The Pittsburgh Post.

James P. Barr, Editor & Proprietor. TUESDAY MORNING, JANUARY 13, 1863. Vol. XX.---Established 1842.

DAILY POST.

GOV. SEYMOUR'S MESSAGE.

National Affairs.

We meet under circumstances of unusual solemnity, to legislate for the honor, the interest, and the protection of the people of the State of New York. The oath which we have taken to support the constitution of the United States, and the constitution of the State of New York, to perform our duties with fidelity, has at this time peculiar significance. It teaches us to look upon each of these constitutions as equally sacred; that each is to be upheld in its respective jurisdiction. At this time the power of the one is openly defied by armed rebellion, while the other is endangered by the confusion and disorder growing out of civil war. This act, declaration, or test is not a mere ceremonial. It is a part of the tenure of the offices we hold. Until we have thus solemnly submitted ourselves to the command of these insurgents, giving up our personal views and opinions; and pledging ourselves to obey their requirements, we are not permitted to perform one official act.

The Constitution makes it my duty to communicate to you the condition of the State. I cannot do this without speaking of our Union and of the war which afflicts our country, and which also affects the extended commerce of New York; taxes all its pursuits; has taken more than 200,000 men from our workshops and fields; and has carried mourning into the homes of our citizens. The genius of our government and the interest of our people demand that the aspects of the war should be discussed with entire freedom. Not only is the national life at stake, but every personal, every family, every sacred interest is involved. We must grapple with the great question of the day; we must confront the dangers of our position. The truths of financial and military situations must not be kept back.—Ther must be no attempt to put down the full expression of public opinion. It must be known and heeded, to enable the government to manage public affairs with success. There is a yearning desire among our people to learn their actual condition. They demand free discussion. They should be connected in an earnest, thoughtful, patriotic spirit. The solemnity of the occasion and the sufferings of the war should revive the virtue, the intelligence and the patriotism of the American people. The decay of these have brought our calamities upon us. There are now no causes for discord that have not always existed in our country, and which were not felt by our fathers in forming the Union. They had the greatness, the magnanimity and virtue to compromise and adjust them. The value of the Union they then formed, has proved to be greater than they hoped. Yet we became indifferent to it when we were in the full enjoyment of its blessings. We became ignorant of the character and resources of our own countrymen, while we had the full benefit of an untrammeled commerce with all sections of our land. It was then the world was astonished with the power and wealth growing out of our national Union, the sectional prejudices and passions were active in destroying fraternal affections and generous love of our country.—While we boasted most of our intelligence there were those persistently and laboriously engaged, through the press and in legislative halls, in teaching the people of the North and the South to undervalue and despise each other. Hostile legislation and the division of our churches impaired religious and social intercourse.—If the North and the South had understood the power and purpose of each other, our contentions would have been adjusted. This misrepehension, so bloody and terrible in its effects, was systematically add laboriously inculcated.

Causes of the War.

Affrighted at the ruin they have wrought, the authors of our calamities at the North and South insist that this war was caused by an unavoidable contest about slavery. This has been the subject, not the cause of controversy. We are to look for the causes of this war in a pervading disregard of the obligations of laws and constitutions; in disrespect for constituted authorities; and, above all, in the local prejudices which have grown up in two portions of the Atlantic States, the two extremes of our country, whose remote positions have made them less well informed, and whose interests have made them less considerate, with regard to the condition and character of our whole people, than those living in the great central and Western sections of our Union. There is no honest statement of our difficulties which does not teach that our people must reform themselves, as well as the conduct of the government and the policy of our rulers.—There is not a calamity we are suffering which was not clearly foretold by our fathers, as the result of the passions and local prejudices which have grown up during the past fifteen years.

It is not too late to save our country, if we will enter upon the sacred duty in the right spirit and in the right way. When we do so, the effect will be seen and felt throughout our land and by the civilized world. We shall then strengthen our government; we shall weaken the rebellion; we shall unite our people; and the world will recognize our capacity for self government when we show that we are capable of self-reform.

Respect for Laws and Rulers.

In the first place we must emulate the conduct of our fathers, and show obedience to constituted authorities, and respect for legal and constitutional obligations. "The very idea of the power and right of the people to establish government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.' Yet a spirit of disobedience has sapped the foundations of municipal, state, and national authority in every part of our land. It is not only the underlying and pervading cause of the war; it is also the immediate occasion of our calamities.

When the leaders of the insurrection at the extreme South say that free and slave States cannot exist together in the Union, and when this is echoed from the extreme North by the enemies of our Constitution, both parties simply say they cannot, because they will not, respect the laws and the Constitution. This spirit of disloyalty must be put down. It is inconsistent with all social order and social security, with safety of persons and property.

In order to uphold our government it is also necessary that we should show respect to the authority of our rulers. While acting within the limits of their jurisdictions, and representing the interests, the honor, and the dignity of our people, they are entitled to deference. Where it is their right to decide upon measures and policy, it is our duty to obey and to give a ready support to their decisions. This is a vital maxim of liberty. Without this loyalty, no government can conduct public affairs with success, no people can be safe in the enjoyment of their rights. This duty is peculiarly strong under our system, which gives the people the right at their elections to sit in judgment upon their rulers, to command or condemn them, to keep them in or expel them from official stations.

This war should have been averted; but when its flood-gates were opened, the administration could not grasp its dimensions nor control its sweep. Government was borne along by the current, and struggled as it best could by the resistless tide. Few seemed able to comprehend its military or financial problems. Hence we are not to sit in harsh judgment upon errors in conduct or policy.

But while we concede all these excuses for mistakes, we are not to adopt errors nor sanction violations of principle. The same causes which extenuate their faults in judgment must make us more vigilant to guard against their influences. Unusual dangers demand unusual vigilance.

Economy and Integrity.

Economy and integrity in the administration of affairs are essential at all times; they are vital in the periods of war. If the power of the people to sustain the expenses of war is broken down, it is vain that we have sent our citizens into the field, and that they have shed their blood in unsupportable efforts to save our country.

The opportunities which a state of war war gives to unprincipled men to prey upon the public treasury, and the difficulty of checking their schemes, must be borne in mind, when we judge the integrity of our rulers. But while these difficulties should shield them from harsh judgment, they are additional reasons for vigilance and caution. It is the nature of war to create powerful financial and ambitious interests, eager to prolong its duration. It is one of its chief dangers that it builds up an active class who gain power and wealth by the taxation imposed upon the labor and property of the mass of citizens. This organized class use the national treasury to support schemes of plunder or ambition, and the taxes wrung from the people are thus made to prolong the state of war and military government. The power of rulers to avert these influences must be aided and strengthened by the most ample exposition of financial affairs.

Extravagance and corruption are violations of the faith pledged to the public treasurers. The money loaned to the national treasury was not brought forward at a time of peace and confidence, but in a time of doubt and danger. These claims are held by the rich and poor. The amounts owned by corporations represent the interest of women and chileren, the aged and infirm. The right of our soldiers to demand economy and integrity is of the most sacred character. Never in the history of the world have armies of such numbers been made up of those who voluntarily left prosperous pursuits and happy homes to suffer the danger an privations of war. When defeat or destruction of life by violence or disease thinnned the ranks of our armies, they promptly and freely stepped forward to the rescue of the country's flag. A fearful crime will be done by those who shall suffer national bankruptcy to turn into dust and ashes the pensions and bounties thus gained at the cost of blood and health and exposure. These pensions will, in many cases, be the sole reliance of those thus made incapable of self-support.

It is worse that a government should be overturned by corruption than violence.—A virtuous people will regain their rights if torn from them, but there is no hope for those who suffer corruption to sap and rot away the fabric of their freedom.

Limitations of Power.

There are not only obligations resting upon our people toward our authorities, but under our political system there are limitations between the departments of the government, and between the State and national governments, which must be observed to secure the public safety. At this time the warning words of General Washington have a very peculiar significance:

"It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those interested with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding, in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon the other. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power and proneness to abuse it which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position."

The legislative, executive, and judicial departments are co-ordinate. It is equally treasonable to resist the rightful authority of either. To overthrow the power of either department is revolution. Legislative right, executive power and judicial independence are alike sacred. Disregard for the limits of State and national jurisdictions, and the interference of one department with the duties of another, are not only opposed to the genius and organization of our civil government, but they have caused disasters in the conduct of the war.

While the War Department sets aside the authority of the judiciary and overrides the laws of States, the governors of States meet to shape the policy of the general government, the national legislature appoints committees to interfere with the military conduct of the war, and senators combine to dictate the executive choice of constitutional advisers. The natural results of meddling and intrigue have followed. While our armies have gained victories in fields remote from the capital, within its influence the heroic valor of our soldiers and the skill of our generals are thwarted and paralyzed.

State Rights.

Not only must the national Constitution be held inviolate, but the rights of States must be respected as not less sacred.—There are differences of opinion as to the dividing line between State and national jurisdictions, but there can be none as to the existence of such separate jurisdictions, each covering subjects of legislation and jurisprudence essential to the public security and welfare. A consolidated government in this vast country would destroy the essential home rights and liberties of the people. The sovereignties of the States, except as they are limited by the Constitution, can never be given up.—Without them our government cannot stand. It was made and it can be changed by State agency. This is shown by the following provisions of the instrument itself:

"The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient to the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same."

Again, three-fourths of the States can add to or take away from the powers of the government, by demanding a convention in which amendments can be proposed, which, if ratified by three-fourths of the States, become parts of the Constitution.

While they can thus take away or add to its power, the general government can in no way touch one right of the States or invade their jurisdiction.

The obligations which rest upon the States to respect the Constitution, laws, and authorities of general government, also demand that the general government shall show equal respect for the rights and constituted authorities of States.

To State legislation and authorities, we look for the good order of society, the security of life and property, the protection of our homes and all that is nearest and dearest to us, in the relations, duties, and actions of life. It is dangerous and demoralizing to show contempt for State authorities and laws. It undermines alike the foundations of State and national government, by breaking up the social system. "If home laws are not respected, the more general authority will not be regarded.

Arbitrary Arrests.

Our people have, therefore viewed with alarm practices and pretensions on the part of officials, which violate every principle of good order, of civil liberty, and constitutional law. It is claimed in war times that the President has powers, as commander-in-chief of our armies, which authorise him to declare martial law, not only within the sphere of hostile movements, where other laws cannot be enforced, but also over our whole land. That at his pleasure he can disregard not only the statues of Congress but the decisions of the national judiciary. That in loyal States the least intelligent class of officials may be clothed with power not only to act as spies and informers, but also, without due process of law, to seize and imprison our citizens, and carry them beyond the limits of the State, to held them in prisons without a hearing or a knowledge of the offences with which they are charged. Not only the passions and prejudices of these inferior agents lead them to acts of tyranny, but their interests are advanced, promoting discontent and discord. Even to ask the aid of counsel has been held to be an offence. It has been well said that "to be arrested for one knows not what to be confined no one entitled to ask where; to be tried, no one can say when, by a law never known or established, or linger out a life in a cell, presents a body tyranny which cannot be enlarged."

The suppression of journals and the imprisonment of persons have been glaringly partisan, allowing to some the utmost licentiousness of criticism, and punishing others for the fair exercise of the right of discussion. Conscious of these gross abuses, an attempt has been made to shield the violators of law and suppress inquiry into their motives and conduct. This attempt will fail. Unconstitutional acts cannot be shielded by unconstitutional laws. Such attempts will not save the guilty, while they will bring a just condemnation upon those who try to pervert the powers of legislation to the purposes of oppression. To justify such action by precedents drawn from the practice of governments where there is no restraint upon legislative power will be of no avail under our system, which restrains the government and protects the citizens by written constitutions.

I shall not inquire what rights States in rebellion have forfeited, but I deny that this rebellion can suspend a single right of the citizens of the loyal States. I denounce the doctrine that civil war in the South takes away from the loyal North the benefits of one principle of civil liberty.

It is a high crime to abduct a citizen of this State. It is made my duty by the Constitution to see that the laws are enforced. I shall investigate every alleged violation of our statutes, and see that offenders are brought to justice. Sheriffs and district attorneys are admonished that it is their duty to take care that no person within their respective counties are imprisoned, nor carried by force beyond their limits, without due process or legal authority. The removal to England of persons charged with offense, away from their friends, their witnesses, and means of defence, was one of the acts of tyranny on which we asserted our independence. The abduction of citizens from this State for offenses charged to have been done here, and carrying them many hundred miles to distant prisons in other States or territories, is an outrage of the same character, upon every principle of right and justice.

The general government has ample powers to establish courts, to appoint officers to arrest, and commissioners to hear complaints, and to imprison upon reasonable grounds of suspicion. It has a judicial system, in full and undisturbed operation. Its own courts, held at convenient points in this and other loyal States, are open for the hearing of all complaints. If its laws are not ample for the punishment of offenses, it is due to the neglect of those in power.

Government is not strengthened by the exercise of doubtful powers, but by a wise and energetic exertion of those which are incontestible. The former course never fails to produce discord, suspicion, and distrust, while the latter inspires respect and confidence.

This loyal State, whose laws, whose courts and whose officers have thus been treated with marked and public contempt, and whose social order and sacred rights have been violated, was at that very time sending forth great armies to protect the national capital and to save the national officers from flight or capture. It was while the arms of New York thus sheltered them against rebellion, that, without consultation with its chief magistrate, a subordinate department at Washington insulted our people and invaded our rights.—Against these wrongs and outrages the people of the State of New York solemnly protested.

The submission of our people to these abuses, for a time only, was mistaken at home and abroad for an indifference to their liberties. But it was only in a spirit of respect for our institutions that they waited till they could express their will in a manner pointed out by our laws. At the late election they vindicated at once their regard for law and their love of liberty.—Amid all the confusion of civil war, they calmly sat in judgment upon the administration, voting against its candidates. Nor was this the only striking proof of respect for the Constitution. The minority of nearly equal numbers, yielded to this decision without resistance; although the canvass was animated by strong partisan excitements.

Martial Law.

The claim of power under martial law is not only destructive of the right of a State, but it overthrows the legislative and judicial departments of the general government. It asserts for the President more power as the head of the army than as a representative ruler of the people.—This claim has brought discredit upon us in the eyes of the world. It has weakened the confidence of loyal States. It tends to destroy the value of our government in the minds of our people. It leads to discord and discontent at the North, while it has united and invigorated the South.

If there is a necessity which justifies that policy, let us openly and honestly say there is a necessity which justifies a revolution. But this pretension is not put forth, as a necessity which overleaps for a time all restraints, and which is justified by a great exigency; it is a theory which exalts the military power of the President above his civil and constitutional rights. It asserts that he may in his discretion declare war, and that to extinguish the State and national Constitutions by drawing the pall of martial law over our valiant country.

More than two centuries since, that bold defender of English liberty, that honest and independent judge, Lord Coke, declared: "Where courts of law are open, martial law cannot be executed," and also that "the power that is above the law is unfit for the king to ask or is to grant." Are English laws more sacred, or is English liberty more secure than ours?

It was one of the causes set forth in the Declaration of Independence for renouncing allegiance to the King of England, "that he has affected to render the military independent and superior to the civil power." During the struggle for national life, although surrounded by enemies, spies, and informers, who upheld the pretensions of the crown, Washington never declared martial law or claimed the right under any circumstances to make the military superior to the civil authority. On the contrary, he was most deferential to the latter. The feeling of the fathers on this subject can best be learned by the constitution, which were formed by the men who established our national government; all of them had provisions inconsistent with this new and monstrous pretension.

Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Maryland, North Carolina and South Carolina, eight of the twelve States which originally made up our Union, explicitly declared that the military power should in all cases and at all times be held in exact subordination to the civil authority, and be governed by it; this was expressed in each constitution in terms almost identical. It is incredible that a people who held these views, and who were jealous of their liberties, and who thus restrained State authority under their immediate control, would give to the commander of the army of the United States this despotic power; a power which the crown of Great Britain has not been permitted to exercise for nearly two centuries. The measure of power to be exercised under our government is fixed by the Constitution. To make the maxims of other governments or the usages of other nations the rule here would give sanction to every outrage, tyranny, and wrong. It would undo what was done by our fathers who formed our government. It makes the practice of despotism or the principles of monarchy higher authorities than the written Constitution of our republic. The unlimited, uncontrolled despotic power claimed under martial law is of itself a reason why it cannot be admitted. The fact that it is inconsistent with the purposes, spirit, and genius of our institutions is conclusive against the claim set up for its control over an extent of country and a diversity of interests which never existed in the despotisms or monarchial governments from which the precedents are drawn to justify it.

New York and other States consented to make up the general government only upon the assurance that the original constitution should be so amended as to secure more perfectly the rights of States and citizens. These articles were added by the unanimous vote of the States:

ARTICLE 4. *"The right of the people to be secure in their persons, homes, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated. And no warrant shall issue but upon probable causes, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched and the person or thing to be seized."*

ARTICLE 5. *"No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger;* * * * *nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law."*

The want of these restraints in the original instrument endangered its adoption. They were inserted to satisfy the public demand. We are now told that they are of no avail, in any part of our country, when the executive shall see fit to declare there is war or insurrection in any part of this land.

Such pretensions are in contradiction to the plain language of these clauses—and to their settled legal effect. If any differences of construction be possible, our Constitution provides for their determination. These questions will be carried before the proper judicial tribunals. If the theory of martial law is upheld, by them, we will submit, and have the Constitution amended. If it is held to be unfounded, it must be given up.

So sacred did our fathers hold constitutional rights that they placed them beyond the reach even of the majority of our people. Written Constitutions are made not only to carry out the wishes, but also to restrain the power of majorities, and to uphold and protect the rights and minorities. They give the humblest citizen the right of religious freedom against the whole power of our people. No matter how large a majority may be, it must not interfere with the rights of persons, of property, or of conscience.

The President himself holds his place not by the will of the majority, but by virtue of the provisions of the Constitution, which placed him in office by the votes of about 1,800,000, against the votes of about 2,800,000, who did not agree among themselves as to opposing candidates. He continues rightfully to hold his office, although the popular majorities, even in the States which placed him there, have in the recent elections declared themselves politically opposed to his administration.—The majority are still bound to respect his constitutional rights, to uphold his powers, and to sustain his acts done within the limits of rightful authority.

The rights of States were reserved, and the powers of the general government were limited, to protect the people in their persons, property, and consciences in times of danger and civil commotion. There is little to fear in periods of peace and prosperity. If we are not protected when there are popular excitements and convulsions, our government is a failure. If presidential proclamations are above the decisions of the courts and the restraints of the Constitution, then that Constitution is a mockery. If it has not the authority to keep the executive within its restraints, then it cannot retain States within the Union. Those who hold that there is no sancity in the Constitution, must equally hold that there is no guilt in the rebellion.

We cannot be silent and allow these practices to become precedents. They are as much in violation of our Constitution as the rebellion itself, and more dangerous to our liberties. They hold out to the executive every temptation of ambition to make and prolong war. They offer despotic power as a price for preventing peace. They are inducement to each administration to produce discord and incite armed resistance to laws by declaring that the condition of war removes all constitutional restraints. They call about the national capital hordes of unprincipled men, who find in the wreck of their country the opportunity to gratify avarice or ambition, or personal or political resentments. This theory makes the passion and ambition of an administration antagonistic to the interests and happiness of the people. It makes the restoration of peace the abdication of more than regal authority in the hands of those to whom is confided the government of our country.

Of the same nature is the recent Proclamation of Emancipation. The President has already signed an act of Congress, which asserts that the slaves of those in rebellion are confiscate. The sole effect of this Proclamation, therefore, is to declare the emancipation of slaves of those who are not in rebellion, and who are therefore loyal citizens. It is an extraordinary deduction from the alleged war power, that the forfeiture of the right of loyal citizens, and bringing upon them the same punishment imposed upon insurgents, is calculated to advance the success of the war, to uphold the Constitution and restore the Union. The class of loyal citizens who, above all others, are entitled to the protection of the government are those who have remained true to the flag of our country. And yet the sole force of this proclamation is directed against them.—May not this measure, so clearly impolitic, unjust, and unconstitutional, and which is calculated to create so many barriers to the restoration of the Union, be misconstrued by the world as an abandonment of the hope or the purpose of restoring it—a result to which the State of New York is unalterably opposed, and which will be effectually resisted.

We must not only support the Constitution of the United States and maintain the rights of the states but we must restore our Union as it was before the outbreak of the war. The assertion that this war was the unavoidable result of slavery is not only erroneous but it has led disastrous policy in its prosecution. The opinion that slavery must be abolished to restore the Union creates an antagonism between the free and the slave States which ought not to exist. If it is true that slavery must be abolished by the force of a federal government that the South must be held in military subjection; that four millions of negroes must for many years be under the direct management of authorities at Washington at the public expense; then indeed we must endure the waste of our armies in the field, further drains upon our population and still greater burdens of debt. We must convert our government into a military despotism. The mischievous opinion that in this contest the North must subjugate and destroy the South to save our Union has weakened the hopes of our citizens at home and destroyed confidence in our success abroad.

The Central and Western States.

It is a suggestive fact, affording instruction and hope for the future, that the theories which have exercised an evil influence on our national politics did not originate in what may be called the heart of the Union, among the intimate and well acquainted populations of the Central and Western States, where the States permitting and forbidding slavery are in actual contact, nor in the portions traversed by the great East and West lines of commerce and intercourse. They have been developed almost entirely in two sections comparatively isolated by position, traditions, and peculiar habits of thought, and least connected with the more homogeneous mass of our people. There have been extreme Northern views and extreme Southern views; but also the more broader and more tolerant views of the more populous Central and Western States. These extend on both sides of that undulating boundary between "slave" and "free" States, which is not a line of opposing opinions, but of intermingling interests. Their plains are interlocked by confluent rivers, and not divided by mountain ranges. These States are a legion of harmonizing views and sympathies. They are not only bound together by peculiar interests, but also by strong reasons for resisting a division on that boundary; which would make them frontier States, which would replace their cordial intercourse by hostile relationships, and throw upon them all the greatest and sharpest evils of separation. Thus, while they do not share the passions and prejudices of those extreme States which strove to enlist them in the contest, they have motives of the highest interest to restore the old order of things, and of the gravest apprehension from a separation. This war blights and destroys the hopes and the happiness of this region, while the sections whose passions and interests kindled it are mainly remote from the terrible suffering it has caused.

The Western and Central States enlisted warmly in a war for the Union and Constitution. The Northern tier of "Slave States," (except Eastern Virginia,) earnestly supported the government in its policy while it was consistent with this purpose, which was known as the "Border State policy." Both the administration and Congress then declared their sole purpose to be to restore the Union and maintain the Constitution. When the administration abandoned this policy and took up the views of extreme Northern States, it lost, at the late elections, nearly all the political support which the Central and Western States afforded in the elections of 1860 and 1861.

While the North cannot hold the Southern States in subjection without destroying the principles of our government, the great Central and Western States can control the two extremes. They will not accept the views of either as safe guides in the conduct of public affairs. This is shown by the political history of our country during the past four years. When it was believed that the late administration was controlled by the views of the Gulf States, it lost its power in the Central and Western region. The opposing party, to gain public support, were obliged to repel, by assurances and resolutions, the charge that they would interfere with slavery in the States, and they denounced as unjust the imputation that they held the views of the abolitionists of the extreme Northern section. Without these pledges they could not have gained political power.

When the Gulf States seceded, the central slave States, by large majorities, refused to act with them. They sought to avoid war and division by the Peace Conference held in Washington. Unfortunately, the dominant leaders of the party which had succeeded at the election of 1860, overlooking the fact that this was done by the vote of about 1,800,000 against a divided opposition of about 2,800,000, rejected all terms of compromise and conciliation as inconsistent with the results of the election, and attempted to govern and control an agitated and convulsed country strictly by the opinions and sentiments of a minority.

The outbreak of war involved our whole country in its excitements. The States of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, and the Western part of Virginia, adhered to the Union. The purpose then avowed by the administration and asserted by Congress, as to the objects of the war, gave to the administration overwhelming majorities at the election of 1861, in all the loyal States. All engaged hopefully and unitedly in the work of upholding our Constitution and of restoring our Union to its former condition. When this policy was changed and it adopted the sentiments of the extreme Northern States, and disearded those of the Central and Western States, a remarkable political revolution was the result,

Extremes Will not Prevail.

It has been assumed that this war will end in the ascendancy of the views of one of the extremes of our country. Neither will prevail, for neither can command the support of the majority of the American people. The great Central and Western States, which have the largest share of the population and resources of our country, will not accept of either class of purposes. This is the significance of the late elections. Their determination is to defend the rights of States and the rights of individuals, and to restore our Union as it was. It will be restored by the Central and Western States, both free and slave, who are exempt from the violent passions which bear control at the extremes. It is a fact full of hope that the prejudices between Northern and Southern States are not held on the line of contact, but in the sections most remote from each other, and separated by the great controlling regions and resources of the country. Those of the central slave States which rejected the ordinance of secession, which sought to remain in the Union, and which were driven off by a contemptuous, uncompromising policy, must be brought back. The restoration of the whole Union will then be only the work of time, with such exertion of power as can be put forth without needlessly sacrificing the life and treasure of the North in a bloody and calamitous contest. We must not wear out the lives of our soldiers, nor exhaust the earnings of labor, by a war for uncertain ends, or to carry out vague theories. The policy of subjugation and extermination means not only the destruction of the lives and property of the South, but also the waste of the blood and treasure of the North. The exertion of armed power must be accompanied by a firm and conciliatory policy, to restore our Union with the least possible injury to both sections.

To make this Union New York gave up a vast and rightful political power in the Senate. It has proved a greater blessing than the most hopeful expected. To save it we have made great sacrifices of blood and treasure. Is it not also worth a sacrifice of passion? Shall we let it be torn to fragments without one conciliatory effort to preserve it?

Adjustments of Interests, &c.

Those at the North and the South who have been laboring to break down our national Constitution and Union, and to make two confederacies, overlook the fact that in each of these it would be more difficult to adjust conflicting interests and State representations than in our existing Union. The vast extent of our country, and its varied productions and pursuits have relieved antagonism between commercial, manufacturing, and agriculturing interests. They give to each great field for prosperous pursuits. If, the producing States of the West are cut off from the markets of the South they will demand a free trade policy which will open to them the markets of the world; and even these will not make good the loss. They will not give up their peculiar advantages of raising grain and cattle for other pursuits, and the markets of the Eastern States and Europe are not equal to Western productions. The past two years have shown this. With an unusual European call for breadstuffs and provisions, with a vast consumption of these articles by our American armies, there is a great section of the West where the prices do not pay for their production. There is bankruptcy and financial distress in the midst of abundant harvests and a waste of ungathered grain at a time of the largest exportation of agricultural products in the history of our country. Reducing the cost of carrying these products will not cure this trouble. Opening the Mississippi, as a way to the markets of the world, will not overcome this evil. The cotton raised on the Mississippi is the joint product of the provisions of the North and the labor of the South. The people of the West must have the markets of the South-western States to bring back their prosperity. They must be reunited, politically, socially, and commercially to the valley of the lower Mississippi. Their grain and provisions must be converted into cotton, and in this form carried profitably to the Eastern and European ports. When they have thus gained the returns for their labor, they will once more become the supporters of our commerce. To restore this great region to its former prosperity, and to regain for ourselves its enriching trade, the lower valley of the Mississippi must be brought back into the Union; it must be brought back, too, with all its elements of production and wealth unimpaired, with all the advantages of local self-government; not a devastated and ruined territory, under a blighting, debasing military control.

So closely are the upper and lower valleys of the Mississippi bound together by interest that when cotton is burned in Louisiana, Indian corn is used as fuel in Illinois. The ruin of the Southern consumer brings bankruptcy upon the Northern producer. When the capacity of the one to buy is annihilated, the ability of the other to produce is weakened or destroyed. This single instance, from many equally strong, shows that neither in a Northern or Southern Union can the conflicting interests of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures be adjusted.

Political Interests, etc.

The division of our Union into two or more confederacies would reopen in each those questions of distribution of power and relationship between States which were settled by our national Constitution. Even now, the centralization of power and patronage at the national capital causes uneasiness in those States which now are, or soon will become, the most populous. The Senate can prevent the passage or repeal of laws by the House, which represents the popular will, and at the same time can control the power of the executive by rejecting treaties formed or nominations made by the President. At this time it assumes to dictate the organization of the executive department. This body also has the advantage of longer tenure of of office, while it is further removed from popular control. It is in this powerful branch of government that States have an equal representation, without regard to population.

So long as all the States of our present Union were represented in Congress, this tendency was checked by the existence of States with small populations, distributed in different sections of our country, and somewhat equally among the agricultural, commercial and manufacturing regions. Hitherto, no injurious or irritating results have been caused. A division of the Union, or the disfranchisement of the Southern States by putting them back into the condition of mere territories, or a representation dictated by the military power of government, would make inevitable a readjustment of political power. If the Southern States are cut off or disfranchised, every map of our country will constantly suggest this to the public mind. In the Northern Union the group of six small New England States, with New Jersey and Delaware, lying on the Atlantic coast, far removed from the Central and Western sections of our country, with united populations only about equal to that of this State, would balance in the controlling branch of the national legislature, the great producing States of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and Iowa. In a few years, each of these States will have populations greater than that of all New England. This disparity of political power would be increased by the fact that the population and pursuits of New England, confined within very limited boundaries, have the uniformity of one community, while the larger States have diversified and distinctive pursuits to prevent them from acting so readily in concert.

The danger of controversy would be increased by our vast national debt. This, mainly held by a few Atlantic States, divides our country into the perilous sectional relations of debtor and creditor regions. The ownership of this debt cannot be diffused over our country so that the same communities which pay taxes will receive incomes. The incidental advantages of protective tariffs growing out of this debt would be largely gained by the creditor States, which also enjoy this disproportionate share of political power. The great producing States would be compelled to pay a heavy taxation to other communities at a time when the division of our Union would deprive them of their most profitable markets; and heavy duties would tend to diminish the demands of foreign countries for their productions. No one can look forward to such agitations and discussions without the deepest concern.

The smaller States, grouped upon the shores of the Atlantic, were all original parties to the Constitution. They are gloriously associated with the history of the revolutionary struggle. They bear names that are honored, and have memories that are cherished in every part of the land.—They must not, through the folly of blind and bigoted leaders, lose the great special political powers which are given to them by the compromises of the Constitution.—They must not suffer that instrument, which secures to them peculiar advantages, to be weakened or destroyed.

The Union must be Restored.

There is but one way to save us from demoralization, discord and repudiation. Our Union must be restored, complete in all its parts. No section must be disorganized beyond the unavoidable necessities of war. All must be made to feel that the mighty efforts we are making to save our Union are stimulated by a purpose to restore peace, prosperity and happiness to every section.

The vigor of war will be increased when the public mind and energies are concentrated upon the patriotic, generous purpose to restore our Union for the common good of all sections. It cannot be so united upon any bloody, any barbarous any revolutionary, or any unconstitutional scheme, looking merely to the gratification of hatred or purposes of party ambition or sectional advantage. Every exertion of power, every influence of persuation, every measure of reconciliation, must be used to restore this Union to its former condition. Let no one demand that the blood of his neighbor shall be shed; that the fruits of the labor of our citizen shall be eaten up by taxation, to gain this end, and then refuse to give up his own passions, or to modify his own opinions, to save our country and to stop the fearful waste we are now making of treasure and of life. Let no one think that the people who have refused to yield this Union torebellion at the South will permit its restoration to be prevented by fanticism at the South.

Conclusion.

The prevading sentiment of the great controlling sections of our country will not only save our Union, but it will do so in a way harmonizing with the genius of our institutions, the usages of our people, and the letter and spirit of our Constitution, foreseeing that events would render it necessary for the people of the several States not only thus to address our government but also to produce a concert of purpose and action between different communities, provided in the Constitution, "that Congress should make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievences."

Our present alarming condition naturally calls for such expressions of public opinion with respect to the objects of this war, and the end for which it should be conducted, and the end for which it should be waged. Where the public will is clearly expressed it must be recognized and respected by government. It will also make itself effective in our frequently recurring elections which peacefully but rapidly form a body of government in harmony with its purposes. It will influence congressional action, or it may lead to a convention of the States.

The condition of our country is not hopeless, unless it is made so by passions and prejudices which are inconsistent with the government of a great country. This war, with all its evils, has taught us great truths, which, if accepted by our people, will place the future relations of the various sections of our Union on the firmest basis. It has made us know the value of the Union itself, not only in our internal, but in our foreign relations. It has given us a wisdom and knowledge of each other which had we possessed earlier would have averted our present calamities.

If the interest of different sections of our country are conflicting in some respects, they are so balanced and adjusted by nature that there is an irrepressible tendency to intercourse, harmony, and union. This tendency must, in the end, overcome mutual misapprehension. We have also learned the great mutual strength of the North and of the South, and amid all the bitterness of feeling engendered by the war each section has been taught to respect the power, resources, and courage of the other.

We must accept the condition of affairs as they stand. At this moment the fortunes of our country are influenced by the results of battles. Our armies in the field must be supported; all constitutional demands of our general government must be promptly responded to.

But war alone will not save the Union. The rule of action which is used to put down an ordinary insurrection is not applicable to a wide-spread armed resistance of great communities. It is mere weakness and folly to shut our eyes to this truth.

Under no circumstances can the division of the Union be conceded. We will put forth every exertion of power. We will put forth every exertion of power, we will use every policy of conciliation; we will hold out every inducement to the people of the South to return to their allegiance, consistent with honor; we will guarantee them every right, every consideration demanded by the Constitution; but we can never voluntarily consent to the breaking up of the Union of these States, or the destruction of these Constitution.

Humbly acknowledging our dependence upon Almighty God, and repenting our pride, ingratitude, and disobedience, let us pray that our minds may be inspired with the wisdon, the magnanimity, the faith and charity which will enable us to save our country.

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

Albany, Jan. 7th, 1863.

Why are darned stockings like dead men? Because they are men ded.