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DEVOTED TO THE POLITICAL AND GENERAL INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE.

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THE STATE REPUBLICAN.

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LIBERTY.

BY WILLIAM P. TAPPAN.

I saw the goddess grasp her wand,
The symbol shown afar;
I saw her rear the searing brand,
The panoply of war.

From ocean's isle, her hoary seat,
She smote the subject sea;
The billows tumbled at her feet;
Her name was victory,

I saw, beyond Atlanta's wild,
The heir of deathless fame,
Rude Persecution's lovely child,
And Valor was her name,

Bright trophies, towering, formed her crest,
Fresh laurels wreathed her hair;
'Twas virtue fired her youthful breast;
'Twas freedom flourished there.

Unarmed she dared the dreadful blow,
She shook oppression's throne below;
Proud Valor met the insulting foe,
And Victory was her own!

Address to the Loyal People of the United States.

The undersigned, Senators and Representatives in Congress, impelled by a sense of duty, send these words to you from your Capitol:

The armed rebellion against the Constitution and laws of your country, organized and begun during the late administration of Mr Buchanan and by the assent and co-operation of several of his constitutional advisers, is unhappily not yet suppressed. These rebel conspirators continue to wage war, with intensified cruelties, upon your country and its free institutions. It would be unjust alike to you and ourselves to seek to hide the fact that this rebellion, by reason of the numbers and resources which it commands, the end at which it aims, and the interests which it imperils, is without a parallel in the history of the world.

A large majority of the people of eleven States, embracing an area of seven hundred thousand square miles of fertile land, and a population of nine millions, are this day in the support of the rebellion.

This cruel and unnatural war is waged by these conspirators against the people neither for the redress of a wrong nor the vindication of a right. The people whom they assail and seek to destroy have done them no wrong; the Government of the country which they seek to over turn has neither denied nor violated any right of of theirs. The chiefs in this treasonable conspiracy openly declare their purpose to be to over turn by force the fabric of American empire, and build upon its ruins a despotism which would withhold from honest toil its just reward; which would proclaim to the laboring mass of our countrymen the maxim of tyrants, that the great law of liberty and human progress is not for them, and which would open and perpetuate new markets in which "men are to be bought and sold as merchandise." It cannot be a matter of surprise that a treasonable war levied for such purposes should be prosecuted by those who wage it with "a cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages" These avowed conspirators, in prosecuting their work of treason, have robbed, imprisoned, banished, and murdered peaceable citizens, solely because of their fidelity to their country and its laws. They have deliberately assassinated your mangled and defenceless soldiers on the field of battle, and have violated the sacred graves of your buried dead. That their acts of cruelty might be marked by every atrocity, they have even compelled four millions of slaves to support them by their unpaid labor, and thus to contribute to the perpetuation of the tyranny which forges fetters for themselves and children.

Men, moved by such purposes, and capable of employing such means for their accomplishment, must be deaf alike to the demands of justice and humanity, and can only be restrained by the strong arm of power. As neither the ties of a common kindred, nor the obligation of a common humanity, nor the claims of a common country are regarded by these assailants of your free institutions, it only remains for the loyal people to hold them as they hold the rest of man kind—"enemies in war, in peace friends."

We cannot, if we would, shut out from our minds the conviction that upon the issue of this conflict of arms thus forced upon you depends not only the success but the existence of your great experiment of representative Government. In the light of our past history, judged by the rapid growth and development of the Republic under our free constitution, it is not an open question whether that Constitution is worth preserving. Every loyal American citizen shrinks from the suggestion that the unity of Government, which constitutes us one people, can be destroyed. The words of Washington, always significant, seem to be invested to-day with a new force:

"This Government, the offspring of your own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, and completely free in its principles, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty."

We cannot doubt that you fully appreciate these great utterances of the father of your country; that it is with you a conviction that your Government, "free in its principles," has a just claim to your support, and must at every hazard be maintained. Acting upon this belief, and in perfect accord, as we believe, with your will and with the Constitution, Congress, as your agent, have, in order to provide for the common defence, for the suppression of the rebellion, and for the payment of the public debts, enacted a law for the assessment and collection of a Federal tax, and also for the imposition of additional duties on imports.

That these necessary burdens may fall as light as possible upon the loyal people of the country, and that the enemy in arms against you may be weakened and stripped of support, and made, as far as may be, to indemnify the Government against the expenses of suppressing their unjust rebellion, the Congress have further provided by law for the seizure and condemnation to the public use of all the property of these rebels in arms, and of their aiders and abetters, and also for the liberation and employment by the Government of their slaves. As a further means of defense, Congress has provided by law that the President may summon to the support of the Government such additional forces as he may deem necessary to insure the prompt suppression of the rebellion, and the restoration of peace and the national authority.

The President, faithful to the high trust committed to him by your unpurchasable sufferages, in obedience to his official oath to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed," and in accordance with the authority duly conferred upon him, has called upon you through the Governors of the several States, to furnish three hundred thousand additional soldiers for the defence of the Constitution and Union. Permit us to say to you that any citizen who withholds his "confidence and support" from your Government, who refuses a "compliance" with these laws, and acquiescence in these measures, so essential for its defence, in our judgment not only disregards the wise counsel of Washington, but violates his duty, that highest word revealed by God to man.

Whatever designing and unprincipled partisans may attempt, we have an abiding faith that the great majority of the people will give their confidence and support in the future, as in the past, to their Government and their faithful Chief Magistrate. The answer to all that has been said, by those who prefer place and power to principle, and party to country, of the alleged unconstitutionality of the several laws enacted for the common defence, and of the force employed by the President in the execution of them, is found in the plain, strong words of the Constitution itself. The Constitution provides that the President shall, before entering on the duties of his office, solemnly swear that, "to the best of his ability, he will preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States." It further provides that, by virtue of his office, he "shall be Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States when called into the actual service of the United States;" and that "that the President shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed."

That these powers conferred and duties enjoined upon the President might not fail for want of the just authority of law, and that the people might be secure in their rights, all the powers essential to the enactment of laws for these ends are by the Constitution expressly conferred upon Congress. These grants of power to Congress are in these words:

"The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duty imposts, and excises to pay all debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States.

"To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and offences against the law of nations.

"To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water.

"To raise and support armies.

"To provide and maintain a navy.

"To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces.

"To provide for the calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions.

"To provide for organizing, arming, and discipling the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States.

"To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof."

We need not stop to say that these powers, save in the manner of their exercise, are unlimited. Under all well regulated governments the powers for the common defence are only limited by the common dangers, the public necessity, and the requirements of natural justice. When the people, by their representatives, enact the laws "necessary and proper," as expressly authorized by their Constitution for the suppression of insurrection, they simply exercise a right inherent alike in men and nations—the right of self preservation. The Republic has the right to live—the Republic has the right therefore to enact all laws needful and consistent with justice to suppress an insurrection which strikes at and imperils its life. Upon this great question of the right of the people to provide by law, and to do by force, under the sanction of their laws, whatever may be just and necessary for the maintenance of their nationality and the assertion of their rightful authority, the people spoke thus, through two of the framers of the Constitution, when they ordained it. Hamilton, speaking to the people and for the people, said:

"The circumstances which endanger the safety of nations are infinite; and for this reason no constitutional shackles can wisely be imposed on the power to which the care of it is committed."

And Madison, speaking in the same spirit, and by the approval of the whole people, declared—

"It is in vain to oppose constitutional barriers to the impulse of self preservation."

It may not be improper to notice that the sympathizers with rebellion, who seek to discredit the Chief Magistrate and to prevent the due execution of the laws, have here and elsewhere appealed to the prejudices rather than the reason of our fellow citizens, touching the law which gives freedom to the slaves of rebels, and offers them the privilege of contributing to the defence of their native land. An imperiled country is entitled to the services of all her children. The slave who comes in the hour of her trial to the rescue of his country that forgot him in his bonds, is surely entitled to higher considerations than the traitor who, while he enslaves him, strikes also at the life and liberty of his country. Under control of these rebels in arms are four millions of slaves—native of the land—and by whose unpaid toil the rebellion is sustained. The question, on what principle can the people break up this relation of servitude, established by State laws, and command the services of these slaves for the common defence, may be answered as was the question in 1688; on what principle could the people of nine States, by ratifying the Constitution, break up the compact under the articles of confederation solemnly entered into by thirteen States? Said Madison:

"The question is answered at once by recurring to the absolute necessity of the case; to the great principle of self preservation; to the transcendent law of nature and of nature's God, which declares that the safety and happiness of society are the objects at which all political insinuations aim, and to which all such institutions must be sacrificed."

Foreseeing the great crime now attempted upon the Government in these rebel States, with the prescience of the seer, this patriot statesman spoke of the slaves as "an unhappy species of population abounding in some of the States, who during the calm of regular government, are sunk beneath the level of men, but who, in the tempestuous scenes of civil violence, may emerge into the human character, and give a superiority of strength to any party with which they may associate themselves." This "unhappy species of population," even in their chains are the strength of this rebellion. Shiver the fetters that bind them and they will rise from the degradation of slaves to the dignity of freemen, and render faithful service to your country.

Washington deemed these enslaved men fit to fight the battles of the revoultion; Jackson deemed these enslaved men fit to fight in the second war for independence; neither would consent that they should do battle for their country in chains. Can we not, in this deadly conflict with this gigantic revolt, imitate the illustrious example of these tried patriots? Can you not, shall you not, obey the voice of duty, and by your imperial mandate declare that even the slave may defend his native land, and to that end shall be free?

Men of America, we but utter what we know, when we say that, under Providence, the fate of our country is in your hands, that the hour has struck when we must decide, by additional sacrifices of treasure and of blood, the dread issue upon us—shall the Republic live or perish?

The eyes of the civilized world is upon us. Let us acquit ourselves like men who know their rights and dare maintain them. Let there be an uprising of the people in support of the national authority, that will blast forever this unnatural treason and its guilty authors, but give significant notice as well to all foreign States disposed to interfere in our domestic affairs, that the American people have the power and the will not only to suppress this rebellion but to resent and effectively resist all foreign intervention. You cannot consent that foreign usurpation and despotism shall supplant the Republic; you can not consent that your country shall cease to maintain the right and avenge the wrong; you cannot consent that the just and benificent fabric of civil government founded and reared by our fathers, whom God taught "to build for glory and for beauty," shall be shattered and destroyed by the hands of traitors; that your goodly heritage shall be partitioned; and that America, the youngest born and the hope of the world, shall be blotted from the map of nations and cease to be a power in the earth.

Let it be the fixed purpose of every good citizen that, relying upon the Divine protection, whatever may be the sacrifice, the Constitution shall be maintained and the Republic shall live.

We adopt the words of the Congress of 1783, in their address to the people:

"Let it be remembered that it has ever been the pride and boast of America that the rights for which she contended were the rights of human nature. By the blessings of the Author of these rights on the means exerted for their defense, they have prevailed against all opposition, * * The people of the United States are responsible for the greatest trust evhr committed to a political society. * * If the great cause which we have engaged to vindicate *shall* be dishonored and betrayed, the last and fairest experiment in favor of the rights of human nature will be turned against them, and their patrons and friends exposed to be insulted and silenced by the votaries of tyranny and oppression."

SENATORS.

B. F. Wade,	Henry Wilson,
M. S. Wilkinson,	James H. Lane,
James W. Grimes,	James Harlan,
John P. Hale,	S. C. Pomeroy,
	Z. Chandler.

REPRESENTATIVES.

John A. Bingham,	S. N. Sherman,
Thaddeus Stevens,	W. P. Cutler,
C. B. Sedgwick,	R. H. Duell,
A. A. Sargent,	Cyrus Aldrich,
Phineas D. Eliot,	A. Scott Sloan,
Wm. Windom,	H. G. Blake,
A. P. Morrill,	Wm. Noell,
Geo. W. Julian,	Samuel C. Fessenden,
W. J. Lansing,	Martin F. Conway,
James F. Wilson,	Owen Lovejoy,
J. M. Ashley,	A. G. Riddle,
Sam'l S. Blair,	John Hutchins.

Complete Discomfiture.

The Secesh-McConnell and-Colton-brigade bogus-Democracy of this State have been routed routed, horse, foot and dragoons, in the last election. The fight has been Union or Secesh, and the people have settled the question by an overwhelming majority for the Union. Nine-tenths of all the State Legislature are Union Administration men. The people have declared in thunder tones, their hearty support to the Government and the Administration in its war with rebels and traitors. Tehama county has nobly redeemed herself from the odium of secession entailed upon her by the vote given to McConnel last fall, by rolling up a majority of nearly two to one for the Union ticket. "Old Glory," which floats from the Liberty pole in the center of our town seemed to float in the air more proudly the morning after the election, as if conscious of the great victory achieved by loyalty over incipient treason—and the Stars in its field of blue twinkled more brightly after the clearing up of the political heavens, as the stars above shine more brightly after the atmosphere has been purified by the renovating process of a thunder storm.

It was the most important election ever held in the State, and the people appreciated its importance, and voted principle. The swif winged lightning has, ere this carried the joyful intelligence across the Rocky Mountains to our brethren in the East, and the cheering news that California is still loyal to the core, and will aid and encourage the Administration in its great work, and will stand by the patriot soldiers in the field who are nobly braving death for the salvation of our common country—will encourage the brave and true hearts doing battle for the Union, the Constitution and the preservation of the rich heritage bequeathed to us by the Fathers.

Another thing is settled forever by this election. Many good citizens have feared trouble in this State, but the fearful may rest assured that the goddess of Peace will still continue to shield the golden State with her protecting wing. The majority against secession, in any of its multiludinous forms, is too overwhelming to suffer treason to rear its head in this fair land.

Young Oregon first proclaimed for the Union, and California now sends to her northern sister greeting, proclaiming the Pacific Coast true as steel, and firm as the everlasting hills for the Government and the execution of the laws over every inch of vast area of territory, from the cold northern lakes to the tropical gulf, and from the stormy Atlantic to the golden shores of the placid Pacific.—*R. B. Independent.*

NEW ERA IN JOURNALISM.—The New York *Herald* is about to be supplied with type setting machines as substitutes for compositors! Twelve of these machines have been ordered by Bennett, at $1 500 each, and they are to be put into practical working order as fast as they are completed. It is computed that the *Herald* will save a hundred dollars a day by the change. The type-setting machine alluded to is a great curiosity, and "distributes" type with as much celerity as it can "compose" and "justify." The inventor wasted twenty years of his life and all his means in perfecting his idea, but could get no capitalist courageous enough to assist him in bringing the machine properly before the public. When he had thorougly beggared himself he died—but still protesting that in a few years his invention would completely set aside the employment of compositors and make the fortune of his descendants. The latter part of his prophecy seems to be in a fair way to meet with something like a realization, for after lying by, as idle rubbish, for several years in a warehouse, the machine accidentally arrested the attention of an enterprising printer. He examined it. He procured several moneyed men to enter into a speculation with him. He secured patents all over the world. He prepared the materials for manufacturing the machine, and *vrila!* what was worth *nichts* a short time ago is now selling at $10,000 a share!

IN one of the Irish provincial journals there is an advertisement running thus:

"Wanted, a handy laborer, who can plow a married man and a Protestant, with a son or daughter."

WHEN we behold a beautiful mother with her lovely children around her, we are reminded of those trees which blossom in October, and whose fruit and blossoms are on the bough at the same time.

HARRIET MARTINEAU'S REMINISCENCES OF VIRGINIANS.—Martineau contributes to the last number of *Macmillan's Magazine*, some reminiscences of her conversations when in America, in 1835, with Chief Justice Marshall and Mr. Madison, then the surviving representatives of the old ideas of Virginia. She says:

When I knew the Chief Justice he was eighty-three—as bright-eyed and warm hearted as ever, while as dignified a Judge as ever filled the highest seat in the highest court in any country. He said he had seen Virginia the leading State for half his life; he had seen her become the second and sink, I think, to the fifth. Worse than this, there was no arresting her decline if her citizens did not put an end to slavery; and he saw no signs of any intention to do so, east of the mountains, at least. He had seen whole groups of estates, populous in his time, lapse into waste. He had seen agriculture exchanged for human stock breeding; and he keenly felt the degradation. The forest was returning over the fine old estates, and the wild creatures which had not been seen for generations, were re-appearing; numbers and wealth were declining, and education and manners were degenerating. It would not have surprised him to be told that on that soil would the main battles be fought when the critical day should come which he foresaw.

To Mr. Madison despair was not easy. He had a cheerful and sanguine temper, and if there was one thing rather than another which he had learned to consider secure, it was the Constitution which he had so large a share in making. Yet he told me that he was nearly in despair, and that he had been quite so till the colonization society arose. Rather than admit to himself that the South must be laid waste by a servile war, or the whole country by a civil war, he strove to believe that millions of negroes could be carried to Africa, and so got rid of. I need not speak of the weakness of such a hope. What concerns us now is that he saw and described to me, when I was his guest, the dangers and horrors of the state of society in which he was living. He talked more of slavery than of all other subjects together, returning to it morning, noon and night. He said that the clergy perverted the Bible, because it was altogether against slavery; that the colored population was increasing faster than the white; and that the state of society was such as barely permitted society to exist. Of the issue of the conflict whenever it should occur, there could, he said, be no doubt. A society burdened with a slave system could make no permanent resistance to an unencumbered enemy; and he was astonished at the fanaticism which blinded some Southern men to so clear a certainty. Such was Mr. Madison's opinion in 1835.

NEGROES LOVE THE SOUTH.—Gen. Hunter has recently written a letter in which he says:

None of the carefully fostered delusions by which slavery has sustained itself at the North, is more absurd than the bugbear of "a general migration of negroes North," as a necessary sequence of emancipation. So far is this from being the fact, that although it is well known that I give passes to all negroes asking them, not more than a dozen have applied to me for such passes since my arrival here, their local attachments being apparently much stronger than with the white race. My experience leads me to believe that the exact reverse of the received opinion on this subject would form the rule, and that nearly if not quite all the negroes of the North would migrate South whenever they shall be at liberty to do so without fear of the auction block.

LIBERTY OF SPEECH NOT A LICENSE FOR TREASON.—A writer in the *Bulletin* says:

While we allow liberty of speech in all else, let us allow no man the liberty to revile his country. Above all, suffer not our country to be traduced by ingrates who owe all they have and are to our institutions. In times of war and treason, it is no time to parly with traitors, and every compromiser, croaker and libeller of the Government or its faithful officers, should be put down with Jacksonian vigor becoming Americans. I trust that the newly appointed U. S. Marshal will not only esteem it a duty but a pleasure to suppress such publications as are issued in this State reflecting treasonable ideas, designed to prepare the public mind by their insidious working for future fruits of treason. Quotations from some of these professed Union sheets might be deemed acceptable in Dixie, but in loyal California the articles are rank treason, and why they are permitted it is difficult to imagine. Does any one think that in Secessia they allow a like expression of Union sentiments by any of the press of their dominions? We have Parson Brownlow's evidence to the contrary. The North has been used to this thing long enough, and if General Wright, or some proper officers of the General Government, would give the matter some attention, they would be of some service to their country and suppress a nuisance that is offensive to the nostrils of the people.

THE SCARE-CROW "ABOLITION."—Rev. Mr. King in his excellent lecture "The New Call of Patriotism," thus tersely alludes to this parrot cry of secessionists and their sympathizers:

There is no danger that after the war is over if we are victorious, the rebel masses will not be treated leniently enough. But mercy now means make the war short; and to be short it must be stern, restrained only by the fundamental laws of civilization. Let us be done wincing before the word "abolition." Let us give it a wider meaning, and bind it on our foreheads, saying, "we stand for the abolition of the rebellion; for the abolition from the continent, of the leaders of it; for the abolition of the corner stone and foundation of the conspiracy which has attempted to abolish the American flag."