The Daily Ohio Statesman.

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Daily, Tri-Weekly & Weekly.

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☞ Auction sales every evening.
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[p11dly]

The Ohio Statesman

Extracts from the Inaugural Address of Governor Thomas E. Bramlette, of Kentucky.

With a firm reliance upon a guiding Providence, and an abiding confidence in the justice, integrity and loyalty of the people of Kentucky, I shall look hopefully to the future, trusting to their charitable judgment upon my administration, as I shall seek to avoid the justice of their censure.

We are fallen on evil and troublous times—when a great, free people, have turned upon themselves, to make war upon a peace, a happiness, a prosperity, a liberty, such as never in any age or land crowned a people with blessings, and seek by violence to overthrow their Government and darken the future to the hopes of man. Our future historian will drape in mourning the page on which is recorded the history of these years of rebellion, calamity and woe. The terrific warfare which continues to sweep over our beloved land, filling its great heart with inexpressible anguish, as pang after pang for the loved and lost pierces the bosom of every home, should, by its community of woe, of suffering and danger, draw our people more closely together, and evoke the nobler charities of our nature, to a concentrated and united effort to stay this tide of misery and flow of danger, by bringing to constitutional unity those who have departed from constitutional faith. A departure from constitutional faith is the foundation of all the evils now upon us; a return is the only permanent remedy.

Our Government was constructed, by its wise founders, to secure the blessings of liberty to themselves, and in perpetuity to their posterity. Touched with supernal inspiration of wisdom, they so framed our State and Federal Governments as to secure the objects of free government so perfectly that we were left nothing to do but to enjoy, or destroy.

The equal right of each and all to live in the peaceful enjoyment of "life, liberty, property, and pursuit of happiness," is the great object and end of free government. These secured, man is free; this is liberty! Our fathers grasped the subject of constitutional liberty so thoroughly as to leave no excuse or mitigation for the wickedness of any who might, at any time, attempt a forcible revolution of the Government. So faultless in its structure, so comprehensive, and yet so minute in its safeguards thrown around the liberties of the people, equal rights and equal privileges were alike secured to every freeman. The rights, so secured, were intrusted to the custody and guardianship of the people, who were to enjoy. The rulers were to be servants, and the people the masters. And to insure against usurpation of power or aggravation of wrongs, recurrent elections at short intervals of time, and an upright and enlightened judiciary, were ample safeguards.—The mode of effecting any changes in the organic law, which experience might suggest, was fully provided.

In the appointed manner the ruling power—the citizens—could alter, change or modify not only policies of legislation, but the organic law, through the peaceful medium of the ballot-box, thus leaving no excuse for forcible revolution.

In securing the peaceful enjoyment of property to the citizen, one subject of difficulty was presented to our fathers, which they wisely and securely adjusted. Some of the States recognized slaves as property; others did not; and it being a principle of universal law amongst civilized people that wherever the laws recognized *property in a thing*, the same law secured the owner in his right; but where the law did not know any *property in a thing*, no owner could assert any right; it raised the question how to secure to the owner of slave property equal protection in its enjoyment with the owners of other property, without, at the same time, doing violence to the distinctive character of the State governments not recognizing such property. In States where slavery was recognized, the laws assured the right of the owner, but in those States where property in slaves was not recognized, no right of ownership could be known or asserted by law. This is in the very nature of government. For the non-slave States to recognize, by their laws, property in slaves, so as to return them by law to the owner, would necessarily subvert the very nature of their government, and make them slave States. To obviate this difficulty, which existed only in reference to this one species of property, and secure to the citizen owning slave property, equal protection in his rights, and at the same time to preserve the distinctive character of each State government, the return of fugitives from service or labor, escaping from one State to another, was undertaken by the Federal Government, and the guarantee given that no law of any State to which such fugitive might escape should discharge such fugitive from the labor or service which he owed. Thus the character and laws of each State were respected and preserved, and the rights of all the citizens of each State placed upon footing of equal security. Thus the Federal Constitution, which created the Union, harmonized the equal security of all in every right, with the unity of the Government, and with the rights of the States.

Some becoming dissatisfied with this perfected equality, have sought to destroy it, in violation of constitutional faith. On the one hand the Abolitionists would destroy the right; on the other the Secessionists would elevate slave property above every other interest and right. Each seeks to subordinate the Constitution to his extreme view. Each makes war upon the foundation theory of free government; and by the fanatical energy with which they have urged forward their extreme views, they have at length precipitated upon us the most heartrending war of rebellion that ever shook the foundations of social being. Notwithstanding the conservative element North and South, those who on the one hand wish to keep constitutional faith and grant the equal security which the Constitution pledges, and those on the other who ask nothing more, are overwhelmingly in the majority in both sections; yet by some strange infatuation of evil, the few have involved the many in this horrific strife.

How shall the Constitution-abiding, Union-loving, conservative men, North and South, meet the issue presented by those who, on the one hand, seek, by usurpation, to pervert the Constitution, to invade its sanctities, and overthrow its securities, and on the other, to destroy the Constitution and the Union by forcible revolution. The one in political, the other in warlike array.

We must meet them in the modes sanctioned by the Constitution. Through the ballot-box we must control legislation within just limits, and by the judiciary protect against the infliction of acts violative of the Constitution; and with the whole resources and military power of our Government we must crush the rebellion and restore the national authority over the revolted States. This is the pledge of conservatism; this we must do, or our Government perishes, and with it the hope of free government forever.

Fears are expressed, and doubtless many are sincere in their apprehensions, that crushing the rebellion will but open up the way to the destruction of that political equality of the States which has built us up into a great nationality, and given prosperity and happiness to a mighty and free people. It is feared that mad men will seek to force terms of submission upon the acceptance of the rebellious States, destructive of their State rights and of their political equality. That there are men wicked enough to do so, there is little room for doubt, as there is to doubt that others are seeking to destroy the Government by force. But the conservative men of the whole country have the strength and power, by unity of action, to crush the one, and defeat the evil machinations of the other.

To better assure the friends of constitutional government, of our security against such danger, a few suggestive thoughts, by way of strengthening their confidence and assuring their faith and hopes, may not be amiss. It should be borne in mind *that we have now, and will have at the close of the rebellion, the identical Constitution* which the extremists seek to destroy—the one by innovation, the other by force. It cannot be *altered* except in the manner therein prescribed. The same facts exist in reference to each State, loyal and disloyal. Rebellion has not *altered*, or *changed*, or *modified* either the Federal or State Constitutions. Nor has the rebellion destroyed the existence of *the States, as States*, of the Union. Their revolt only suspends the action of the civil authority of the Federal Government within the revolted districts, pending the revolt, and substitutes the military authority until their rebellion ceases, and they consent to accept the civil instead of the military rule.

No *reconstruction* is necessary. The Government is complete—not broken—not destroyed; but, by the blessing of God, shall endure forever. A revolted State has nothing, therefore, to do but to cease resistance to duty and law, and return to its fealty, organize under its Constitution, as it was before and would be now but for the revolt, and thus place itself in harmony with the Federal Government. Thus, all that was suspended by revolt, will be restored to action.

But will not the dominant powers require terms other than these? Will they not require the revolted States, as condition precedent to a restoration of their relations, to adopt either immediate or gradual emancipation? These are grave questions, and suggestive of a dangerous and wicked experiment. We trust to plighted word and constitutional faith as guaranty against such an issue. Nothing but disregard of honor and the principles of humanity can force such an issue, and we will not invite an evil by battling it into being. The afflictions pressing upon us claim our immediate efforts. When others come we shall meet them. "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof."

The States, by rebellion, did not lose their *status* as States of the Union. Their harmonious and peaceful relations only were disturbed. By rebellion they invoked the military to supersede the civil rule during the time of rebellion. Revolt did not disorganize and remit them to a territorial *status*; for *revolution, attempted*, but *failing*, is *no revolution*—nothing is changed, everything remains. It is the *successful* attempt which *revolutionizes—changes—destroys*. It follows, therefore, that no terms can be demanded except to submit to the Constitution and laws as they are. To demand anything more would be to change sides with the rebellion—to make war upon the Constitution, at the moment the rebels became willing to submit to it.

But may not the rebel States be required to assemble conventions and so modify their Constitutions as to meet these demands? No such convention can be called, to have any legal power, until after the State is organized under the Constitution and makes the call pursuant to the mode fixed in the Constitution. When organized so as to be in position to call a convention, it will be in harmony with its Federal relations, being all the time in and of the Union, and a sovereign State of the Union; and no power or party would dare to attempt to lay terms in violation of Federal and State rights. To require such a convention would be an admission of the right; to admit the right of such convention would be to concede the right of secession, and thus vindicate the right claimed by rebellion.

It is because we deny the power of such conventions, either to bind or loose, and regard their acts as nullities, that we claim the revolted States as still of us—bound to us by constitutional obligation—and, therefore, we are enforcing the observance of duty. We cannot, without ourselves becoming rebels to the Constitution, deny the return of a State to its peaceful relations in the Government, precisely upon the terms it stood when those relations were broken.

It is the duty of our Government, when the armed rebels are driven from or subdued in a revolted State, to protect and encourage the loyally disposed citizens remaining, in at once organizing their State, and by the election of all its officers—State and Federal—as provided for in their Constitution and laws, place the State in organized harmony with the Government. Humanity and the course of constitutional liberty demand this course. Who shall be punished, will be a question for the civil tribunals to determine. To prevent crime is the object of human punishment, not to revenge wrong. Revenge finds no sanction in the laws, and awakes no responsive throb in the bosom of humanity. If the prodigal returns, let a nation rejoice! The nearest and dearest relations of life have been rudely severed by the rebellion. If return to duty by submission to the laws, with penitence for the past, and amnesty judiciously proclaimed, has a balm for our many wounds, let it be applied, let us be healed of this great woe!

* * * * * * *

The recent vote of Kentucky, proclaims that she will not fraternize with rebellion, either *open* or *covert*; and with equal emphasis, that she will not fraternize with those who would pervert our just defense into a fanatical war upon constitutional rights and liberties of the people of the Southern States. But firmly and immovably poised upon her own just, loyal, and proud constitutional center, Kentucky will maintain the right, and support the Constitution and the Union, by all the powers and modes sanctioned by the wisdom of a humane experience, and a just and legal warfare. "Men and money to crush the rebellion; votes and argument to correct legislative, or executive policy when erroneous." This is the proclaimed and deliberate will of Kentucky. This is her right and her duty. She will remember her right, and will do her duty.

We affiliate with the loyal men North and South whose object and policy is, to PRESERVE the UNION and the CONSTITUTION, unchanged and unbroken, and to restore the people to harmony and peace with the Government as they were before the rebellion.

It is not a *restored* Union—not a *reconstructed* Union that Kentucky desires; but a *preserved Union*, and a *restored peace upon constitutional basis*.

Kentucky hails with satisfaction the demonstration of conservative sentiment manifested by the recent elections of many of her sister States, and looks to the co-operation of conservative men as the hope of a vigorous and wise prosecution of our defensive war, and an honorable and just settlement of peace.

In this connection, it may not be amiss to say, that we have a decided objection to organizing and arming negro regiments. Our objection is not to the power, for it is admitted, that whatever may be taken for use, in war, all its available uses may be appropriated. Nor is our objection because of any respect of rebels, but from regard to the self-respect and the interests of loyal men. Our objection is, that the arming of negroes humiliates the just pride of loyal men, and injuriously affects their interest. The loyal man is as much injured by the arming of negroes as the disloyal man. The injury is indiscriminate. It encourages and promotes insubordination among the slaves of loyal owners, depreciates their property, and endangers their security. The war should be against the rebels, not upon the loyal men. This is the *white man's* government; he is abundantly able to defend it. There are plenty of loyal white men to defend the Government, and suppress the rebellion; let them do it. As such forces are unnecessary to our defense, but really an obstacle to success by embittering the minds of the Southern people, and as it is hurtful to the interests and endangers the security of loyal men and humiliates their just pride, without any compensating benefit, it should be abandoned.

The loyal interests of the country should not be endangered or sacrificed, and its just pride be broken, and by uncalled for and needless experiment, which can profit nothing, while it endangers much, and caters only to the passions of the extreme Abolitionist, who has no respect for the Constitution and no love for the Union. But there is, beyond the present injury, a future difficulty and danger which it were well to consider.

The slaves so employed cannot be again remitted to bondage. What is to become of them? Shall they be turned loose, armed or unarmed, in the South? The wildest fanaticism must comprehend the fact that such slaves, armed or unarmed, can never remain and live among those against whom they have been set in battle array. They must therefore either be carried to some of the Northern States or colonized elsewhere. What Northern State is ready and open to receive them? We apprehend that no home can there be found for them. Where, then, shall they be sent, how provided for, at what charge, and at whose expense? Surely these questions of grave consideration and dangerous issue should be thoroughly explored and well matured, before employing a force which can add nothing to our defense, but retards success, and which remits to the future the necessity of adjusting those questions of difficult settlement and dangerous issue. But for this, as well as other evils resulting from rebellion, we will look to the constitutional remedies. We will appeal to the public judgment as the tribunal, and the ballot-box as the corrective; and will devote the whole powers of our Government to crush the rebellion—which is the parent evil, the occasion and cause of all—and restore the national authority over the revolted States. To remedy the evils to which this rebellion has subjected us, we should look first to the preservation of the life of the Government; that being saved, the Constitution will soon heal all minor injuries by virtue of its own inherent vigor.

Hon. Milton Sayler.

This gentleman is doing his share of the work for Democracy upon the stump. There was an immense Democratic meeting at Blanchester, Clinton county, on the 27th of August, which was ably and eloquently addressed by Mr. SAYLER. A correspondent of the *Enquirer* makes the following notice of his speech:

The vast audience having been gathered about the stand, the President introduced Hon. Milton Sayler, of Cincinnati, who spoke for more than two hours in a mingled strain of anecdote and argument that was received with the greatest enthusiasm. He said he had often heard of late that the Democratic party was dead, but could hardly credit the report in view of the meeting he saw here, and in view of the meetings held everywhere throughout the State. The Democratic party was not dead, and could not die. It must live, and must live for two great purposes, namely: to maintain the integrity of our territory, and to maintain the integrity of our liberty. It must live to preserve those free principles which our fathers have handed down to us as our best birth-right and noblest inheritance. It must accomplish this work in the future as it had ever accomplished it in the past. He adverted to the origin of our present difficulties, and traced them to a spirit of sectionalism and mutual ill-will, springing up in remote sections of our country, having but little communication with one another, but little allied by ties of marriage and blood; little acquainted and knowing little of the different habits, customs and institutions, each of the other. Those disunionists, both of the North and South, whose effort had been for years to tear this country in two, he discussed in most unsparing terms, affirming that he had no good words either for Abolition or Secession, that he had no sympathy for either, and should be sorry to hear either name. They were twin monsters, and like the withered and hateful hags on the barren heath of Scotland, had, together, concocted the hell-broth of this present civil war.

While he did not justify the secession movement and would not apologize for it, he charged the Republican party with three great crimes, for which they might never hope for forgiveness in this life. First, they had fostered and foisted into power the sectional faction of the North. Second, they had rejected the Crittenden Compromise, by the adoption of which the war might have been avoided. And, third, they had perverted the whole object and purpose of the war, from one "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," to one of conquest and subjugation, waged to overthrow the institution of slavery, and to destroy the rights of the States. While he would not ingloriously retreat before the armed force of the South, nor submit to their dictation, and was ely for an honorable peace on the basis of Union, he was utterly hostile, and the Democratic party was utterly hostile to a policy which must indefinitely prolong the war, spill the best blood of our nation, overburden the citizen with taxes, and ultimately destroy the rights of all the States, and subvert the liberties of the people. It was this perverted policy of the war that was the real "fire in the rear" of the soldiers, and which would ultimately arouse their fiercest indignation. The Democratic party was for the old Union, under the old Constitution, with all the dignity, equality and rights of the old States unimpaired, and believed that whenever any State was willing to return on this basis it should be received.

Mr. Sayler discussed at length various other topics, but we have time only for this brief reference.

An Opinion from Hon. Thaddeus Stevens on the Conscription Law.

The Lancaster *Express* publishes the following opinion of Hon. Thaddeus Stevens in regard to the effect of the payment of the $300 commutation by a drafted man:

LANCASTER, August 36, 1863.

DEAR SIR:—In answer to your inquiry, my opinions is that the payment of the $300 commutation and the furnishing of a substitute have precisely the same effect. Either of them frees the drafted man from further draft for three years. He is in effect in service, either by himself or another. The payment of $300 makes the Government his agent to procure a substitute. The Government has consented to act as such agent. The law says he may "on or before the day fixed for his appearance furnish an acceptable substitute, or pay such sum not exceeding $300 for the procuration of such substitute, and thereupon the person furnishing the substitute, *or pay the money*, shall be discharged from further liability under that draft." No one doubts that furnishing a substitute excuses for three years. To give a different effect to the payment of the commutation seems to me little less than an absurdity. It is a very mischievous misconstruction, which, if need be, I have no doubt, Congress will correct.

THADDEUS STEVENS.

Notice to Road Builders.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN, THAT proposals will be received by John Chaney, President of the Lancaster and Groveport Turnpike Road Company, at his residence in Canal Winchester, Franklin county, Ohio, until the 1st day of September, 1863, for building five miles of said road, commencing near Hooker's bridge, thence on the location of said road northwestwardly on the location of said road to the five mile stone, west of Carroll. Also, for building the balance of said road, commencing at said five-mile stone, thence northwestwardly on the location of said road to the intersection of that part of said road now under contract to John Robertson, being also five miles and a few chains. Bids will be received separately for the above sections, per mile, or for both together. Plans of the work and specifications can be seen at the office of John Helphman, Esq., in Canal Winchester.
By order of the Directors.
dtd JOHN CHANEY, President.

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SUCCESSOR TO McKEE & RESTIEAUX)
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HAVING OPENED AN AUCTION and COMMISSION ROOM ON THE
Southwest Corner of Friend & Fourth Streets, No. 137,
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