

The Lancaster Intelligencer.

THE LANCASTER INTELLIGENCER.
PUBLISHED EVERY TUESDAY, AT NO. 8 NORTH DUKE STREET.
BY GEO. SANDERSON.
TERMS.—Two Dollars per annum, payable in advance. Single Copies, Five Cents. Advertisements inserted at the rate of \$100 per line for the first week, and thereafter at the rate of \$75 per line for each additional week. Those of great length in proportion.

more strongly with the rude scenes of martial life than did the glittering pretence and thin laquer of Congressional virtu contrast with the sterling loyalty and noble self-sacrifice of our country's defenders. I listened to debates full of bitterness and strife.

SPEECH OF HON. HORATIO SEYMOUR, Before the Democratic State Convention at Albany, N. Y., Sept. 10, 1862, on Receiving the Nomination for Governor.
Mr. President, having uniformly and decidedly expressed my unwillingness to hold any official position, at this time, I did not expect my name would be brought before this Convention. The nomination you have made subjects me to great inconvenience, whatever may be the result of the ensuing election. I came to this Convention expecting to aid in placing at the head of the ticket the name of one whom I feel to be more fit than myself for that honorable position. But, sir, whatever may be the injury to myself, I cannot refuse a nomination made in a manner that touches my heart and fills me with a still stronger sense of my obligations to this great and patriotic party. In addition, I feel a debt of gratitude to partial friends, I am impelled by the condition of our country to sacrifice my personal wishes and interests to its good.

Two years have not passed away since a Convention, remarkable for its numbers, patriotism, and intelligence, assembled at this place to avert if possible the calamities which afflict our people. In respectful terms, it implored the leaders of this great and patriotic party to resign their recent election to submit to the people of this country some measures of conciliation which would save them from civil war. It asked that before we should be involved in the evils and horrors of domestic bloodshed, those upon whom it would bring bankruptcy and ruin, and into whose homes it would carry desolation and death, should be allowed to speak. That prayer for the rights of our people was denied and denounced and failed. Insurrections were given that there was no danger. The storm came upon us with all its fury—and the war so constantly and clearly foreshadowed, desolated our land. It is said no compromise would have satisfied the South. If we had tried them it would not now be a matter of discordant opinion. If these offers had not satisfied the South, they would have gratified loyal men at the North, and would have united us more perfectly.

Animated by devotion to our Constitution and Union, our people rallied to the support of the Government, and one year since showed an armed strength that astonished the world. We again appealed to those who wielded this mighty material power, to use it for the restoration of the Union and to uphold the Constitution, and were told that he who clamored for his constitutional rights was a traitor.

The Congress assembled, incarcerated in the conduct of public affairs, drunk with power, it began its course of agitation, outrage, and wrong. The defeat of our arms at Manassas for a time filled it with terror. Under this influence it adopted the resolution of Mr. Crittenden, declaring:

"That the present deplorable civil war has been forced upon the country by the secession of Southern States, now in arms against the Constitutional Government, and in arms against the Capital; that in this National emergency, Congress, having the dignity, equity, and safety of the several States unimpinged, and that as soon as these objects are accomplished the war shall be discontinued."

Again the people rallied around the flag of the Union. But no sooner were their fears allayed than they began anew the factious intrigues—the violent discussions and the unconstitutional legislation which ever brings defeat and disgrace upon nations. In vain were they warned of the consequences of their follies. In vain did the President implore forbearance and moderation. No act was omitted which would humiliate the loyal and patriotic citizens of the South. Every topic calculated to divide and distract the North was dragged into embittered debates. Proclamations of emancipation were urged upon the President, which could only confiscate the property of loyal citizens at the South; for none others could be reached by the power of the Government. The confiscation act had already forfeited the legal rights of the millions of men, and upheld the rebellion.

These were excited to desperate energy by laws which made their lives, their fortunes, and the safety of their families and homes depend upon the success of their schemes. From the dragon's teeth, sown broadcast by Congress, have sprung the armies which have driven back our forces and which now beleaguere the Capital of our country. The acts of the National Legislature have given pleasure to the solidists and victors of the Secessionists. But while treason rejoices and triumphs, defeat and disgrace have been brought upon the flag of our country and the defenders of our Constitution. Every man who visited Washington six months ago could see and feel we were upon the verge of disaster. Discord, jealousy, envy, and strife pervaded its atmosphere.

I went to the camp of our soldiers. Amid the hardships of an exhausting campaign—amid sufferings from exposure and want—amid those touching scenes of sickness, or those struck down by the casualties of war, I heard and saw only devotion to our Constitution, and love for our Country's Flag. Each eye brightened as it looked upon the National Standard with its glorious emblazons of Stars and Stripes. From this scene of patriotic devotion I went to the National Capitol. I traversed the mosaic pavements; I gazed upon its walls of polished marble; I saw upon its ceilings all that wealth lavishly poured out, could do to make them suggestive of our country's greatness and its wonderful wealth and varied productions. Art had exhausted itself in painting and sculpture to make every spot suggestive of high and noble thought and purpose. Full of the associations which cluster about this vast Temple which should be dedicated to patriotism and truth, I entered its Legislative Hall; there gilded walls and gorgeous furniture did not contrast

NECESSITY FOR PARTY ORGANIZATION.

An attempt is made to close the ears of our Republican friends to our appeals, because we act as a political organization. Can we do otherwise? Would not the disunion of this party, would not the disunion of our land, be looked upon as a calamity, even by our opponents? Did not a shadow fall upon our country when it was torn apart at Charleston; and do not men of all parties point to its disruption as one of the causes of this unnatural war? Is it not just we should have a representation in the State and National Government proportioned to our contributions to our armies and the treasury? If we elect all of our ticket at this time, we shall have more than our proportional share of political power. It may be said we should meet without regard to political organizations, and nominate officers. This destroys the object of such organizations. Let the two great parties be honest and honorable enough to meet in fair and open discussion with well-defined principles and policies. Then each will serve our country as well out of power as in power.

The vigilance kept alive by party contest guards against corruption or oppression. This maintenance is not needed when unbridled expenditures of money present unusual temptations to the corrupt and selfish. For another reason we cannot disband our organization. The Union men of the Border and more Southern States, without distinction of party, implore us not to do so. They tell us a triumph of our party now would be worth more than victories in the future. It would re-assure their friends, it would weaken their opponents. Every advantage gained or abolitionism puts down the rebellion. While they and we know that there are many just and patriotic men in the Republican party, it is still true that its success gives power and influence to the violent and fanatical; and that their party action always goes beyond their party platform.

Every fair man admits there is no way of correcting abuses but by a change of political leaders. We have learned that we demanded this when they charged abuses upon Democratic administrations. They should concede the principle now. Experience shows that frauds practiced by political friends are not punished by men in power. It is conceded that gross frauds have been committed in different departments of the government; that they have brought distress upon our soldiers, defeated our arms, and disgrace upon our people. Let the President of a friendly party, on the basis of a friendly power! Citizens in loyal States who became the object of suspicion or of malignant assaults, have been seized at their homes, dragged to distant prisons without trial and without redress, while each convicted plunderer walks freely and boldly among the people he has robbed and wronged. Maladministration demands a change of administration.

At this time, issues should be fairly and boldly made. It is no dishonor to be mistaken, but it is disgraceful not to be outspoken. Let this be at least one duty of questions of principle. A few months will decide who is right and who is wrong now, as the past two years have shown who were right and who were wrong heretofore. We are in favor of the rights of the State, as well as of the self-government; we are in favor of the general government, as well as of the National jurisdiction within its proper sphere.

While we thus meet as a political organization, it is not for partisan purposes. We can best serve our country in this National Convention. The President of the United States will bear witness that he has not been pressed or embarrassed by us. We have loyally responded to every call made upon us by constituted authority. We have obeyed all orders to reinforce our armies. When we were in power we denounced the higher law doctrine—the principles that men might set up their will against the statutes of the land—as treasonable. We denounced it when uttered by Northern men, we are combating it now when it is asserted by the rebellion at the South. We repudiate it by submitting to every demand of our Government made within the limits of rightful jurisdiction. This obedience has not been constrained but cheerfully rendered, even in support of a party and policy to which we are opposed. We have struggled to sustain not only the letter but the spirit of our laws. We feel that we have set an example of loyalty and truth, we have not lost upon those opposed to us. Having done our duty, we now demand our rights, and we shall at this time set in calm and fearless judgment upon the conduct of our rulers—Ours shall not be the language of discord and violence. We deplore the passionate and vindictive assaults of leading Republican journals upon those holding civil or military stations. Above all, we protest in behalf of our country's honor and dignity against their insubordinate and disrespectful language towards the President of these United States. Such language wrecks the authority of Government and tends to anarchy and public disorder.

For another reason we cannot disband our organization. No other party can save this country. It alone has clearly defined purposes and well settled principles. It has been well said in our Congressional Address, that under its guidance—From five millions the population increased to thirty millions. The Revolutionary debt was extinguished. The French war was successfully prosecuted, with a moderate outlay and small army, Texas were lost, waste were high, the South and the West, without an infusion of the Constitution, without an usurpation of power; without suppressing a single newspaper; without impairing the rights of the citizen; without limiting to the freedom of the press, or of speech in or out of Congress, but in the midst of the great war of both the North and the South, a single man, "through the Hartford Convention," by stirring up the war, and in the Convention invited the enemy to "direct our Volunteers with bloody hands and welcome them to our shores."

During all this time wealth increased, business of all kinds multiplied, property sold on every side, Texas were lost, waste were high, the South and the West, without an infusion of the Constitution, without an usurpation of power; without suppressing a single newspaper; without impairing the rights of the citizen; without limiting to the freedom of the press, or of speech in or out of Congress, but in the midst of the great war of both the North and the South, a single man, "through the Hartford Convention," by stirring up the war, and in the Convention invited the enemy to "direct our Volunteers with bloody hands and welcome them to our shores."

What is done on the battle field by the blood and treasure of the people, is undone by Senators. Half of the time is spent in factious measures designed to destroy all confidence in the Government, at the South, and the rest in annoying our army, in meddling with its operations, embarrassing our generals, and in publishing undigested and unfounded scandal. One party is seeking to bring about peace, the other to keep alive hatred and bitterness by insubordination to the Government. They want a man to cease from strife, but every fool will be meddling."

able, was not sent out with the endorsement of all your managers; and it is not true that now, when men blush to own they believe his statements, that its author is honored by an official station? It is for you only confessed by you all that you have been deceived with respect to the South. Who deceived you? Who, by false teaching, instilled contempt and hate into the minds of the people? Who stained our land with blood? Who caused ruin and distress? All these things are within our own knowledge. Are their authors the leaders to rescue us from our calamities? They shrink back appalled from the mischief they have wrought, and tell you it is an irrepressible conflict. They declare that our fathers formed a government which could not stand. Are such men the proper guardians of this government? Have not their speeches and acts given strength to the rebellion, and have they not also enabled its leaders to prove to their deluded followers that the contest was an irrepressible one?

But their leaders have not only asserted that this contest was irrepressible, unless the rebels still live and fight and hold their slaves. These measures seem to have reanimated them. They have a careless and reckless way of appropriating their lives and property, which by act of Congress belong to us, in support of their cause. But these fanatical men have learned that it is necessary to win a victory before they divide the spoil—and what do they now propose? As they cannot take the property of rebels beyond their reach, they will take the property of the loyal men of the Border States. The violent men of this party, as you know from experience, my conservative Republican friend, in the end have their way. They now demand that the President shall issue a Proclamation of immediate and universal emancipation! Against whom is this to be directed? Not against those in rebellion, for they come within the scope of Congress. It can only be applied to those who are loyal to the Union and our flag. They are to be punished for their loyalty. When we consider their sufferings and their cruel wrongs at the hands of the secessionists, their reliance upon our faith, is not this proposal black with ingratitude?

The scheme for an immediate emancipation and general arming of the slaves throughout the South is a proposal for the butchery of women and children, for the annihilation of the race of our country, and a murder unparalleled in the history of the world. The horrors of the French Revolution would become tame in comparison. Its effect would not be confined to the walls of cities, but there would be a wide spread scene of horror over the vast expanse of great States, involving alike the loyal and seceding. Such malignity and cowardice would invoke the interference of civilized Europe. History tells of the first kind in the name of a religion of atrocities committed under pretences of order or liberty; but it is now urged that shall be enacted in the name of philanthropy!

A proclamation of general and armed emancipation at this time, would be a cruel wrong to the African. It is now officially declared in Presidential addresses, which are fortified by Congressional action, that the negro cannot live in the enjoyment of the full privileges of life among the white race. It is now admitted, after our loss of infinite blood and treasure, that the great problem we have to settle is not the slavery, but the negro question. A terrible question, not springing from statutes or usage, but growing out of the unchangeable distinction of race. It is discovered at this late day, in Republican Illinois, that it is right to drive him from its soil. It is discovered by a Republican Congress, after consulting our country, with declarations in favor of his equal rights, and asserting that he was merely the victim of unjust laws, that he should sent away from our land. The issue is now changed. The South holds that the African is fit to live here as a slave. Our Republican Government denies that he is fit to live here at all.

The Republican party cannot save the country, because through the powerful press it teaches contempt for the Law, Constitution, and constituted authorities. They are not only destroying the Union, but they are shaking and weakening the whole structure of State as well as of the National Government, by denunciations of every law and of all authority that stands in the way of their passions or their purposes. They have not only carried disorder into our churches and legislative halls, but into our armies. Every General who agrees with the course of the Law and slavery is upheld in every act of insubordination and sustained against the clearest proofs of incompetence, if not of corruption. On the other hand, every commander who differs from their views upon the single point of Slavery, is denounced, not only for incompetency, but constantly depreciated in every act. No man is allowed to be a Christian; no man is regarded as a statesman; no man is suffered unmolested to do his duty as a soldier, unless he supports measures which no one dared to urge eighteen months since. They insist that martial law is superior to constitutional law, that the wills of Generals in the field are above all restraints; but they demand for themselves the right to direct and control these Generals. They claim an influence higher than that they will allow to the laws of the land. Are these displays of insubordination and violence safe at this time?

The weight of annual taxation will test severely the loyalty of the people of the North. Repudiation of our financial obligations would cause disorder and endless moral evils. Pecuniary rights will never be held more sacred than personal rights. Repudiation of the Constitution involves repudiation of national debts, of its guarantees of rights of property, of person, and of conscience. The moment we show the world that we do not hold the Constitution to be a sacred compact, we not only destroy all sense of security, but we turn away from our shores the vast tide of foreign immigration. It comes here now not because there are not other skies as bright and other lands as productive as ours. It seeks here security for freedom for rights of conscience—for immunity from tyrannical interference, and from meddling imperfections. The home and fireside rights heretofore enjoyed by the American people—enjoyed under protection of a written Constitution—have made us great and prosperous. I entreat you again, touch them not with sacrilegious hands!

We are threatened with the breaking up of our social system, with the overthrow of State and National governments. If we begin a war upon the compromises of the Constitution we must go through with it. It contains many restraints upon our National rights. It may be asked with what right the six small New England States, with a population less than that of New York, have six times its power in the Senate, which has become the controlling branch of government? By what natural right do these States with their small united population and limited territory, balance the power of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana and Michigan?

The vast debt growing out of this war will give rise to new and angry discussions. It will be held almost exclusively in a few Atlantic States. Look upon the map of the Union and see how small is the territory in which it will be owned. We are to be divided into creditor and debtor States, and the last will have a vast preponderance of power and strength. Unfortunately there is no taxation upon this national debt, and its share is thrown upon other property. It is held where many of the government contracts have been executed, and where in some instances gross frauds have been practiced. It is held largely where the Constitution gives a disproportionate share of political power. With all these elements of discord, is it wise to assail constitutional law, or bring authority into contest with the Government? To encourage the formation of irresponsible committees, made up of impertinent men, who thrust themselves into the conduct of public affairs, and try to dictate to public rulers? Or will you tolerate the enrollment of armies which are not constituted or organized by proper authorities? Are such things just towards those who have placed their fortunes in the hands of the Government at this crisis?

Mr. President:—It will be asked what do we propose to do. We mean, with all our powers of mind and person to support the Constitution and uphold the Union; to maintain the laws, to preserve the public faith, and to respect for Constitutional authority; we will defend the rights of citizens; we mean that rulers and subjects shall respect the laws; we will put down all revolutionary committees; we will resist all unauthorized organizations of armed men, we will spurn officious meddlers who are impudently pushing themselves into the councils of our Government politically opposed to those in authority, we demand they shall be treated with the respect due to their positions as the representatives of the dignity and honor of the American people. We do not try to save our country by abandoning its government. In these times of trial and danger we cling more closely to the great principles of civil and religious liberty and of personal right; we will man the defense and barriers which the Constitution throws around them; we will revive the courage and strengthen arms of loyal men by proclaiming that they have a living government about which rally; we will proclaim amidst the confusion and uproar of civil war, with louder tones and firmer voices, the great maxims and principles of civil liberty, order and obedience. What has perpetuated the greatness of that nation from which we derive so many of our maxims? Not its victories upon land nor its triumphs upon the seas, but its firm adherence to the traditional policy. The men of Coke of Camden and Mansfield, have for long periods of time given strength and vitality and honor to its social system, while battles have lost their significance. When England was agitated by the throes of violence—when the person of the King was insulted; when Parliament was besieged by mobs maddened by bigotry; when the life of Lord Mansfield was sought for by incendiary fires, then he uttered those words which checked at once unlawful power and lawless violence. He declared that every citizen was entitled to his rights according to the known procedure of the law. He showed to the world the calm and awful majesty of the law, unshaken amidst convulsions. Self-reliance in its strength and parity, it was driven to no acts which destroyed the spirit of the nation was reassured, a sense of security grew up, and the storm was still—Listen to his words: