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"OUR COUNTRY-MAY, IT ALWAYS BE RIGHT-BUT RIGHT OR WRONG OUR COUNTRY." . .

VOL. 59.

the option of the Editor.

. CARLISLE, PA., THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1863;

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Jos-Panytino — Such as Hand-bills, Posting-bills Pamphlots Blanks, Labels, &c. &c., executed with couracy and at the shortest notice:

SPEECH OF GOV. SEYMOUR, At the Democratic meeting in the City of New Yorks on the 31st of Oct. 1863. FELLOW-CITIZENS: When I was invited to address my fellow-citizens in this condi tion of public affairs, I felt myself compelled to respond to that invitation. (Applause.) I feel that our country is in ex-treme peril, and I feel that it is the right and the duty of every man at this . moment to stand forth and do what he can to save the rights and liberties of the American people. (Cheers.) Upon a recent occasion when the President of the United States addressed an assemblage of his political friends, he said he knew of nothing in the Constitution that forbid him from so doing. On my part, I can find much in the Constitution of our country and the genius of our institutions that makes it the duty of every official at times like these to stand forth and official at times like these to stand forto and speak plainly, of public affairs. (Cheers.) One year ago. Lad dressed a vast assemblage like this in this very room. What has transpired since that time? Then the people of these United States, in response to an appeal which was made to them by its government, had just sent up 'six hundred thousand men to fill the armies of the Union. At that time we had a right to expect before twelve months should have passed away that we should have reached an end to the sad war which has carried desolation over our land and mourning into its homes. (Applause.) Since the beginning of this ar the administration has, at different times, called upon the people formally for nearly fourteen hundred thousand men.—
Wyo are advised that this call was more than responded to, for we are told that the north western States had, under the call made by the Conscription act, large credits which the Conscription act, large creates which were to be deducted from the amoint which they were to furnish under that act of Congress. Under the Conscription law itself, in addition to the thirteen hundred and seventy-five thousand men that at different times have been called into the service. demand was made for more than three hundred thinsand muce. I mean by this the taking into mecount the surplus which had been turnished by the Western States, and the femand made upon the Atlantic States, it would swell the calls hade upon this people up'to seventeen hundred thousand men-Within the last few weeks the President in addition to that, has called for three hundred thousand more, making a lotal of two million of men who have been demanted thus far in the pregress of this war, more than fourteen hundred thousand of whom have gone forth to the battle-field. (Cheers) When I addressed you one year ago the ar mies of this Union exceeded seven hundred thousand in numbers, and we are told by the President in his proclamation, and it well known to every intelligent man in this land, that our forces are insufficient for the purpose of putting down the rob liver; and now another additional call is made noon you, which, as I said before, counting the numbers contemplated by the Conscription act, and counting in those that are demanded by the President, will amount to nearly six hundred thousand men. The experi ence of this war has shown that every year wastes one half of our armies. This is now wed ascertained: It is ascertained from every source where inquiry has been made; it is our experience in this state; it is the experience of other states; it is a result which we have ascertained so accurately and precisely that we can lay it down as rule that every twelve monthswistes one balf of our armies. And who again our army shall have increased to seven hundred thousand men, or when, as one year ago, it numbered seven hundred thousand men, back day diminished its numbers by one thous and. And not say that all of these fell on the hattle field. I do not say that they all Languished and died in the hospitals. I know to iny of them returned to their homes; I know that their fates vary but what I do mean to say is this, that they were lost to the ar-mies of our country for the time being at least. Now in view of this monstrous waste of human life, and in view of another fact, that when this war began we were peo le free from debt and comparatively free from taxation, we find ourselves to day burdened with a debt which is variously es timated to be from filteen hundred millions to two thousand millions of dollars. Now, in view of this result, and in view of the fact that the war is not yet ended, I stand before you this night to address to you some considerations which seems to be of the utmost public importance—nay more, considerations which do not merely concern us as a nation in our relationships to the nation but which concerns every man within the sound of my voice inghis own person, affeeting his property, affecting his home, af-feeting all the dearest and most important relationships of life. (Applause.) Now however we may differ about other things, one thing all men must agree to, that there is an amount of debt which will lead to nutional bankruptcy. One man may fix the sum at two thousand millions, another at three, or another, perchance more sanguine at four thousand millions; but all men. I care not what their political views may be whether they are Democrats or whether they are Republicans, agree in this—that there is an amount of public indebtedness which, when it is once created, will be be-yond the ability of this people to pay. But more than that; in view of what I have already stated to you we all agree in another proposition, whatever our political views may be, that a continuance of this war will involve us in national ruin; for when I tell what has been the waste heretofore, every man will agree that there will be a time e may say a year from this, or another two, or another, perchance, three years; but we all agree in this-that there is it the path way on which we are traveling a point of time, which, if we reach it, if we do not save our Union and reach an honor, time, we will be involved in national ruin ("That's so." and cheers.) Now bear ese two points in view upon which we are all agreed. What, then, is the problem that we are compelled to solve? It is upor this that I mean to speak to-night. I wil forget the past. I will overlook all the wrongs that have been done to the great patriotic conservative Democratic party of ir hard. I will forget whatever of personal injustice may have been done to myself.

I say, for the time being, let the curtain fall over the past, and we will leave its trans-actions and events to the judgments of (a dispassionate future: and now at this time let us come forward and plainly, fairly and honesty, confront the questions of the day. Our country is in imminent peril. As I said before, if we continue on with this war without bringing it to a timely and successful conclusion, we are of necessity to be overwhelmed with bankruptcy, national ruin, social anarchy and disorder. (Applause) How, then, is this to be done? Now, we are agreed on all hands upon another point, Republican and Democrat alike, and this is, that our Union must be saved—(aplause)-our Constitution must be upheld I say upon this pointall are agreed, Republican and Democrat alike. I say that because I am in mood in this sad and mourn. ful hour of our country's distress to indulge in no harsh remark toward my political opponents—(applause)—yet I was mortified when I heard that the Vice President of these United States—(hisses and groans) perhaps in this very room, declared that he supposed "that there were men in this state who want the Union as it was and the Con-Applause and a voice—" Butcher Ham-lin.") Then we are seeking on all hands in.") Then we are seeking on all hands to bring this war to a successful result before, in the progress of time and events, we are overwhelmed with financial destruction. and national ruin. Shall it be done? That is the question before us. That is the question which we ought to confront, and if possible, solve at this time before we deposit our votes in the ballot-box. (Applause.) The proposition which I have stated, and which no man will gainsay, makes another thing clearer every day that rolls on. This expenditure, this waste of blood and treasure, brings us still nearer to the calamities to which I have alluded. I have stated wherein men of all parties substantially agree. Now, wherein are we divided? Why are we thus divided in opinion? Why at this moment in our country's peril is the public mind agitated by contention and by strife? It is this. We declare that we battle for the restoration of our Union, for the preservation of our Constitu-tion. We say that this war should be waged for that purpose and that purpose alone.—
(Applause.) Now, the radical portion of the Republican party say more than th s—
that this war must be carried on not merely for the restoration of the Union, not merely to restore the jurisdiction of the Constitution, but it must be carried on, as they say, to root out what they assume to be the cause of the war-the institution of slavery. Against that we protested, because it was deviating from that policy which was arrived at at the outset, declared with all solemnity by the President of the United States, and asserted by the unanimous vote of Congress. (Applause.) But that is not all. The radical portion of the Republican party, whose policy has prevailed in that party up to this time, declare now still another thing. -11 st this war must go on until the people of 11 south and the Southern States are subjugated; that ten states shall States are sunjugated; that the states such be trampled out of existence, shall be reduced to a territorial condition, and, touse the language of a sunator from New England, they demand subjugation. He said subjugation—that is the term. Now then what as the attitude of the two parties? We on our part, combat for that upon which the northern mind is united—the restoration of our Union and the support of our Concondition they were in before this anti-appy war broke out. (Applause.) Now, we are contending for that which is most easily obmuted people-most easily attained, bece declared before the whole world that such is the purpose of the government and you would have not only a united North but a divided South. I tell you there are hundreds of thousands at the South—ray, more, I believe that at this hour a majority of the Southern people, if they could re-turn once again within the fold of this Unon, and feel themseives protected by its Constitution, would again come back to their allegiance, and the blessings of peace ould a ain be restored to a distracted land. (Applause.) Now, no man, I care not what his political views may be, will deny this proposition, that it is more easy to bring this war to a successful result, by making it a war for the restoration of Unton and for the support of the Constitution, then by making it a war for subjugaon by making it a war that designs to t ample out the rights and lives of states, by landing it a war that substantially must change and modify the whole nature of our national institutions. (Appleause.) There is no man who will desy that upon this point we are more united: We agree upon this. There is no man who can deny that upon this point we could rally to our standard thousands of those who now stand in armed resistance against the government, because they tear the policy they will pursue, when they declare it is not the purpose of this government to restore the Union as it was, that would protect the constitution in all its terms. There we have this advantage over our opponents. We are contending for that which may be reached most easily and in the shortest space of time. We are and in the shortest space of time? We are contending for that which may be reached with the least possible waste of blood and the lives of the American people. Applause.) Now, then, there is no fair minded man who will stand up and say that it is as easy to subjugate the South as it is to appeal date the South. There is not a onsolidate the South. There is not fair minded man who will for a moment contend that it is not more difficult, more expensive, more uncertain, when we attempt what has rarely been accomplished in the his ory of the world, when we attempt to subjugate the people of the South, to reduce them to an abject condition, and to dictate to them the conditions under which they shall exist, and the more especially when the declaration goes out expressive of ex-treme antipathy and hatred. (Applause.) We all agree to this, that the continuance of the war is a waste of national life, a waste of the blood of our people, that it destroys labor, and drives men away from home, and not unfrequently drives them to other lands, that the prolongation of the war beyond a certain period of time brings national ruin. We of the Democratic party are in favor stopping the war at the earliest moments of time, in favor of whatever measure is cal-

culated to bring it to a successful result

while, on the other hand, it is clear that the apprehension of every man—of those who would go farther, those who would pro-

long the war for the purpose of subjugation, of carrying out the theory of centralization of government—are those who are increas-

alluded, are those who bring us nearer and nearer to the fatal abyss into which we must

be precipitated, unless, in some timely mo-ment, we bring the war to a just, proper,

and honorable conclusion. (Applause.)
It is clear to the mind of all we are con-

ed-that we, as a party, are pursuing a poli-

cy vastly more secure, vastly more safe, and far more calculated to preserve us from the cvils to which I have alluded. This na-

the Niagara river—above the mighty cataract itself; and while he is yet at a safe dis-

tance, or can save himself from the flood

which will carry him to destruction, he does

in is like a man floating above the falls of

he list of calamities to which I have

not avail himself of the means of escape that may be within his reach, and he goes near-or, and nearer, and still nearer, till at length he finds himself beyond the influences which might have saved him and he is overwhelmed beneath the flood when it is too late for him to withdraw himself from the calamity which must terminate his existence. (Applause.) We are not only contending for that which is most attainable, but for that which is most valuable. It may be said that although we admit in asking more than they ask in making further issues—in going for subjugation and centralization, in changing the characand centralization, in changing the character of the war—we ask what may be more difficult to attain; yet, when reached, will be worth all the cost of blood and treasure now spent. Let us he were this, for it is the true answer. Let us no me for a moment. If the war is brought to an honorable conclusion; if we can bring those by force of arms, and statesmanship, and conciliation, now in resistance to the governciliation, now in resistance to the govern-ment to return to their allegiance—when we have brought them to us by these terms -we have a basis indeed when we have brought them to this state of mind, and they will be consent to remain in the full enjoyment of their constitutional rights.— Now I assert that the people of the North are as deeply interested in preserving the constitutional rights of the South as the people of the South themselves are. You can have no peace in the land, while one-third of the people feel themselves wronged and injured, and trampled upon. Every man knows you can have no peace in the land un-less all the people stand on the same platform as regards their constitutional rights and privileges and enjoy equal terms in all respects, with reference to the government. But, on the other hand, suppose we spend more money, and blood, and treasure; suppose we encounter all the hazards of a prolonged war; suppose we are so fortunate, indeed so unfortunate, as to be able to subjugate the South-what then? I tell you jugate the South—what then? I tell you that such a peace as that is no peacein any sense of the term. (Applause.) Sujugation makes occupation necessary; it necessitates a waste of treasure; it keeps up the cost of the war; it demands the waste of blood, and treasure, and life of the people; for all know that life is wasted on southern for all know that life is wasted on southern soil, wasted under the southern son in moments of inactivity, as well as active service. Such a peace, if not a mockery and a snare to call it a peace, means what? That the people of the North are to maintain great armies; to send forever their sons under one perpetual conscription to hold their brethren of the South in subjection. (Applause.) If not conciliated, if not reconciled by generous treatment, what hope is the of peace? But what is the proposition? That they shall be held by military force at the expense of the life and treasure, ave, and at the end, at the expense of the liberties of the people of the North. (Appharse.) What would be our resolve under like circumstances? What man would be so mad who would dare to say, in the fice of the people—if perchance it had been our sad misferranc to be brought in collision with the government-that New York could be kept in the Union more easily and more securely by war, and confiscation than by giving her herjust rights, by conciliating her people, by restoring that love of Union and love of the Constitution which should ever death in the heart of the dwell in the bearts of the American citizens (Applause.) The great conservative party is contending for that, which is most easily gained, that which can be reached with the least expense of life, and blood, and treasnre. And, more than that, we are contending for that which when gained is far more valuable than the subjugation of American (Annhause.) I have told you what the cost of this war has been. Now, under the policy that has been declared by the radical leaders of the republican party, when will that cost end? It, in addition, you prolong the contest, increasing its cost, you make peace itself—that kind of peace that they would have—almost as destructive as the active war in which we are engaged. Now, we object further to the policy of the radical republicans, and those who control that party. They are not attempting to gain that which we believe to be attainable—not only attempting to waste more blood and more treasure, but they are not bringing to bear upon the contest some thing which is as great an instrumentality to secure success as war. They say in this hour of our country's peril, when we are now engaged in this war—when everything hangs, if you please, on the events of the battle-field—that they would put forth the evertion of every material power, and se do we. We will go with them in that, but we will do more than that. There they stop, and say, "force, force alone." Here we say we would superaid to force the power of conciliation. ("Good," and cheers.)
We would have wise statesmanship, we would have a liberal patriotism and an en-larged philanthropy that, rising above pas sion and above prejudice, should honestly and thoughtfully seek out the real good of the whole American people. Is there no power in this beyond the mere force of arms? No man is more impressed than I am with all the magnificence of battle's array; no man has been more impressed than I have been with our magnificent army, as I have seen them pass by me in vast numbers, with all the material strength they displayed, young men in the prime of life, full of vigor, full of ambition, full of daring courage; but high as I rank the armies of my coun daring, their patriotism, he has but an infirm mind who does not know that there are powers and influences greater than that o aterial strength. (Applause.) Is not wisdom more than strength? Is not virtue more than mere muscular power? Is not he wisdom-is not the Christian charity-

is not the earnest patriotism which at this time calls upon us to superadd something to

the power of force, greater than even material force itself? (Cheers.) Will the

preacher in his pulpit—who, alas, too many times forgets the character of his own relig-

ion-dare to stand forth and say that force

s better than Christianity ?-that force is

better than wisdom?—that force is greater

than influences which are generous, and

which should be exerted when they can be

which should be exerted when they can be exerted consistently with honor, and with the interests of our country? (Applause.)

Now, we tell you to what end and for what object we would exercise all these influences.

-as I said before, to the restoration bl

our Union and to the preservation of our Constitution. We stand, then, in compari-son with our friends of the Republican or-

ganization, on the advantage ground in every respect. We contend for that which we can attain; we contend for that which is far

better as a result than the one they seek;

we contend for that which will not only show

that as a people we are marshaled, and that

for that which will elevate us still higher in

the estimation of the world, in our own es-

planse.) But looking to this more closely, I contend that the radical leaders are not

only in this matter contending for that which

is less valuable when attained and contend-

ing for it at a fearful weste of life and of treasure, but they are doing that which is

who believes that when Chase came here at the outset of this war to call upon the city of New York for its treasures, if he had told them what he declares to-day, that they would have ventured one dollar in such an enterprise as that? ("No, no.") More than that—the proposition of subjugation contains within itself the proposition of repudiation and of constant conscription, because it is ill-faith towards the public creditor. It says to him: "We have now got your fifteen hundred millions of dollars, you have let us have it, trusting to the national honor and to the national wisdom." We understood that you meant to bring this war to a conclusion as soon as may be consist-ent with the purposes for which it was wag-ed—for the Union and the Constitution; we supposed there was some significance in the unanimous declaration of Congress when they adopted the Crittenden compromise; we supposed there was some significance in the declaration of the President of the United States when he had taken upon himself the solemn oath of office to support the Constitution and when he then declared that the only object of the war was to bring the states again to their proper allegiance. (Applause.) Now, every act that prolongs this war unnecessarily; every act that brings as nearer and, still nearer any point of time, to which all concede we will reach if we continue in that pathway; every if we continue in that pathway; every such act is an act of repudiation, and he who holds a government bond, when he sustains such a policy as that, says by his voic: "I want more debt in addition to that which we have got." (Applause.)—Will his community step forward and uphold a policy which has been declared here—that this war shall not stop when the Union is restricted, that this war shall not be ion is restored; that this war shall not be waged for the purpose of maintaining our Constitution, but it shall be waged for other purposes, not merely to destroy the government of the states—they have got beyond that—for we have the bold declaration that it shall go on until it destroys ten states themselves. That is now the propo-sition openly made in this city, and openly approved by the radical leaders of the Republican party. It was declared by Sumner and by Chase-(bisses)—and it was declared in meetings held in the New England ed in meetings held in the New England States. This rightfully calls out the indignation of the people, who embarked in this contest for the purpose of restoring the Union and for the purpose of upholding our Constitution. Now, I beg all of you to think of these propositions which, I have submitted to you; I beg of you to see if there is any escape from the conclusions that I have indicated. But that is not all. The war is not waged alone for the definite purpose which I have mentioned, but for the present it is carried on for a certain purthe present it is carried on for a certain purpose more indefinite than that. Why is it. that the northern mind is to-day distracted and perplexed? Why is it that we have not the community we had two years ago, when upon all hands it was said we were battling for the Union and battling for the Constitution ! It is that day after day we have new theories of government put forth and we are new invited to plunge ourselves into the bottomless pit of discussion on questions touching our government which have been settled by eighty years? experience, and which in tuth were settled by the plain letter of the Constitution, as it was written down by our fathers. Why we hear it said not unfrequently that one of the ends and objects of this war must be to make this government strong and centralize power. I am willing that our national government shall be made, as strong as hu-man heart and human skill and human wisdom can make it; but I do deny that this government is to be made strong it a infisdiction that it cannot exercise wisely and well. I insist doon it that the strength of this government depends not alone upon the powers that have been given to it by the Constitution, but its strength above all depends upon the powers that are withheld from it by the Constitution. (Applause.) Now our fathers meant, when they formed that Constitution, to teach us this that the government, to be strong; must bo founded upon the affections of th that they must act in accordance with their will and wishes to a proper extent. Men at Washington funcied that legislation would give them power, and they have tried the experiment. Now, what have been its results? for I want to call your attention, not only to the evils of that system to our whole country, but more particularly to the exils which have been brought upon our own great State. As I told you, I have not one word to say in defence of my self. I do not care what may be thought of me in such sad and solemn hour as this. (Applause.) No man lives who values the kindly regard and good opinion of all men more than I leve to have the affections, of my neighbor, whatever party he may belong to but at this moment, when the destinies of our country tremble in the scale, all personal passions are hushed and subdued within my heart, and I approach this question not as a man who cares for man sjudgment, but as one who in a few brief years is to give an account to Him who reigns above us all.— (Cheers.) I pass by unnoticed, ten thouand hasty words of reproach uttered a gainst me; but I nevertheless cannot pass gainst me; but I nevertheless cannot pass by attacks made upon this great and glori-ous State of ours. While I will not defend myself, I will defend the action of this State embracing, as it does, the opinions of men of all parties; and I wish to view that in oction with the subject which I before alluded to -- the evils of the centralization of power- the attempt now made in certain quarters to consolidate power at the general government, because recitals of the wrongs of our state will serve to illustrate the views which I mean to put forth. s it that when we have had victories, we have had no policy such as victory demandof this war there has never yet been put forth that which the common judgment and common sense of all mankind has ever demanded when nations will resort to the arbitrament of arms? What did our fathers say when they attempted to throw off the yoke of their allegiance? They declared that a decent respect for the opinions of mankind called upon them to state their wrongs and their purposes. And yet it is most remarkable that in this war, unparal-leled for its magnitude and its influence from its beginning down to this time, there his never yet been put forth by this government, except some broken promise, any distinct, clear enunciation of its policy, the end of which it meant to reach, and where it meant to stop. (Applause.) Why is it? I ask why is it? When we obtained such signal victories at Vicksburg and Port Hudson, all the world thought the contest was to be terminated? We were elated with our victories and those against whom we battled were depressed by their defeat. We called we will make our history glorious by our deeds upon the battle-field, but we contend upon the government at conventions at this en every motive of magnanimity honor and patriotism, demanded it, that they should come forth and offer terms to timation, and in that of all posterity, when we show that we are a people capable of magnanimous and generous action. (Apthe other party; that should restore peace to the land, not peace to them alone, but

eace to us - not peace alone to their homes,

but peace and happiness to our own homes

into peace and supplied to our blood, but our blood.

For the last three or four months you

all know that a cloud has rested up n the North as well as the South; that labor has

inconsistent with the nation's honor. Is been cheerful, when did not know how there a man within the sound of my voice soon it might be turbed from its home and should be devised by which every man

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all those it loved to an involuntary service in the distant battle-field. (Applause.) We asked that this same great and generous policy should be put forth, butour prayers were then unheeded. Why is that? Why were then unheeded. Why is that? Why is it that this war is so strangely prolonged? Why is it that in detriment and inju ry to the rights of the people it still rolls on? You may judge for yourselves. Eve-'ry man who is in favor of centralization, every man who is in favor of consolidation finds a motive in the views for the continuation of this war—for it is by the virtue of arms and armed force that power is consoli-dated and centralized at the seat of government. (Applause.) The doctrine of consolidation and centralization is of itself full of civil war and full of disorder and revolution. It is now proposed to strike out of existence ten states—ten states with a very large population—to deprive them of their representation in Congress until the party in power may see fit to restore them to their rights again. Look at our Constitution. It was never designed that the general government should have these vast powers. It was never designed that it should have the power to destroy the life of the states. What would be the inevitable consequence? New York, ever patriotic, ever generous, ever true, when this Constitution was formed, came forward and Constitution was formed, came forward and said it wanted to preserve the states, the lives of the states, and the rights of the states. She wanted not to preserve the rights of the states alone, but that the general government should not overleap its proper limits. Although at this time New York was one of the largest states of the Union and was destined to be the foremost state of the Union was destined to be the foremost. state of the Union, yet she declared in the convention that every state in both branches of the legislative department should have no more power than was given to the small-est state of this confederacy; but when in the end it was adjusted by allowing state representation in the Senate and popular representation in the House of Representatives, the delegates from the State of New York withdrew from that convention, be-cause they declared that it was a blow at the rights of the state to which they could the rights of the state to which they could not consent. But, notwithstanding, we did consent to this compromise, and gave to New England, with less population than New York, six times our voice in the government—a power that is now used for the purpose of injuring and ruining it. I tell you that a government thus constituted was never intended to exercise all the tranchises which you would now heap agron it. chises which you would now heap upon it. The change which it has undergone has revolutionized the character of the governa ment. The Senate of the United States is absorbing the power of the government.—Why, the President of the United States does not appoint the principal officers of state. He cannot appoint his own cabinet ministers. He cannot make for us a brigadier-genera' - (voices, "Busteed," and laughter) - without the help of the Senate. (Applause.) He is powerless without the co-operation of the Senate. Then the Senate controls the executive; but, more than that, the Senate, being substantially the ap-pointing power, and holding its terms of office for six years, controls the House of Representatives. In that branch of the government we find that the State of New fork has less than one-sixth, in proportion to the population, of the power that the New England states have. Now, heretofore we had the balance between the Northern and Southern states-we had something to protect us. The Southern were smalle states, and they did not always agree with the Northeastern states. New York was commercial; New England was manufacfactures and commerce, and thus situ ated all went well; we became a great and prosperous people. But now these gentle-nien, who have six times our power, cooly come to New York and say, we will des troy this balance. The practical result in the workings of our government is dangerous'and injurious to us. This is not merc speculation. Let us see what practical results have done. You all know the power will exercise itself. We all know that the twelve senators from New England, who look out for their respective states, have six times the power of the two senators from New York. I have no doubt that our senators do all they can to protect our rights. Nothing was more material than when we waged this war, and troops were drawn from the different states by quotas, that those quotas should be fairly adjusted But, more than that, when Congress de-clared that we should have a lottery for life and death, I appeal to every man within the sound of my voice, it it was not of vital consequence that such transaction should be equal, fair, and just. Let me call your attention to certain facts which are impor-tant to us, because they not only exhibit a great wrong, but they also expose the ten-dency to centralization, upon which it is important that the minds of the American people should be aroused. I found when I came into power that New York had furnished more than its duota of men-cubplause)—and had sent more than its share of forces into the field. The Northwestern States had done the same thing. They were in advance of New York. The Northeastern States were a little more patriotic in expression than we. You well know that there had been recruiting offices for New England in your city during the last two years. Now, we wanted to know how the account stood. It has never been fairly stated how many men these different states have sent-how the quota was made up. Under the Conscription act New York was called upon for sixty-eight thousand. We were told in flxing the number at that amount that the proper credit to which we were entitled flad been given.— Under the Conscription act When the draft was about to be made notices were sent to me showing the enrollment in the different Congressional districts here. When these returns were sent to me from time to time, I discovered that there was great inequality; that in one district in Brooklyn they called for five thousand, one in this city where they called for nearly five thousand, and one in the interior of the state where they called for fifteen or seven-teen hundred. I called the attention of the government to these things; I endeavored to have justice done. I had a correspondence with the President upon this subject -called by our friends upon the other side a very disorganizing correspondence. Why did they publish it? (Laughter and applause.) I never did so. If there was anything in that correspondence calculated to excite the popular mind, or distract it, the guilt of its publication does not belong to me. The correspondence was most respectful in its terms, most honest in its purposes because I wanted that instice should be done between the different districts. I asked that inquiry should be made as to this difference in the draft. I asked snother thing, and I never met' a man who did not say that it I never met a man who did not say was fair, and that was this: I sent to Washington and asked when the enrollment was made that it should be put up in some con-

ed at a triffing expense and placed in conspicious places wherever men could see

them. Another thing, I never met the man

should be known whose name was to be submitted to the wheel of fate. It was so done in certain districts, in others it was not done. But in no instance was an order sent forth to know that these things were fairly tried, and the names of the citizens fairly drawn. I appeal to any one if in an ordinary transaction of life, in a lottery, for instance, of a horse, would not the parties interested take care to see that it was fairly drawn 7 and yet the most solemn transaction in life-the most solemn transaction in the history of the world—when somebody's son—somebody's brother— some poor woman's husband is drawn—a case on which some 68,00 persons would be made unhappy—surely in a transaction of that kind every thoughtful man would say, in God's name let us have no complaints—no appearance of any injustice.—
That this was done we denied, and we were called had men. I soon began to discover that they were not only wrong in the Congressional districts, but they were wrong in every yay. I told you what New York had already done, and yet they told you that New York was deficient in her quota. Now, compare New York with Vermont. Vermont never furnished her proper number of men to the army, and yet in one of our congressional districts, Buffa-lo, there was a call issued for more gen-scripts that were called for in the whole State of Vermont. Whilst in all, or most of all of other congressional districts, there were deficiencies, New York gave a surplus average in the different congressional districts of twenty per cent, more than the New England states. Was that right or just? ("No, no,") Why was this? I do not charge the government that it meant to do you wrong; but I want to draw the lessons. son from the fact, and the most charitable conclusion I can come to is merely to show you the practical evils of centralization and consolidation on the representatives of the government. (Applause.) The New England States have twelve senators to elect, while New York; with a much larger poldation, elects two senators; and New York, in like proportion, has given all to this war; and she has been wronged, not alone of treasure, but robbed of her citizens and of the best blood of her sons, that which makes her great and glorious. Our observed the statement of the servers and glorious. makes her great and glorious. Our op-ponents say that they will not have the constitution as it is, nor the Union as oft was: And Vice-President Hamlin and others told you that we should not have the Union as it was. They do not tell you how it must be, but leave it all an uncertainty with the inture. Look at New York, the great commercial metropolis of the country, under ich by the trade and com-merce of the Western States; we act as the agents of other states, and grow rich and powerful. The trade and commerce reacts upon the country and all prospers. Is it prudent or fight to ask you to engage in revolution to bring round a consolidation and centralization of the government I do not want changes. I want New York to maintain her power. I am willing that little Rhode Island should stand forth as a State. (Cheers.) I am willing that New England, with her ten thousand glorious memories, should have all her power; but I am not willing to have a central and consolidated power established in the govern-ment. I am not willing to give a power thaf may be exercised to our detrument and to our destruction. (Applause.) No man who is a true friend to himself and the country will ever think of doing this. Every intelligent New Yorker must perceive such a system of consolidation and centralization must result in injury. It is said that centralization and consolimake the government more powerful; but I deny the proposition, and I assert that the power of the general government would be stronger resting on the Constitution than all the power it could employ by centralization. If you take a barrel you will find it is made strong and serviceable by the iron bands which bind it together. It is then of a certain capacity as a barrel, but if it should take it into its head to become a hogshead, with all its capacity, and to accomplish this would burn all its restraining bands and hoops, it would be neither a barrel nor a hogshe bundle of staves. (Applause.) When the bonds which keep government together are violated, when the restraining checks are cast aside, when the influences which hold it together, making it useful and serviceable, are destroyed, you have destroyed the general government itself. (Applause.) A gentleman lately asked me if the general government was not going to destroy the action of the states. I said no. Our states can live and will live in spite of all. You mayoroll over Ohio with your troops, you losult Pannsylvania, but the Keystone State will be the Keystone State still; and Ohio, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and every other sovereign state, will live and exist in all their vigor and truth. (Great applause.) But I said to these men, I do not fear for the states, but I do fear for the general government itself. They said they were tired of handing round this bat, and begging contributions of the states. I reminded them that, with few exceptions, the people of the northern states had given to the general government an immense army, and that, at that moment, I believed that they stood at the head of a greater martial powor than had ever been seen in the histor, the world. Whence did it come? Fr cen in the history of the world. Whence did it come? From the country and the city. Their sons came up to save our Union, and to battle for the flag of our country. (Applause.) These men were vested with that mighty power built rating of the proper but they formed. by all parties of the people, but they forgot whence it came. They said they would no longer consent to pass round the hat and the subscription-box, and they passed the Conscription act. I begged them not to adopt that measure; I warned them of their folly; I implored them to allow us to go on and raise troops as heretolore; I pointed them to the proud history of New York and what she had done for the country.— But they would not listen. An enrollment was made, and the measure was attempted to be put in execution. After the sad e vents which had followed. I again appealed to the President to give time to raise the quota, and was told that in this city which a few weeks before, had sent forth its sons a few weeks before, had dent forth its sons to save this nation's life, protect Pennsylvania, and save the capital, this poor request could not be granted because there was not time. There was time enough given for every western state, but there was no time for us in this state. None of them were called upon till after election. Not one of them had any surplus at the beginning of this deaft. Look at the attitude of ning of this draft. Look at the attitude of New York. Let me tell you what the surplus has been. Not only had the surplus gone out this year which was produced by the energy of my predecessor, but since the first day of January last, the State of New York has raised more than 16,000 volum eers -more than has been obtained by the draft (Cheers.) But beyond that there came a midnight cry of help. They asked me doubtfully and distrustfully when they made spicuous place. That is the habit in regard to the census. It is put up all over the country. Why, when this enrollment was made out, slips might have been printa call, whether under the Constitution they

lege. New York was to do what she did do—animate other states. What took place? The battle of Gettysburg—one of the most bloody that was ever fought on the face of the carth. For four long days did it rage, until at length it was decided by the withdrawal of our enemies, and the national capital was safe. (Applause.)—Do you think that the sixteen thousand that New York has sent forth could have been spared? They were not all upon the battle-field, but they occupied positions that relieved men who were there. They gave courage to the soldiers and alarmed the enemy. Now I say it is not claiming too much for our own citizens—that the milling too much for our own citizens—that the milling too hand Rochester and Boffalo; who saved with the the time the with the w tiamen of the cities of New York and Brooklyn, and Rochester and Buffalo, who saved
us that battle—with the volunteers that have
gone forth (not drafted men) since the 1st
day of January last. New York has sent to
the field 35,000 men (applause), and 1 be,
that that is a much greater number than
has been sent by all the other states of the
Union voluntarily. (Applause.) I do not
know this to be the fact, but I believe it to
be the truth. Then, why should New York
be denied the privilege accorded to other
states I. Why should we be compelled to
furnish an unique proportion of those who
go forth and sacrifice their lives on the battle field I But they say that the administhe field? But they say that the administration has been hindered in the prosecu-tion of the war by this state. I deny the not stone in my behalf, and in behalf of the Democratic party, but in behalf of the people of the State of New York—men of all parties and opinions. I believe that New York is the only state in this confederacy that without regard to the draft, passed a law giving bounties at all times to chose who enter the service of their country. who enter the service of their country.—
(Applainse.) The law was not passed by one party—it was the action of both. The last Legislature was equally divided. The Senate had a strong Republican majerity, and the bill could not become a law unless I wrote "approved" at the bottom. Therefore I do not speak for the party. I do not speak for mysell—except to have performed an obvious duty—but I do claim for this state, its own citizens its own journals, and its own orators, should not have been so untrue to it as not to have made these things felt through our land. Thus we stand herr, in these days it seems to me, in a position clearly defined. On Tuesday next you must decide for yourselves. You may be holders of government, securities, or it you are not you are tax payers, and have a deep and vital interest as citizens in your relationship to the government in bringing this war to a speedy and successful conclu-sion. You have a deep interest in the pre-servation of this Union. It must not perish You have been the agents of the Union and the trustees of the nation. I have come here from the country. I have been in the region west of the Mississippi, whence the humble farmer sends you his produce. As merchants, you are intrusted with the wealth of the nations. Your ships are loaded and sent to other parts and other climes, to being the state of the nations of the state of and sent to other parts and other climes, to bring back the products of all nature in exchange. You enjoy these privileges as the result of the Union. We therefore contend for it, are willing to put forth resolution for its restoration, but demand that when it is gained, it shall not be lost again to gratify any fantical or visionary theories. (Applause.) We say that, when the Condition is restored, and the Union shall for saved, this war must stop. For that we saved, this war must stop. For that we will put forth every effort and energy; but when we have reached it, this war must close—must not go on merely to gratify, visionary ideas. I appeal to you now then once more if we are not contending for that which ought to satisfy all; if we are not contending for that which can be attained; if we are not taking the course which shall save our nation from drifting on in the current which now leads us to national bankruptcy and ruin? Then I appeal to you, Republican friends, if your leaders have not attempted throughout this state to establish the doctrine that this war must go on till the Southern States themselves, are crushed out, and that they are to b by military power; that your blood is to be poured out for this object; that you are to have a state of war followed by a state of confusion. You have to decide on these things with reference to your interests, with reference to the aims of government, and with reference to the awful calamities which will fall upon you if the war is prolonged, till at last we are overwhelmed in the great vortex of bankruptcy. I am hope-ful. I cannot despair of the Republic.— (Cheers.) If men will not listen to reason, they must be taught by sad suffering. Whether the Union is to be gained how, or af er all this suffering. I will never ahap don the idea that it must be gained; thusiastic cheers.) No personal injustice, no insult, no wrong shall turn aside our steps one hair's breadth from the straight pathway of duty. We will contend for the Union and stand by the Constitution as our fathers framed it, and will maintain it.— Tremendous cheering.) We will for the flag of our country in all its integri-ty, and borrow the beautiful figure of anothit on all such occasions). When this war is over that blue field shall glitter with ever ry star that glitters now, and every star shall represent a state."

, in another state (it is so apt, that I use PUMPKIN PIE.—This is the season for pumpkin pies, and when well made they, are, to our taste at least, a dish 'fit to set pefore a king.' Whe following method of ingking them without eggs is recommended in ome quarters :

'Select a pumpkin which has a deep, rich olor, and firm close texture. Stew and sift in the "darry manner; add as much boilng milk as will make it about one-third thieser than for common pumpkin pie .--Sweeten with equal quantities of molescoss, nd bake about one hour in a hot oven. Norg.-Toose who will try this method will be surprised to find how delicious a pie can be without eggs, ginger or spices of any, kind. The milk heing turned hoiling hot upon the pumpkin, causes it to swell in baing, so that it is as nice as though eggs had

been used.

had a right to make it, whether I would do what I could to save. I responded at once

How Soon we Forger .- A leaf is torn from the tree by the rude gale, and borne, away to some desert spot to perish! Who misses it from amongst its fellows? Who is and that it has gone? Thus it is with huan life. There are dear friends, perhaps, who are stricken with grief when a loved one staken; and for many days the grave is watered with tears of anguish. But by and by the crystal fountain is drawn dry; the last drop nozes out; the storn gates of for-getfulness fold back upon the exhausted. pring; and Time, the blessed bealer of sorrows, walks over the closed sepulchre without waking a single echo by her footsteps.

The richest genius, like the most fertile soil when uncultivated, sho is up in the rank est weeds; and instead of vines and olives for the pleasure and use of man, produces to its slothful owner the most abundant crop of

and promptly, and I received their warmest thanks for doing it. I was urged to send at once, because it would give new spirit to The more the mercier, the fawer the the people of the other states. Then the army was not to be denied the little privi-

any adjust