitution, the control of the legislative and executive departments of the Government of the United States.

In the meantime, the war must be carried on, and sustained with all the energies of the United States, and the people thereof. No blood or treasure is too dear a price to re-purchase the Union inherited from our fathers, and to transmit unimpaired to our children.

It is not our province to relate the history of the war, or to criticise its movements. Many hundreds of thousands of our loyal brethren have patriotically gone forth to battle for the Union. All have done nobly, all have suffered nobly, many have died nobly. The angel of death has made bloody vacancies in many a Northern home. Few have escaped without the loss of some near or dear friend. American liberty has been re-baptized in loyal blood; and hundreds of thousands of loyal men are now in the field, or hastening thither, to conquer or die for the Constitution. We owe it to the memory of the dead, we owe it to the living hosts in the field, we owe it above all to the Constitution, to respond with cheerful alacrity to every constitutional call for men, to submit to every constitutional exaction of treasure. We owe all that we have, and all that we are, to the Union; we must pay the whole debt if it be necessary.

But war is not our whole duty. We owe a political debt to the Constitution, and that too must be paid. We adopt the language of Gen. Jackson, that war alone cannot preserve the Constitution against disunion. War can, and we hope speedily will, subdue the armies of the revolted States. War can, and we hope speedily will, disarm every traitor, possess every place of strength, and uphold the grand old flag on every flag-staff in the United States. But when war shall have accomplished all that war can do, the Union will not be fully restored. The participation of the revolted States in the Government of the Union must of necessity be voluntary. War has no power to compel such voluntary action. The peace and permanency of the restored Union will depend, in a great measure, on the confidence of the people of the recovered States, in the justice of the General Government, and in the faithful observance of their Constitutional rights. War has no power to inspire this confidence. The stability of the Union, then, as in times past, will need the mutual good will and affections of the people of the several States. War has no power to control the affections. The people of the South will return to the Union, when they do return, wounded in their pride, and embittered in their feeling. When they return, they will return as brethren, and merit the treatment of brethren. The law may demand its victims, but those guiltless of the war, and those forgiven by the law, will again be our political brothers. The restored States will return to the Union with all the rights of other States. To win back the confidence and affection of their people, and to restore the Union in the spirit of the Constitution, the sectional party at the North must be vigorously combatted, and in due time overthrown at the ballot-box by the Democratic party, the only national, constitutional party left in the land. If the Democratic party should be disbanded, or should suffer itself to remain inactive, the South would retain its old distrust of the Republican party, and its old aversion to the General Government administered by it. It would then believe that the whole North was indeed given up to abolition, and that the weaker South would receive no justice from the stronger North. But if the South sees the Republican party defeated, and the ancient defenders of its rights against sectional influences once more in power in the Union, or even bold in maintaining its old political warfare against sectional parties and influences then may the people of the South, misled from the allegiance by the detestable intrigues of ambitious demagogues, well hope to find once more in the Union old rights, old blessings, old safety. Disunion is the offspring of sectional parties, and the complete restoration of the Union, in all its old peace and harmony, rests upon the utter rout, North and South, of all sectional parties. The spirit of the Constitution must go hand in hand with the letter of the Constitution.

It is no less essential to the people of the loyal States to establish the full reign of the spirit of the Constitution; to restore as the supreme law of the land, in peace and war, in prosperity and adversity, in all circumstances of society, the Constitution, the whole Constitution, and nothing but 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. Our fathers won and established this right, and we will not surrender it. We utterly deny to the Executive of the United States the power assumed by Congress in the sedition 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 people. 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 at this day be an evil example pregnant with 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 disavow our principles and opinions like cowards. Loyal to the core to the Constitution and Government of the United States, the Democracy has nothing to fear from the assertion of its principles, and the discussion of its political views.

Allowing much of minor evil to pass unnoticed, in view of the difficult part which the Administration has had to play, there are some grave acts of the executive and legislative departments of the Government, for which we hold the Republican party responsible, and for which we arraign it at the bar of public opinion.

We denounce the mischievous and unconstitutional tone of much of the discussion in both Houses of Congress at its late session. We hold the general tenor of these discussions against the rights of slavery in the slave-holding 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 States. 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 *letters de cachet*, by which the Executive could arrest and imprison without judicial writ, accusation, or trial. We hold this manner 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 disregard.

We deny the power of the Executive to trammel the freedom of the press by the suppression of 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 deny 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, Judge Story quotes with approbation the remark of Montesquieu, that if the crime of treason be indeterminate, that alone is sufficient to make any government degenerate into arbitary 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 a definition far more in keeping the rights of a free people than such vague phrases as *disloyal practices*. The Statutes of the United States amply 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 State where the crime is alleged to have been committed, to any other State 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 upon the indictment of a grand jury. These rights are guaranteed to every person, 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 rather in inadvertency by subordinate officers, than 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 deliberate 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 waters.

Let whatever may come, the Democracy will abide by their time-honered principles, by the Constitution and the Union. "We will neither surrender our rights, nor forsake them. We will maintain our constitutional liberty at 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 as candidates tried and true Democrats, on strictly party principles, inviting 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 on their behalf and our own, to censure the political acts of the Administration, when we think that they deserve it, and to do all lawfully within our power to sustain the supremacy of the Constitution in all places North and South, and over all persons in office, and out of it. And so that end we devote our hearts, minds and estates to aid the Administration in the most vigorous and speedy prosecution of the war waged against the Union by the revolted States. We believe that in so doing we fulfill the most sacred duty we owe to the Constitution.

And to this, we solemnly pledge the faith of our party and ourselves, until the war be ended and the Constitution restored, as the supreme law of the land, in every State of the Union.

The Collection of the National Tax—Important Instructions to the Collectors.

The Collectors appointed under the recent act of Congress, to collect the National Tax, are making their arrangements, and will soon commence operations. The Commissioner of Revenue at Washington has just issued the following important regulations to the Collectors at Philadelphia, which apply equally to Collectors in this locality:

1. All mechanics, except those who merely do repairs, must be registered as manufacturers, and must take out a license a such if the annual sales amount to $1,000.

2. But mechanics and other manufacturers who sell their own manufactures at the place where they are produced are not required to take out an additional license as traders. This does not include rectifiers, who must pay both licenses.

3. If manufacturers have an office, depot, store room, or agency, at a place different from the place where the goods are made, or if they sell the manufactures of others, in addition to their own, they must pay a trader's as well as a manufacturer's license. Thus, a tobacconist who both makes cigars and keeps for sale goods in his line 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 require 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 his initials upon them. Telegraphic dispatches must be stamped and effaced 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 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 $4\frac{53}{4}$, nor at the market rates of exchange, which is now something above the real par.

10. On and after October 1st the following instruments must be stamped: All agreements, appraisements, checks, sight drafts, prommissory notes, inland and foreign bills of exchange, bills lading 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, memorandums, conveyances, mortgages, leases, telegraph dispatches, 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, probate of wills, protests, warehouse receipts and writs or other original process of commencing suit. Also, patent medicines, perfumers, and playing cards.

In reference to public houses and liquor dealers exclusively, it is defined that in a tavern or public house where liquor is sold, licenses 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. By retail is understood any quantity under three gallons. To sell above that quantity is wholesale, and the license is one hundred dollars. Restaurants which furnish bedding, and which keep liquors, are required to obtain three licenses—first a tavern license, secondly a license for the liquor bar, of twenty dollars, and thirdly a license for the eating bar, costing ten dollars, when the receipts amount to or exceed one thousand dollars per year. Eating houses are permitted to keep confectionery 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 smaller dealers who abound in every part of the city. The prosecution 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. 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 11:10 A M., stop at all stations and make close connection at Kokomo with train on the Cincinnati and Chicago Air Line Railroad for Logansport, Valparaiso and Chicago, and arrive at Peru at 3:15 P. M., in time to make connections with trains on the Toledo and Wabash Railway, 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. W. from the East, and arrive at Indianapolis at 9:50 A. M. in time to make connections for all points East, South and West.

An Expresstrain will leave Indianapolis at 10:35 P. M., connect at Kokomo with train for Chicago, and arrive at Peru at 5:00 A. M., in time to make connection with trains going East and West on the Toledo and Wabash Railway.

Returning the same train will leave Peru at 12:00 M., making close connection at Kokomo with the trains on the Cincinnati and Chicago Railway from Chicago Valparaiso and Logansport, and arrive at Indianapolis at 4:10 P. M., in time to connect with the evening