Cambridge Democrat.

"Resistance to Tyrants is Obedience to God."

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GOVERNMENT.

It is sometimes a great aid to the best understandings to reduce things to their naked signification in plain and common words. Generalities and loose phrases are the masks behind which designing men perpetually conceal their batteries of false doctrine. It occurs to us, therefore, as eminently useful to put into precise and formal language some of the theories of free government of late asserted and enforced by the Administration They require only to be definitely understood, we are convinced, in order to startle into resistance tens of thousands of our citizens everywhere, who are now indifferent only because unconscious. A great many persons have gone mad, we admit, but we still devoutly believe that their insanity, for the most part, is of the curable sort, and that the cure is already begun. A plain presentation of the truth, without phraseological disguise, strikes us as the most likely mode of entirely restoring their present distorted perceptions.

Let us suppose, for the purpose in hand, that, instead of having the pretensions of the Government thrust upon us, by force, without choice or alternative, we were invited to vote upon them in the shape of constitutional interpretations or amendments They would take, substantially and literally, about the following form, viz:

I.

The relations of the States of the Union to the General Government shall be that of counties to their representative States.

II.

No State, under any circumstances, shall have the right to resist any action of the General Government, whether the same be constitutional or unconstitutional; right or wrong. Any such resistance shall be regarded as rebellion, and all State officers as well as citizens engaging therein, shall be held guilty of treason. The President shall have the exclusive right to determine when such rebellion exists, and his proclamation that it does exist shall be held and taken to establish its existence, incontrovertibly, as matter of law, no matter whether the facts be so or not.—The President may be liable to impeachment, if he transgresses his powers in the premises, but no State or citizen shall be permitted to act upon the theory of his having transgressed them, notwithstanding the fact be notorious that he has done so.

III.

Whenever the President shall determine, in his discretion as aforesaid, that a war, a rebellion, or an insurrection exists, he shall have the right to increase the army and navy, forthwith and without the interposition of Congress, to any extent he pleases. He shall further have the right to call out as many volunteers as he chooses and for any term of service he may prefer. The army and navy, so increased and called out, he shall have the right to employ as he pleases, and he may raise, borrow, spend and apply all money he may require or desire for that purpose, without any previous appropriation by Congress.

IV.

Whenever the President, in his discretion, shall deem it necessary, he may cause any citizen or citizens whom he dislikes or suspects, or of whose opinions he disapproves, to be arrested, without warrant, and confined wherever and as long as he pleases. The parties so arrested shall have no right to know of what offences they are accused, nor shall they be allowed a trial, or the proof of witnesses in their exculpation.—They may be sent to any prison or fortress in the country, at the President's pleasure, and he may deny them permission to read any newspapers during their confinement, or to see or correspond with their families, except under such conditions and subject to such inspection or supervision as he may direct. In order to secure to the President the uninterrupted exercise of the powers hereby granted, he shall have the right to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* at pleasure, and is authorized to delegate the same right to all military officers under his command, who may accordingly refuse to obey such writ at their discretion, and may resist, by force, any attempt of the civil authorities to execute it.

V.

No citizen shall have the right to bear arms except at the pleasure of the President, who may cause the houses of the people to be broken open and searched by any body, at all hours, without warrant or process of any kind, and all arms found on the premises to be seized and transported to the nearest military station. All militia laws of the States in contravention of the powers herein granted may be treated as null, by the President, in his discretion, and all citizens found with arms, under such laws or otherwise, shall be liable to arrest and imprisonment, without warrant, at the President's pleasure.

VI.

The President may, likewise, in his discretion, remove all civil or municipal officers of the several States and appoint and pay others, or establish a military government, in their stead. Any attempt, on the part of any State authorities or officers so superseded to discharge any duties or exercise or even assert any powers imposed or conferred on them by their respective State laws, shall be punishable by arrest and imprisonment, at the President's discretion, in manner prescribed by the 4th article aforegoing.

VII.

The Press shall be entirely free, so long as it supports the Government. Any unfavorable criticism, however, by any public journal upon the President, or any member of the Cabinet, or upon the policy of the Administration for the time being, or the proceedings of Congress, shall be held and taken to be treasonable to the country, and the President is hereby clothed with full authority to suppress such journal by force, and to arrest and imprison for an indefinite period, as rebels and traitors, all persons engaged in the publication thereof. The provisions of this section shall be held particularly to apply to all public journals, the editors or proprietors whereof shall be guilty of advocating or suggesting peace in time of war, and especially in time of civil war.

VIII.

The Postmaster General, with the authority of the President, may at any time forbid the transmission, through the mail or by private hand, of any newspaper, periodical or pamphlet which he may judge, in his discretion, to be within the penalties of the last foregoing section. He may, moreover, open or cause to be opened, at pleasure, any and all letters deposited in any postoffice to be transmitted by mail. He may read and destroy, or retain possession of all letters, at his discretion, and may cause the arrest and imprisonment of all parties, who may be shown, by such letters, to be guilty of entertaining or expressing, to their friends or families, any opinions which he may judge improper to be expressed or entertained. The provisions of this article shall be held to apply to all telegrams likewise, and the same may be at any time, seized accordingly.

IX.

There shall be entire freedom of opinion and speech, so long as the exercise thereof shall not contravene the provisions of the 7th and 8th of these articles. Any expression of opinion, however, contravening, or judged by the President to exceed the limits of said provisions, shall be regarded as an overt act of treason, and shall expose the party to arrest and imprisonment according to the terms of said articles.

X.

Should any case whatsoever arise, not provided for in these articles, wherein the President may deem it necesary to exercise any powers not already granted, he shall be the sole judge of the existence of such necesty, and shall have, possess and exercise, in virtue thereof, in his discretion, all powers whatsoever. Especially, he shall have the right, at any time, to call upon any and all persons to take and subscribe any oath or oaths which the Attorney General may devise, under penalty of arrest and indefinite imprisonment as aforesaid, in case of refusal to swear as he may require.

We deliberately assert that there is not one single prerogative conferred upon the Executive, by the provisions thus put into shape, which Mr. Lincoln has not claimed and exercised, in fact or in principle. There is not one one, the exercise of which we are not now called upon substantially to ratify under the title of 'preserving the Union' and 'maintaining the Government' We ask our readers to go over the provisions in question, one by one, and detect, if they can, a single one which is either falsified or exaggerated, or which does not embody some pretension asserted or put in practice since the 4th of March. Would any man vote, directly, for a constitution containing such provisions, or for their being incorporated into the Constitution we already have? If not, how can he consent to support them practically by his countenance or even his silence? Let no man be weak enough to think, when he is establishing or confirming a despotism, that he is safe from its dangers because, for the present, it is on his side. It is written, that the frogs who prayed to Jove for a King, had a Stork sent them for their pains. It is not written that King Stork, when he was hungry, made any distinction between the frogs who had prayed for him and the frogs who had not.—*Baltimore Exchange.*

[From the Richmond Examiner.]

Address of Hon. J. C. BRECKINRIDGE

To the People of Kentucky.

TO THE PEOPLE OF KENTUCKY:

By your representatives in the last Legislature you conferred on me the commission of Senator in the Congress of the United States. In March last, when my term of service began, the Union had been dissolved by the withdrawal of seven States, which the policy of coercion has since increased to twelve States. At that time a majority of the people of Kentucky still cherished the hope of a peaceful re-union. Soon afterwards, when the Government at Washington commenced that series of usurpations which has now left nothing of the Federal Constitution, and resolved on a war of subjugation against withdrawing States to secure union and brotherhood, you determined to take no part in the war, but to protect your liberties by a position of armed neutrality. This decision was expressed by a large majority of the people at the election in May.

I had opposed this policy before the election, but afterwards, in common with the great mass of those with whom I had acted, I acquiesced in your expressed will, and have maintained it as the fixed attitude of Kentucky. In obedience, as I suppose, to your wishes, I proceeded to Washington, and at the special session of Congress, in July, spoke and voted against the whole war policy of the President and Congress; demanding, in addition, for Kentucky the right to refuse not men only but money also to the war, for I would have blushed to meet you with the confession that I had purchased for you exemption from the perils of the battle-field, and the shame of waging war against your Southern brethren by hiring others to do the work you shrank from performing. During that memorable session, a very small body of Senators and Representatives, even beneath the shadow of a military despotism, resisted the usurpations of the Executive, and with what degree of dignity and firmness, they will willingly submit to the judgement of the world.

Their efforts were unavailing—yet they may prove valuable hereafter as another added to former examples of manly protest against the progress of tyranny.

On my return to Kentucky, at the close of the late special session of Congress, it was my purpose immediately to resign the office of Senator. The verbal and written remonstrances of many friends in different parts of the State induced me to postpone the execution of my purpose, but the time has arrived to carry it into effect, and accordingly I now hereby return the trust into your hands.

And in this connection, since the Government at Washington has thrown a drag-net over the whole surface of society, to collect proof against individuals of connection with the Government of the Confederate States, and since a portion of the Northern press has charged, that certain private correspondence, recently seized at Philadelphia by the Federal authorities, will convict me of political crimes, I deem it due to you and to myself to declare that I have not done or said anything inconsistent with the relations I have borne to the State, and to the Federal Government, or which could reflect a stain upon the commission which I now surrender.

I do not resign because I think I have misrepresented you. On the contrary, I believe that my votes and speeches in the Senate have expressed your deliberate will as attested through the ballot box. I resign because there is no place left where a Southern Senator may sit in council with the Senators of the North. In truth, there is no longer a Senator of the United States within the meaning and spirit of the Constitution.

The United States no longer exists. The Union is dissolved. For a time after the withdrawal of the Southern States, and while there was a hope that the rupture might be healed; it might be assumed that the Union was not yet dissolved, and such was the position of Kentucky in declaring her neutrality and offering her mediation between the contending parties. But time has now elapsed, and mighty events have occurred, which banish from the minds of reasonable men all expectation of restoring the Union. Coercion has been tried and has failed. The South has mustered into the field nearly as many combatants as the North, and has been far more victorious. The fields of Manassas and Bethel, of Springfield and Lexington, have worked with a terrible and sanguinary line the division between the old order of things and the new.

It is the right of Kentucky and her pecular duty to recognize these great facts and to act on them. The constitutional compact which created and upheld the old Union is at an end. A large number of the original and additional parties have withdrawn from it. So large a number that its stipulations can no longer be executed, and under such circumstances no court has ever decided a contract to be binding between the remaining parties, or attempted to enforce its execution. The Constitution requires postively that each State shall have at least one representative in Congress, but now twelve States have none; each State shall have two Senators, but now twelve States have none; that all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States, but now in more than one-third of them none are or can be collected. Commerce cannot be regulated between the respective States. Uniform rules of naturalization and bankruptcy cannot be adopted. Post-offices and post-roads, in nearly half the States have been given up, and a preference is given to the ports of one State over those of another. Even the election of a President has become impossible. The Constitution is mandatory on all the States to appoint electors, and requires a majority of the latter to elect; but more than one-third of the States refuse to appoint, and hence no election can be made by the people. If the election goes to the House of Representatives, the Constitution requires that at least two-thirds of the States shall be represented in that body. The Constitution can no longer be amended; for it requires three-fourths of the States to concur, and more than one-third of the States have withdrawn from the Confederacy. All the safeguards provided for by the States in the instrument, still farther to secure public and personal liberty, have been destroyed. The three departments of the Federal Government, which were carefully separated and their boundaries defined, have been merged into one, and the President, sustained by a great army wields unlimited power.

The exemption of persons from arrest without judicial warrant, the right of a citizen to have his body brought before a judge to determine the legality of his imprisonment, the security provided against searches and seizure without warrant or law, the sancity of the home, the trial by jury, the freedom of speech and of the press—these and every other precious right which our fathers supposed they had locked up in the Constitution have been torn from it and buried beneath the heel of military power. The States made the Constitution, placed rigid boundaries around that Government, and expressly reserved to themselvss all powers not delegated. They did not delegate to the Federal Government the power to destroy them—yet the creature has set itself above the creator. The atrocious doctrine is announced by the President and acted upon that the States derive their power from the Federal Government, and may be suppressed on any pretence of military necessity. The gallant little State of Maryland has been utterly abolished. Missouri is engaged in a heroic struggle to preserve her existence and to throw off the horrors of martial law proclaimed by a subordinate military commander. Everywhere the civil has given way to the military power. The fortresses of the country are filled with victims seized without warrant of law, and ignorant of the cause of their imprisonment.

The legislators of States, and other public officers are seized while in the discharge of their official duties, taken beyond the limits of their respective States and imprisoned in the forts of the Federal Government. A subservient Congress ratifies the usurpations of the President, and proceeds to complete the destruction of the Constitution. History will declare that the annals of legislation do not contain laws so infamous as those enacted at the last session.—They sweep away every vestige of public and personal liberty, while they confiscate the property of a nation containing ten millions of people. In the House of Representatives it was declared that the South should be reduced to "abject submission," or their institutions be overthrown. In the Senate it was said that, if necessary, the South should be depopulated and re-peopled from the North, and an eminent Senator expressed a desire that the President should be be made a dictator. This was superfluous, since they had already clothed him with dictatorial powers. In the midst of these proceedings, no plea for the Constitution is listened to in the North; here and there a few heroic voices are feebly heard protesting against the progress of despotism, but for the most part, beyond the military lines, mobs and anarchy rule the hour.

The great mass of the Northern people seem anxious to sunder every safeguard of freedom; they eagerly offer to the Government what no European monarch would dare to demand. The President and his Generals are unable to pick up the liberties of the people as rapidly as they are thrown at their feet. The world will view with amazement this sudden and total overthrow of a Constitution which, if respected, might have been the boast and safeguard of the United States for many generations. When the historian comes to investigate the cause of this result, he will record the fact that no department of the Federal Government has ever exhibited a case of aggression by the Southern States upon their Northern associates, and he will trace the dismemberment to the ignorance or disregard upon the part of the latter, of the true principles of a confederacy, so long continued and flagrant violations of the Constitution, to avarice, fanaticism and general corruption. Against all these usurpations I protested in your name, in the presence of their authors, and at the seat of their powers. I protested in vain, and never again will I meet in council with the usurpers.

And now, fellow citizens, I am sure you will pardon me if I add a few words in reference to the condition of our State and my own course.—The Constitution of the U. States has been destroyed, and by no act of Kentucky. The power she delegated in that instrument to the Federal Government had vested to her, and any exercise of power over her by that Government without her consent is usurpation. In the wreck of the federal system, she exists an independent commonwealth, with the right to choose her own destiny. She may join the North. She may join the South. She may poise herself on her own centre, and be neutral. In every form by which you could give direct expression to your will, you declared for neutrality. A large majority of the people, at the May and August elections, voted for the neutrality and peace of Kentvcky. The press, the public speakers, the candidates, with exceptions in favor of the Government at Washington so rare as not to need mention, planted themselves on this position. You voted for it, and you meant it. You were promised it, and you expected it.—The minority acquiesced in good faith, and at home and abroad this was recognized as the fixed position of the State. It was taken at the beginning of hostilities, and it is but reasonable to infer that every subsequent act of outrage by the Washington Government has confirmed your original purpose. Look now at the condition of Kentucky, and see how your expectations had been realized—how these promises had been redeemed.

First, by the aid of some citizens of the State, arms belonging to the whole people were illegally and secretly introduced by order of the President and distributed to one class of our people upon the false pretence that they needed them for protection against their own fellow citizens.—This was the first violation.

Next, Federal military officers began to recruit soldiers and establish camps in our midst, and Federal money was lavishly expended, in the hope to demoralize and corrupt the people. A studied system of deception was practised as long as possible on the people. For a time it was denied that they were Federal camps, and it was said that they were merely voluntary assemblies of Kentuckians for their own protection and that of the State. These monstrous falsehoods have since been freely exposed. This was the second violation.

Previous to these events the State was in a condition of tranquility and peace. No indications existed anywhere of internal disorder. But now the people, becoming alarmed at these proofs of a purpose to force Kentucky into the war, began to assemble in great mass meetings and to demand loudly the promised neutrality. The Washington Government, however, and its abettors in Kentucky, supposing their schemes to be ripe for execution, now resolved to have what they called "active loyalty."—About this time the Legislature met, and the drama then moved rapidly on. The camps were avowed to be Federal camps. The guns which had been clandestinely and illegally introduced, now called out to maintain "active loyalty." Federal officers began to swarm among us. Every appearance of corruption, every allurement of ambition was brought into play.

Presently a Federal army was in possession of large portions of the State, and the conspiracy stood fully revealed, while the people, whose only error had been their generous credulity, stood thoroughly betrayed. It is known to citizens of Louisville of all parties, that just before that meeting of the Legislature, a member of the Washington cabinet, said to a prominent citizen of Kentucky that the position of the State should not be maintained, that the Government preferred hostility to neutrality, and that Kentucky must be compelled to support the Federal Government in the war. Your wishes, fellow-citizens, had been spurned and you have been thrown into this vortex by the Government at Washington, aided by their Kentucky sympathizers.

The pretended reason for the military occupation of the State, founded on the occupation of Columbus by Confederate troops, is uncandid and false. For besides the fact that the invasion of Kentucky was a foregone conclusion at Washington, and that camps of soldiers were under arms in our midst to invade Tennessee, it is notorious that General Grant left Cairo to seize Paducah before the occupation of Columbus, while in taking the latter place the Confederate troops anticipated the Federal troops by less than an hour. For further proof of the insincerity of the false clamor about the invasion from Tennessee, the Confederate commander announced to your authorities that he occupied Columbus purely in self-defence, and stood ready at any moment to withdraw simultaneously with the Federal forces. To say that the Washington Government had a right to invade the State, is to say that you had no right to be neutral, and to submit to the invasion from a power which has effaced every vestige of the Constitution, would be to bow in the dust and surrender to a simple despotism.

It is not necessary to say much about the Legislature. A majority of them, instead of protecting the rights and persons of the citizens, have either voluntarily or under duress been engaged in sustaining the usurpations of the Federal Government, in passing bills of pains and penalties to terrify a spirited people into servitude, in depriving the Governor of his just constitutional authority and in abdicating their share of the Government by formally inviting a Federal military force to take possession of the State, well knowing as they did that this military force would supersede the State Government. Of that body nearly one-fourth have retired because of the military occupation of the State and the seizure, imprisonment, pursuit and exile of many of the most eminent and patriotic citizens of the State by that military force. The voice of these members can no longer be heard in the councils of the State, nor their votes be taken. The Legislature is thus, to say the least of it, a mutilated department of the State Government.

It is true that there remains a sufficient number for a quorum, but are they free? For when the Federal Government takes military possession of a State its Legislature must conform to the will of the military chief or be suppressed, as we have recently seen in the case of Missouri, whose State Government was dispersed and martial law proclaimed; and still later, in the case of Maryland, when thirty-eight members of the Legislature were seized and imprisoned on the mere suspicion of intending to legislate at variance with the will of the military government. We cannot, therefore, know that the public resolutions, or pretended laws of the two bodies, are the declarations of their active will, because we have the strongest reason to believe that, if not in accordance with the will of the Government at Washington, they would meet the fate of the Legislatures of Missouri and Maryland.—On the other hand, we know that these resolutions and laws are in conflict with their public pledge, and with the expectations of the people.

It is more charitable to believe that the members of Frankfort, or a majority of them are actuated by a fear or military force, rather than by a perverse design to violate the will of their constituents, and degrade the State to the condition to which it is attempted to bring down Missouri and Maryland. If anything were wanting to strengthen this view, it will be found in attendant events. The resolutions they adopted on the 8th of September, sanctioning the entrance of Gen. Anderson's forces, were accompanied by one declaring that no person should be touched in his life, liberty or property on account of his political opinions. Yet on the very day, I believe that these resolutions passed, the agents of the Federal Government seized the printing establishment of the Louisville "Courier," the only offence of whose proprietor was that he criticised with freedom the usurpations of the Government at Washington. At the same time, and ever since, citizens of Kentucky have been imprisoned or compelled to fly from their homes and families, against whom there was no accusation but of holding opinions either unfriendly to Mr. Lincoln's Government or friendly to neutrality. It is impossible to suppose that a free Kentucky Legislature, in view of recent proceedings in other States, would have turned this State over to the possession of a Federal military force, or betrayed the people by throwing the State into the arms of Mr. Lincoln, to be used for Southern subjugation, or consented to the suppression of the press, or suffered, without an outcry that would have pierced the skies the indignities and outrages which have been inflicted upon the people by Federal soldiers.

Fellow-citizens, you have to do now, not with this fragment of a Legislature, with its treason bills and tax bills, with its woeful subserviency to every demand of the Federal despotism, and its woeful neglect of every right of the Kentucky citizen; but you have to deal with a power which respects neither Constitution nor laws, and which, if success-

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