

Speech of Hon. Alexander Long, OF OHIO.

We copy from the Cincinnati Enquirer, of the 9th of July, the speech of Mr. Long at the reception accorded to him by the people of the Second Congressional District of Ohio. The meeting was held eight miles from the city of Cincinnati, and was composed of large numbers of farmers as well as residents of the city.

Hon. Wm. Corry delivered the reception speech, from which we make the following extracts, and regret that we have no space for the whole of his remarks:

Freedom and Fair Dealings of Ohio.

It was eminently fit to invoke the blessing of God on this scene. It is seldom there is such a union of heavenly and earthly blessings—a faithless day, and such an organized assembly. We are assembled to do honor to our worthy representative by a public reception; and I am the organ of the constituency who are bent earnestly on this duty, and who desire me to speak, surrounded with these emblems. Here are the stars and stripes—thirteen—and thirteen as they went through the revolution. But here floats an inscription over my head which is the key-note of this grand occasion, "Peace, and for State Rights." The last ten syllables explain alike the victory and the institutions of our fathers. States' Rights is the vital spark of the Federal system; to extinguish which is to destroy it. It is the ancestral creed, "Peace" is the device of heaven itself, and if the white-winged and dove-eyed angels preside over such scenes, they would feel that they might slumber among their fellows as mortals sleep when the day is done. But to the occasion itself.

Fellow-Citizens: We come to do ourselves honor in honoring Alexander Long, Congressman of the second district of the sovereign State of Ohio. He was not only our proxy, but our true representative in all he so boldly spoke for peace in preference to the extermination of the Southern people, and for the immediate termination of the war. He has been censured for this discharge of duty. We are here to share the censures with him, by solemnly assuming the very same responsibility.

Sir, you have done more than simply discharge your duty. That would have been enough, but by your good fortune you have gone much further. The thickening elements of opposition to Lincoln and despotism were powerless and feeble, until your peace speech in Congress, like a great lamp in darkness, showed our feet the way of escape from the cave of Polyphemus; and you are the glorious pioneer, who, by a stroke of genius, has saved his country. What was considered hopeless, has become feasible; and what you first announced three months ago, is now popular; it is what half the people believe, if they dared to say it; and what all will ultimately perceive to be their greatest good, and their highest duty; the only solution of terrible crises in human affairs is your own discovery. And for this we honor Alexander Long.

With your position as public and recognized benefactor, surrounded with a large and increasing body of friends; the founder of a new and noble policy, which has already legions of Christian professors in our own Democracy, and in the nations of civilized Europe, we should first of all congratulate you that the reward of integrity has trodden on the very heels of the heroic deed which proved it. Nothing could crown the most protracted career with a higher trophy than you had won at the outset. Let it be the glorious first step in a public life, which we ardently hope may be long and happy and illustrious.

Fellow-Citizens, we may well also congratulate ourselves that our implicit trust in our member's virtue and intelligence should have been so entirely vindicated. We took up a young advocate from the walks of his profession, who had made his way entirely through obscurity, poverty and self-denial, from the plough, the village school, first as pupil then as teacher, but who belonged first and last to the ranks of the people; and we gave him our consent to represent this large and important district in the Federal councils at a time when veterans quailed, and statesmen only saw the right to pursue the wrong.

MR. LONG'S SPEECH.

When this distinguished champion of Freedom and leading advocate of peace presented himself on the platform, the vociferous applause which greeted him excelled anything of the kind we ever witnessed. After the cheer upon cheer had subsided, Mr. Long commenced as follows:

Mr. Chairman and Fellow-Citizens: It is not in the power of language for me to express the deep sense of gratitude I feel in listening to the eloquent terms in which you, sir, (turning to Mr. Corry,) have referred to myself, and at beholding this demonstration of popular opinion; and, sir, although you have endeavored by the power and force of the English language, of which you are so perfect a master, to attribute it to myself personally, I am not vain enough for one moment to believe it is so intended. It is the true expression of popular sentiment in favor of a principle, which, by your suffrage, and your kind partiality, my fellow-citizens, I have been enabled to give utterance to in the councils of the nation. It means Peace; peace upon the best terms it can be obtained, that would be satisfactory to honorable men, but in any event, peace, even if it costs the recognition of the separate and sovereign independence of the Confederate States.

I am deeply grateful for this manifestation of approval of my course upon the all exciting question of the day—a question that sinks in insignificance all the events of our past history.

I see before me the representative men of a large portion of my constituency—men whose esteem I highly prize, and for whose political judgment I have always had the greatest respect and regard.

In pronouncing for peace, which is a pain-

ful but stern necessity, upon the basis of recognition of the States composing the Southern Confederacy, although I would make any personal sacrifice to induce them to renounce such a thing were possible, to the principles of 1776, expressed in the Declaration of Independence; that all just governments derive their power from the consent of the governed, I was fully aware that I took upon myself great personal risk and hazard.

I know that for the last three years freedom of speech and the press had been, to a great extent, suppressed, and that most of the constitutional safeguards which formerly surrounded the people and the Representatives in Congress had been broken down. I knew that in declaring against further prosecution of this infamous war I should subject myself to the frowns of arbitrary power—a power far greater than ever raised its head before upon this continent—a power, relentless, inexorable, and unscrupulous—having a million of bayonets at its back and disbursing billions of what passes for money per annum—a power supported by a influential public press and by a most mighty and potent organization among the people.

The prisons and dungeons of the country, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, bore melancholy evidence of the penalty this despotism had visited upon those brave and courageous men who before had dared to condemn its policy and publicly express a disagreement of opinion with it.

Had I consulted my personal ease and sense of security, to say nothing of my personal interest, I should have remained silent, and not given expression to my sincere and conscientious convictions. In this war, from the beginning, the friends of peace have been threatened with severe punishment, by mobs, or by the Government, if they continued faithful to their conscience—and they have been rewarded with money, with office, with contracts and patronage, if they would apostatize and become the blowers of the war trumpet, and be the minions of power.

The weak, the corrupt and the vacillating went over to the ranks of the Administration. It is the good fortune of those who, upon those terms and at those risks, pronounce for peace, that they have no hypocrites among them, and that no better evidence of honesty and sincerity can be afforded than to oppose this contract-giving and thievingly corrupt dynasty.

I remembered that I was the representative of a brave and patriotic constituency, and that it was my duty to pronounce in their behalf, what I believed to be true, upon the floor of Congress.

So great has been the excess of power by this Administration, so bold and audacious its violation of everything connected with personal liberty, that I presume you were not surprised when, for thus delivering my views and yours, I was threatened with the punishment of expulsion from my seat in the House.

Indeed the time has long since passed when anybody should be astonished at any outrage this Administration commits upon public liberty and personal rights.

That the Honorable Speaker of the House should be the mover of this disgraceful, unjust and anti-constitutional resolution of expulsion will forever remain upon the pages of our constitutional history as another remarkable evidence of the blindness of party rage and the terrible vices of political passion.

It will not be expected that I shall now refer in detail to the doctrines I have advocated as your representative upon the floor of Congress, during the eventful session that has just closed.

You are familiar with my position, and I rejoiced to know, as I have been informed by the eloquent gentlemen who has just spoken in your behalf, that it meets with an approval at your hands, and finds responsive hearts in the bosoms of the intelligent and patriotic constituency which I have been so highly honored as to represent.

Three months have passed on yesterday, since, as your representative, I assumed the responsibility of declaring the deliberate convictions of my judgment, in support of the principles and doctrines I then asserted, in opposition to the further prosecution of the war for the coercion of sovereign States, by the use of such arguments as God had entailed me to employ, and I stand before you to-day to say that they are true; true and unchangeable as the hills are everlasting.

The lapse of time, subsequent events and much additional reflection, have only served to convince me of the justice of the views I then expressed.

That there is no other alternative in this war than subjugation and extermination of the Southern people on the one hand, or the recognition of their Confederacy on the other, is beyond question; and how can any sensible, humane and liberty-loving man hesitate in preferring the latter? Every day's bloody experience and slaughter only serve to show that there can be no other termination of the contest.

The terrible evils to us as well as to them, of subjugation and the unparalleled cruelty of extermination, are so well known and appreciated, that it is hardly necessary to allude to them to this audience. I would fain believe that those who cry out for the extermination of eight millions of Christian men, women and children, the descendants of those who fought with us in the war of Independence, are either insane, or in the heat of passion give vent to a feeling that they would be the last to carry into effect. If they are sincere and sane, they are monsters who would be too highly honored by terming them fiends, their idea is as impossible as it is wicked and devilish.

Two friendly republics having a common ancestry, common glories and recollections, lying side by side—having a laudable emulation in running the race of national freedom, prosperity and greatness, are infinitely preferable to one proud and splendid but gloomy despotism, resting like a dark shadow upon the future of the American continent.

When Mr. Lincoln called upon the non-seceding States to furnish him seventy-five thousand men, to be used against the States which had seceded, he announced, in effect, his intention to destroy the old Government; and when certain of the States acceded to his

demand, they declare also that they were willing that it should be destroyed. None of the conditions requisite to make a revolution in the government complete were wanting. The officers of State whose sworn duty it was to protect and defend the old Government, forsook it, and the people abandoned it. From that moment it ceased to exist, and we have been living for more than three years, under a new Government, a Government necessarily despotic because, the Constitution being set aside, the man who rules over us is absolutely without restraint of any kind, except that imposed by his own will. We have not even the benefits of those restrictions upon power, which in other absolute Governments have been imposed by ancient and long established usage. Our lives, liberty and property are wholly at the mercy of Abraham Lincoln. The thirteen colonies, while dependent upon Great Britain, were wholly independent of each other, existing under separate charters, or royal grants, and having each its own Governor, Legislative Assembly and Court of Justice.

When these colonies declared themselves independent of the Mother Country, they each became a separate and independent State or Nation, and were subsequently recognized by name as such in 1783, by the only government interested in the denial. The articles of confederation which were entered into by the State governments during the revolutionary war of 1777, remained in force until the adoption of the Federal constitution, which went into operation in 1788. It did not impair the sovereignty of any one of these States or nations, any more than did the offensive and defensive treaty of France and England, in the war with Russia, diminish the sovereignty of either of those nations. The Federal Constitution, as framed by the Convention which met in Philadelphia on the 26th of May, 1787, did not, nor have any of the amendments subsequently made thereto, impaired or taken away, sovereignty from any State by which it was adopted.

The people of each State retained their separate existence and nationality, as completely after they had severally adopted the Federal Constitution as before. There was in the Convention—as appears by the Madison papers, and as we are informed by Luther Martin in his address before the Maryland Legislature—a semi-monarchical or consolidated party, and this party was of course in favor of centralization, but when it found, as it soon did, that the semi-monarchical idea was wholly impracticable in the then state of feeling, both in and out of the Convention, it abandoned along with it the idea of consolidating a territory so vast, with so great a variety of soil, climate, production and material interests, and in which the habits and character of the people in the different locations must differ so widely under one Republic, as an absurdity too great to be contemplated for an instant.

Two separate attempts were made in the Convention to consolidate. The first, by Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, who proposed in his sixth resolution to confer upon the Government of the United States the power to create a dispositive or refractory State. The second, by Patterson, of Pennsylvania, who submitted a similar resolution, though couched in different language.

The folly and dangers of these resolutions having been fully exposed in the Convention by Madison, Hamilton, Mason and Martin, they were voted down unanimously, each State casting one vote. These were the only attempts which were made in the Convention to consolidate the people and to transfer their sovereignty to a new nation, proposed to be created by the Convention.—Their failure was most signal and complete.

The Philadelphia Convention was a body of delegates from each State, only authorized to draft a Constitution, and not empowered to give it the least validity. The draft of the Federal Constitution was reported by Washington to the Confederate Congress, and by its order submitted for adoption to the people of the separate States, as a separate community or nation, and, of course, derives all its powers, within a State, from the consent of the people thereof, to whom it occupies the same relation as that held by their separate State Governments.

The conclusion to which I arrive is, that the people of each State constitutes substantially a sovereign nation, that each one, by the adoption of the Federal Constitution, created for itself two distinct Governments or agents, upon each of which it conferred certain specified powers, and that the powers of one or both of these agents may be revoked by the people of any State themselves whenever, in their sovereign will, such revocation may become desirable.

Having, as I think, shown that each State is really sovereign, and that this is the main principle, the very cornerstone of our system of government, it necessarily follows that the call of Mr. Lincoln for seventy-five thousand men, and the acquiescence of certain States in that call, the men to be used in a war against States which had asserted their sovereignty, and solely because they had asserted it, was not merely an infraction of the Constitution, but a total nullification of such instrument—it was a stab at the heart of our political system, and created an overshadowing centralized power. My fellow-citizens, beware of centralized power. It was the great source of anxiety to our revolutionary fathers when they created our Federal system. There was nothing which they so much dreaded and against which they put so many safeguards in the Constitution.

Centralization of power does not lead to despotism, but it is despotism itself. The Federal Government is the agent of the States. It was created by the States, with a few well defined, delegated and limited powers, and was forbidden by the States to exercise any authority not expressly conferred by them. The great mass of power was left to the States, who are the principals to the Constitution compact.

It is the great effort of this Administration, and it will be the result of this war if it is not speedily stopped, to reverse all this, to destroy permanently, all State sovereignty and local jurisdiction, and make the Federal Government as omnipotent and supreme as that of Austria or Russia, which even now are its only patterns. It may be a splendid

and powerful despotism, but splendor and power for the few are but a poor consolation for the impoverishment and degradation of the many, and for the loss of all their liberties, all that ennobles life and dignifies manhood.

The States when they created the Federal system, as I have already shown, expressly refused to confer upon it the power to coerce a sovereign State, or party the compact.

No one then dreamed or supposed that after this explicit refusal to place this power in the hands of the Federal agent that the latter would ever have the temerity and audacity to seek to exercise it without such a delegation of authority.

If it had been so believed not one single State would have ratified the Constitution and joined the Union.

This no one will deny, who is conversant with the debates in the Federal and State conventions that ratified the Constitution. Force and coercion of a State were out of place and inappropriate in the form of government they designed—a form resting entirely upon the mutual consent of each and all the parties to the compact. No Union but a voluntary one could be republican, and they would have no other. North Carolina and Rhode Island refused to come into the Union, and were treated by it as separate and independent nations. If George Washington had been Abraham Lincoln, (and I ought to ask pardon for thus coupling their names together,) he would have collected an army and invaded those States, who, parties to the Union under the articles of Confederation, refused to be members of it under the Constitution that colleagues had formed; and he would have sought by force and civil war, to have made a hated and detested Union—a Union only in name, but not in fact.

General Washington was a statesman as well as a patriot, and the men of his day would have almost unanimously spurned any attempt to bring into the Confederacy an unwilling or conquered State. The new lights of Abraham Lincoln had never burnt upon their vision.

Fellow-citizens, of all the wild vagaries that ever afflicted a reasonable and intelligent man, the idea that this voluntary union of equal and sovereign States, which had been sanctioned by alienation of feeling between them, could be restored by the power of the sword and the bayonet and by a gigantic civil war is the greatest.

Posterity will wonder that a madness so extravagant and palpable could ever have seized hold of an intelligent and civilized people.

The madness combined with the fanatical and unnatural idea of placing the negro upon the level with the white has deluged this land in blood, has impoverished us with debt and taxation, and destroyed the constitutional liberty bequeathed to us by our ancestors.

Calamities of which we previously had no conception have been visited upon these unhappy States which have already expiated in sorrow and misery the consequences of the mad and fanatical policy of their unfortunate and insane rulers.

The question for us now, my fellow-citizens, to consider, is: whether we are willing that this state of things shall continue, whether this new Government set up by Mr. Lincoln in place of the old free Government shall remain, or whether we can overthrow it in its turn at the elections, and re-establish in the remaining States in its place the Government of our fathers.

I confess to you that this to my mind, is a question of great doubt; yet I believe that if the proper effort is now made, and if the great conservative element which exists among the masses of the people, and is on the increase daily, is now given an opportunity to unite upon a clear, positive and unmistakable platform for peace; immediate peace upon the best and most honorable terms it can be obtained, but peace, the man who now rules by the power of his own will, and the multiplied thousands who swarm around him, in and out of office, and who have grown rich upon the spoils, and the heart's blood of their countrymen has been and still is being poured out like water, can be hurled from power in the legally constituted mode, through the ballot box.

I believe the people, the great mass of the people, who neither hold office or are in any way benefitted by government contracts, or government patronage, are for peace; they have waited patiently for the end of this bloody contest, they have confidence in the promises so frequently made, that the end of the war was near, they have seen their sons, their brothers, their friends, their neighbors, and their countrymen go forth, either voluntarily or involuntarily, as each call has been made for more troops, and driven like bullocks to the pen to be slaughtered. They have borne up under the pressure of taxation, and were willing to make one more effort, at the opening of the campaign of the fourth year of the war, assured, as they were at the commencement of each previous campaign, that it only required one more effort to put down the "rebellion," and the war, and restore the Union.

But, alas! they have again been doomed to disappointment; they were soon advised of disaster to Banks and Steele in the Southwest. Instead of Sherman marching straight into Atlanta in the South, there is a protracted struggle, obstinate resistance, great loss and a doubtful result. Richmond is yet in possession of the Confederates, after two months desperate fighting, masterly flank movements, and the loss of over a hundred thousand men, and while we are assembled here to-day, Washington is again in danger, and the President calling upon New York and Pennsylvania for the militia of those States to save the Capitol. All this the people have been doomed to witness in less than three months, and before the campaign is scarcely half over. Not only this, but the people now wait in hourly expectation to hear of a new call for three hundred thousand more men to be drafted, and from which there is no escape by the payment of a commutation.

The question now presents itself squarely to the people: Will you allow yourselves to be all butchered, and the entire nation to become a common wrock, to perpetuate the power and gratify the insane and futile attempt of the man who now occupies the

place now filled by Washington, to inaugurate eight millions of people, whose offense, whatever it may have been, was simply putting into practical operation the doctrine advocated and taught by Mr. Lincoln himself, upon the floor of Congress, in a speech which he delivered on the 12th of January, 1846! See Congressional Globe and Appendix of that session, page 33, where he is reported as follows:

"Any people, anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have a right to rise up and shake off the existing Government, and form a new one that suits them better." * * * "Nor is this right confined to cases in which the people of any existing government may choose to exercise it. Any portion of such people that can may revolutionize, and may inaugurate their own mode of the territory as they inhabit. More than this, a majority of any portion of such people may revolutionize, putting down a minority intermingled with or near about them who may oppose their movements."

Now, my fellow-citizens, I repeat, shall the work of human slaughter and devastation go on until that same of fanatical folly and insane cruelty shall be reached—until the last dollar and the last man has been taken?

I cannot believe, in this enlightened Christian age of the world, it will be permitted, I say against it—I intend with God's help, to interpose my feeble efforts legitimately and constitutionally as become a good citizen in the way of its further progress. The fierce fiends of fanaticism, urged on by fawning sycophants, who count their gain by millions as the war progresses may bark at my heels, and the cowardly minions of power who fear open discussion, shut themselves up in loyal leagues and plot treason at midnight, may aim at my throat, but I despise them all. I would rather die a freeman than live a slave.

But, gentlemen, let me not be misunderstood. I counsel no violence, I advise no resistance to law or legally constituted authority, but obedience and submission thereto. There is yet a mode left us, whereby, as peaceable, law-abiding citizens, we may redress the many wrongs and outrages perpetrated by those in power, stop the wholesale slaughter and butchery now going on before "the last man" and "the last dollar" is reached, and reclaim and re-establish a portion at least of the liberty bequeathed us by our fathers and our grandfathers.

The first step to be taken is to declare for peace. Let it be bold, manly, dignified, but emphatic; so clear and comprehensive that the common-sense intellect cannot be mistaken. Let it be a declaration as positive as the Declaration of Independence, and let it be signed and adhered to with as firm a determination as executed the signers of that instrument, and the work is half done. Go to the people in this election upon the issue, war or peace, give them a free ballot, (and that they will determine to have if you will give them the issue of war or peace,) and I have no fear for the result. They are not willing to yield up their liberty and become slaves; they are not willing to see hundreds upon top of hundreds of thousands of their fellow-men slaughtered, merely to gratify the desire or perpetuate the power of any one man.

This is the issue I desire to see. In the name of all that is sacred, is it not highly time that this sanguinary and cruel folly should be arrested? Has reason entirely fled to British seas; and have the American people lost that sagacity and that intelligence for which they were once distinguished among the nations? Can it be possible that any considerable portion of them imagine that any possible good can result from the prosecution of this war and from further immolation before the bloody altar of Juggernaut? Do they not discover that in the vortex of ruin which the war has created, the material prosperity and wealth is sinking along with the proud American freedom which was once our boast and our pride?

From the administration of Mr. Lincoln no wisdom or common sense can be expected. It will continue to tread in the downward career of folly and crime in the hope that upon the bloody car of revolution which is churning the masses to death, if chiefs can ride to positions of imperial splendor and individual greatness, to the dark vista of the future there is not one single ray of hope. If the blessed sun of peace does not soon ascend the national horizon, and shed its effulgent rays upon our land.

Do not, my fellow-citizens, follow longer this worse than will of the wisp of Southern conquest and subjugation, which is leading the country deeper and deeper into the slough and mire of national degradation and ruin. Let us stand by the Democratic principle, that all just Governments derive their powers from the consent of the governed. Though everything else fails, let us have no other Union than that based upon the consent of each and every State composing it, and let us spurn with infinite disgust and abhorrence the idea of a Confederacy "pinned together by bayonets," and only sustained and upheld by arbitrary coercion and despotic powers.

ADMINISTRATOR'S SALE.—Having taken out letters of Administration on the estate of George O. Tarr, deceased, I will expose to public auction, at the late residence of said deceased, on Tuesday the 30th inst., the following personal property, viz: One first rate young Horse, one yoke oxen, cattle, sheep, and hogs, one buggy and harness, one or wagon, household and kitchen furniture, wheat, oats, hay, farming tools of every description. I will hire at the same time and place, Two Negro Boys and a Negro woman and three Children, until the 1st of January next. Terms made known on the day of sale.

All persons indebted to said estate are hereby notified to come forward and make payment; and all persons having claims against said estate are notified to present them duly authenticated for payment within the time prescribed by law, or this notice will be plead in bar of their recovery. T. CRANFORD, Administrator. Aug. 9, 1864, 31w.

MISPLACED GUN.—The subscriber lost his double-barrel Gun in Salisbury on the day the militia were ordered to meet in that town. It was probably an unintentional exchange of guns. The one he lost is a new gun, rather straight in the breach, silver mounted. The one he found in its place, is an old double-barrel, silver mounted, and roughly repaired by a blacksmith. He desires to recover his gun, and has left the one found in the place of his, at the Watchman Office, where the exchange may be made. JOHN RICE. Aug. 15th, 1864. 31w.