

*Eve*

#### The Buffalo Meeting.

We shall publish the proceedings of the great meeting at Buffalo, in defence of Constitutional liberty, to-morrow.

The *Eve. Journal* affects to contrast this meeting with the one held in Albany, for the same purpose. "Its utterances, it says, were generally patriotic and it was free from the coarseness and rant of Copperhead demonstrations."

The resolutions of the Buffalo meeting were the same as those adopted at Albany and indeed the Albany resolutions have been accepted and reiterated by a score of meetings out West. The letter of Gov. SEYMOUR received the unanimous endorsement of the meeting, and every mention of his name was received with applause.

The only letter published with the proceedings is that of Judge PARKER, who was invited to be present, but could not attend. The utterances of the meeting were patriotic; and the Administration will be wise if it heeds them in time.

There was one noticeable feature in the Buffalo meeting which we are surprised escaped the attention of the *Journal*. It is thus noticed in the *Rochester Union*:

The most notable feature of the meeting was the speech of Judge George W. Clinton, whose name was rallied around as a tower of strength last fall by the supporters of Wadsworth, and who up to the late blow against Constitutional Freedom acted with the Radicals and Republicans.

A cause which brings such a man as Judge CLINTON into the political arena, under such circumstances, must have a strong hold on the popular heart.

#### Liberality of the Buffalontians.

BUFFALO, April 22.

The Common Council this p. m. voted an appropriation of \$50,000 to equip volunteers and support their families.

A resolution was also adopted that any employee of the city volunteering, should draw his salary while absent, and resume his position on his return.

The citizens' subscription for the aid of volunteers' families, has reached \$25,000.

The enthusiasm in the city is unprecedented.

## Second Edition.

#### Governor Seymour and the Buffalo Meeting.

We trust Gov. Seymour will "pause" in his arduous official duties long enough to read the proceedings of the Buffalo meeting, and learn from them a lesson of prudence and moderation which will prove useful to him in the future.—*Evening Journal*.

The impudence of the above is refreshing! The Buffalo meeting not only responded to and sustained Gov. SEYMOUR'S action, with enthusiasm, but gave to his letter a specific endorsement of the warmest kind. We quote it:

Resolved, That the letter of His Excellency Gov. Seymour, to the Albany meeting, called to assert the right of free speech and individual liberty, has our full endorsement; that we recognize in his manly protest against the exercise of usurped and arbitrary power the spirit of a patriot and a statesman who, while he gives cheerful support to the Government in all its constitutional measures to sup-

press rebellion, will do all in his power to protect and preserve the rights and liberties of the citizens of the Empire State.

If the *Journal* would "pause" in its career of cant and falsehood "long enough to read the proceedings of the Buffalo meeting," it might learn a lesson of decency and regard for truth.

**To the Citizens of Buffalo.**

The late arbitrary arrest of over nine thousand citizens of the United States at Vicksburg, without civil process, by the hired "minions" of the "despotic" Lincoln, must awaken a sentiment of indignation in the heart of every freeman of the North.

Citizens—Your most sacred rights are invaded; your brethren and friends are arrested at the point of the bayonet.

Shall such deeds be perpetrated with impunity and meet with no rebuke from a justly outraged people?

That a proper expression of our scorn and indignation may be heeded at our "despotic" ruler, the "detested and detested" Lincoln, a meeting of all those who sympathize with our outraged and down-trodden fellow citizens of the sunny South, will be held at St. James' Hall, on Hanguan's night, May 29, to support the Constitution both North and South.

—*Buff. Ex.* — CORRESPONDENT.

**BUFFALO, May 3.**

Three companies of volunteers left this afternoon for Elmira. They were escorted to the depot by the Home Guard, Major Millard Fillmore, Ex-President, commanding in person.—The Home Guard is being thoroughly organized by Millard Fillmore. About 150 members are already enrolled.

**The Hon. Sanford E. Church on Arbitrary Arrests.**

We quote the following from the able speech of the Hon. Sanford E. Church, at the indignation meeting held in Buffalo last Friday. Every word of his statement is a truth. He says:

The people are alarmed at these aggressions and assumptions of arbitrary power, and why? Within a year this Administration, like all its predecessors, is to come before the people for condemnation or approval, and it will be our duty then to pass upon it according to its merits or demerits. Now, these military arrests and unwarrantable interferences of which I have spoken, indicate—I do not say prove—a purpose to prevent that full and free discussion so necessary if the people are to form an intelligent decision as to the great questions presented to their judgment. I will not charge that this is the design of the party in power. I hope to Heaven it is not, and that some other explanation will be furnished of these acts. But, I tell you, the people never will tolerate even the attempt at a prohibition of their right to such free discussion as they shall deem proper.

The Government cannot appoint Provost Marshals and detectives enough between now and next election to prevent such discussion and to overawe the people. It is shortly to be decided whether the Administration has managed the affairs of the nation with statesmanship, with superior wisdom, with integrity and with a whole-souled desire to restore the Union. If it shall appear that affairs have been so managed, the people will give their verdict of approbation. But if the contrary shall be manifest—if it shall be found that the Administration has wrought for party more than for country; that it has discharged patriotic and able Generals for improper reasons; that while the country was bleeding at every pore corruption has rioted in every department of the Government; if, in short, the men in power are weighed in the balance and found wanting, the people will condemn them and will not tolerate the sign of interference while they thus pronounce their decision. I know that at least 300,000 citizens of this State will rise up as one man to vindicate their right in this regard.

—At Buffalo, the ladies are wearing patriotic aprons, described as follows:

The skirt of the apron is made of red and white stripes, and the square waist of blue, covered with small white stars, and fastened each side with a cockade. The fair Buffalonians are boiling over with excitement and enthusiasm, and many have already tendered their services, declaring themselves ready, any moment, to go as a Florence Nightingale or a Joan of Arc.

They are daughters of Revolutionary mothers.

**The Nine Months' Men.**

There are good regiments among them, but on the whole the levy for that period was a costly and disastrous experiment. Their term of service was so short that soldierly ambition and military knowledge have both been wanting, and they have rather too eagerly anticipated the end of their career to be very solicitous to make it beneficial to the country or illustrious to themselves.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

The fault in regard to the Nine Months' levies was that the Government misused them. They would have sufficed to garrison the Forts about Washington, and so have relieved equal numbers having longer terms to serve. Instead of that, they were sent to Florida, Louisiana, and distant points, where they could not become acclimated, and where the transportation to and fro, doubled the cost, and the peril and consumed their scant time. This had not been their fault, and yet the terma-gants of the *Tribune* pour out volleys of impertinence and epithet upon them!

**Mass Meeting of the Citizens of Erie County.**

***The Protest of 5,000 Citizens against arbitrary arrests.***

**Speeches of Hon. Sanford E. Church, Judge Clinton, Dr. F. C. Brunck, Rev. J. D. Benedict, &c.**

From The Buffalo Daily Courier.

It is with unfeigned pleasure that we publish this morning the proceedings of the mass meeting of the citizens of Erie County, held last evening at St. James Hall. None of the appliances usually resorted to for convening large assemblages had been employed, and yet the responses of the people to the simple call of the County Committee was overwhelming. We had expected no such demonstration. In the afternoon a train on the Central road brought in fifteen car loads of citizens from various points in the country, and another train of twenty-eight cars brought about 400 persons from the stations this side of Dunkirk. The passenger on the Central brought with them the Batavia Brass band, and marched up the streets in procession.

About half past seven o'clock, the hall was full, and before eight its entrances were so crowded that many failed to obtain admittance. A little later, the assemblage increasing ever moment, a meeting of several thousand people was organized outside. At the lowest calculation some 5,000 people participated in the meetings in and out of the Hall. The character of those composing the multitude was also noticeable. There was not the slightest sign of rowdyism manifested from beginning to end of the proceedings. The men present had come to discharge an earnest duty, and all were calm

and thoughtful. In this regard we have never seen a meeting in Buffalo so impressive. It befitted the occasion of it. But neither was there any lack of enthusiasm on the subjects discussed at the meeting. Throughout all the addresses made, there was cheering loud and long, and at times it seemed that the audience in the Hall almost rose from their seats in response to the sentiments of the speakers.

WILLIAM WILLIAMS, Esq. in calling the meeting to order, said:

FELLOW CITIZENS—The Democratic Committee of this country, in view of the important events transpiring, have thought it best to call you together in mass meeting, that you may again renew your pledge of devotion to the Constitution, and your determination to stand by the Union of these States, and, also, to express your sentiments on the noble stand taken by the Governor of the State of New York, in his recent letter protesting against the usurpations of military power.

We stand, fellow-citizens, where we have always stood, ready at all times to furnish men and money to put down the rebellion and sustain the laws of our country. We are, also, prepared to stand by the great principle that no citizen shall be deprived of his property or his liberty without due process of law, and, if necessary, we are resolved to defend this right with all the power that God has given us.

I thank you, fellow-citizens, for the noble response you have made to the call of the Committee, and for the purpose of organization, I nominate the Hon. JOHN GANSON to preside over your deliberations.

On taking the chair, Mr. Ganson spoke substantially as follows:

MR. GANSON'S SPEECH.

Your invitation to preside at this meeting, has been accepted for the reason that you are "in favor," as the call under which you have assembled, declares, "of sustaining the guarantees of the Constitution and the inalienable right of citizens to discuss public measures, and to express their opinions upon all subjects affecting the national interests." You are not here to manifest sympathy for any individual, nor to approve of the sentiments of Mr. Vallandigham, or to endorse his action. You are here, however, to avow your decided disapproval of the manner of his "taking off." For in that you see a disregard by those high in authority, of constitutional obligations, and an infringement of the positive acts of Congress: You are loyal to the Constitution of your country and insist upon an enforcement of its laws. The Constitution declares that "Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition for a redress of grievances;" that "the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation;" that "no person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime unless on a 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 shall any person be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law." It further declares, that in "all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right of a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State and District wherein the crime shall have been committed."

At its recent session, Congress passed an act, which was approved by President Lincoln on the 8d day of March last, providing among other things, as follows:

"That the Secretary of State and the Secretary of War be and they are hereby directed, as soon as may be practicable, to furnish the judges of the Circuit and District Courts of the United States and the District of Columbia, a list of the names of all

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persons, citizens of States in which the administration of the laws continued unimpaired, in the said federal Courts, who are now, or may hereafter be held as prisoners of the United States, or by order or authority of the President of the United States, or either of said Secretaries, in any Fort, Arsenal, or other place as State or other political prisoner, or otherwise than as prisoners of war. The said list to contain the names of all those who reside in the respective jurisdiction of the said Judges, or who may be deemed by the said Secretaries, or either of them, to have violated the laws of the United States in any of said jurisdictions, and also the date of each arrest.

The act was passed that the offence of such persons might be laid before a Grand Jury, and the offender, if presented, be punished according to law.

In 1862, Congress passed another law, prescribing the punishment of traitorous offences as follows:

"That if any person shall hereafter incite, set on foot, assist or engage in any rebellion or insurrection against the authority of the United States, or the laws thereof, or shall give aid or comfort thereto, or shall engage in or give aid and comfort to any such existing rebellion or insurrection, and be convicted thereof, such person shall be punished by imprisonment for a period not exceeding ten years, or by fine not exceeding ten thousand dollars, and by the liberation of all his slaves, if any he have, or by both of said punishments, at the discretion of the Court."

The proceedings instituted by Gen. Burnside, and sanctioned by the President, are in direct violation of these constitutional guarantees, and of the provisions of these acts, thus recently passed by the Federal Congress and sanctioned by the Federal Executive. It is against these proceedings that we remonstrate. We claim the right to do so. We claim the right of free speech—the right to criticize the policy of the Government, and to oppose or condemn the action of those who are appointed to administer it. If the right is denied us, we are under a despotism, for no despot can ask for more than the permission to do as unto him may seem necessary, and to deny the right to his subjects to question his authority or to condemn or criticize his acts.

We are in favor of furnishing to those in authority the men and means necessary for the prosecution of the pending war, until the armed force of the rebellion is broken, and till those who are engaged in it sue for peace. We are opposed under any circumstances and in any event to a voluntary dismemberment of the Union, and continue to give a cheerful and cordial support to all proper efforts of the Administration to uphold the Constitution and enforce the laws on every foot of our soil. But we, at the same time, insist that while we demand an observance of the Constitution and laws by our citizens in the disloyal States, the same Constitution and laws shall not be disregarded by those in authority in the loyal States.

We concede that our discussions of public measures and men should in times like these be conducted with especial reference to the public interests, and with a spirit of candor and forbearance, but the right to discuss cannot be yielded one jot or tittle. The right contended for by us is as clear now in the loyal States as in times of peace. If it is abused, the offender can be punished under the civil laws. The courts are open there, and the course of justice is unimpeded. The right to punish the offender by martial law cannot there rightfully exist. It is forbidden by our constitution and our laws, and would be in direct violation of the first principles of civil liberty. Sir James McIntosh, a jurist of great eminence and ability says "when law is silenced by the noise of arms, the rulers of the armed force must punish quitably as they can those crimes which threaten their own safety and that of society, and no longer. Every moment beyond is usurpation. As soon as the law can act, every other

*mode of punishing supposed crime is of itself an enormous crime."*

We, therefore, say that the mode of punishing offenders in the loyal States, sanctioned by the President, is an "enormous crime," and as such we remonstrate against it.

You are for that purpose assembled. You will in your proceedings be peaceable, in your expressions temperate, in your resolves firm,

not here to justify or condemn Vallandigham's speech. I, for one, am not to be drawn into any false issue in discussing this question. Whether he was justified in what he said or no is not the point in dispute. He was arrested at the dead hour of midnight by a military force, and tried by a court martial in a State where no martial law is proclaimed, where there is no rebellion or armed occupation. He has been sentenced by that court and sent across the lines into the hands of the enemy, for no other crime than that of criticizing the administration. Bear in mind that this is a deliberate proceeding on the part of the administration. First came Burnside's "order No. 38" in which he declares that public presses and speakers will be held accountable to him for what they print or speak, and that neither expressed or implied treason will be tolerated in his department. After Vallandigham had been arrested and tried by Court martial, application was made to a Judge of a United States Court for release by writ of *habeas corpus*. General Burnside deliberately sent into that Court an elaborate justification of Vallandigham's arrest. I desire to call your attention to the principle upon which he claims to justify that act. First, he avers, he will himself support the policy of the government. That is right, and simply his duty as an officer of the army. He then says:

If the people do not approve that policy, they can change the constitutional authorities of that Government, at the proper time and by the proper method. Let them freely discuss the policy in proper tone; but my duty requires me to stop license, and intemperate discussion.

This is his justification, approved and endorsed by the administration in the fact that the findings of Burnside's military court have been sustained. What does it amount to? An army officer tells the free citizens of Ohio that he will allow free discussion in a "proper tone," but he will not permit "license or intemperate discussion!" Where is our boasted right of free speech, if it is left to any man to say what may and what may not be spoken? The very moment you commit to an irresponsible authority, the power to decide what shall and what shall not be said or written, the right of free speech is gone. "You may speak what you please," says Burnside, "so long as I shall approve it!" What would my friend Clapp think of the freedom of the press, if an order from Washington permitted him to print only what I approved? Free press is a mockery with such a trammel upon it as this. And how dangerous is the principle! Burnside undoubtedly supposed that the speech of Vallandigham was treasonable, but another man will claim that it is all right and patriotic and proper. All depends upon the opinion of the man who sits in judgment upon the utterance. When the Administration changes—and, I take it, it has been decreed by Almighty God that it will change, within two short years, and the Democratic conservative party be restored to power—the judgment passed on what is, and what is not patriotic, will be very different.

How would our Republican friends like it and what would become of their Wendell Philippses and Greeleys and the thousand and one radical leaders who have been preaching and printing hostility to the government for 25 years, if we should then apply this Burnside doctrine to them? How would they like to be "sent across the lines" to their rebel friends? And surely if they can do so legally and constitutionally to us, the time must come when we can retaliate, legally and constitutionally upon them.

Now, friends and fellow citizens, as an humble citizen of New York and, in common parlance, a loyal citizen, (for no man according to his ability, has done more than I have at least endeavored to do in arousing public sentiment to support the government in this war) I protest against the action of the government in interfering with these sacred rights of the citizen. I protest first, because it violates the Constitution. I need not read to you the language of that instrument which secures the right of free speech, free press, trial by jury and other of the most precious guarantees of individual liberty. These have been trampled on in the most direct and flagrant manner. And I say nothing of that other provision which forbids the infliction of any cruel and unusual punishment, such as that administered in the case of Vallandigham. I protest second, because this action is in direct violation of acts of Congress passed to meet precisely such emergencies as that alleged to have arisen in Ohio. The late Congress which, as you know, was intensely Republican in all its branches, passed an act requiring that in all such cases as that of Vallandigham, the culprit shall be dealt with by the Civil Courts. This law has been deliberately broken.

I protest thirdly, because, even if the apparent necessity for such proceedings be conceded, and although we may grant that those concerned were actuated by purely patriotic motives, they furnish a dangerous precedent which bad men may use to our destruction. If the Constitution may be ignored, from patriotic considerations (and I am not here to question the motives of the men guilty of those lawless acts) what shall save us from the use of the precedent thus established by bad and unpatriotic rulers, in time to come? History teaches us that all bad precedents are established under this plea of necessity. It is the despot's plea. No despot ever lived, but will tell you that he used his power for the good of his subjects. The plea is fallacious; it can have no foundation in fact, in a government based, like ours, on public opinion. Under our institutions everything that the law cannot reach is taken care of by this public sentiment. If a man utters dangerous doctrines, you overwhelm him with the weight of a healthy popular opinion. If he goes beyond that, the law and the courts take care of him. But as long as he confines himself to that which may be morally, but is not legally, a crime, you combat error with truth and so annihilate him.

Again, I object to this unconstitutional policy, because it weakens the government and the cause of the Union. The example of those in high authority is all but omnipotent. The attachment of a party to its administration is so strong that reason cannot reach to sever it. Its members will adhere blindly to the power to which they look for patronage and favor. And while I am happy to see that the leading journals of the Republican party have had the manliness to denounce these usury actions of the Administration, yet there are tens of thousands of Republican partisans who are justifying them and following those who peaceably assemble for a redress of their grievances, with threats, even to bloodshed. Thus the government is distracted by a side issue, and the people are themselves divided. You are met to-night to consider the danger which menaces your personal rights, and to a certain extent your attention is thus diverted from the great work of subduing the rebellion. The Administration has made for itself 10,000 enemies where Vallandigham would have made one. The blow struck at his rights has recoiled with a thousand-fold force upon the government.

Let Vallandigham talk! Let Anna Dickinson talk! Let all the host of radical declaimers in petticoats or breeches talk! Who does not know that these abolitionists have assailed the Government far more malignantly than ever Vallandigham did? Yet we have yet to hear of the Administration arresting one of them. If the Washington authorities will only arrest

a single individual who voted for Lincoln, I will give it credit at least for honesty. But no man of this class has ever been touched, though they have denounced the Government in every form of invective. They have declared in favor of another Government than that formed by our fathers, and have uttered the rankest treason to the Union and the Constitution, but unfortunately for the Administration, (not unfortunately for the Democratic party, because I believe each one of these arbitrary acts really strengthens it,) every illegal arrest yet made has been directed against those who opposed Mr. Lincoln at the last election.

The Administration has thus divided the North and weakened its own cause. I have already alluded to the unanimity of support rendered it by the loyal States at the beginning of the struggle, and I assert further that it requires but a small degree of statesmanship to keep the people united on the question of prosecuting the war. We ask no offices from the Administration—we want none of its contracts or its patronage—all we ask is that it shall vigorously carry forward the war, to restore the Union and preserve the Constitution. If they will adhere to this purpose, oh! if they had but adhered to it, instead of following the lead of their Anna Dickinsons, Greeleys, spiritualists and the devil, I believe the Union would now have been restored, and the people re-united in fraternal embrace. The grand difficulty at Washington is that the authorities there have no confidence in the people. If I could have the ear of Mr. Lincoln, I would implore him on my bended knees to trust the people. I would say to him, be not afraid of treasonable sentiment in the loyal States! The people will take care of that. Have the same confidence in the mass of the people which is manifested in the old watchwords of the Democratic party.

The people need no conscription act to drive them to defend their government. You and I love this country of ours! We love its institutions, its laws, the sacred rights and privileges we enjoy in it, which place us above every other people on earth! We will see to it that this government is preserved, if the Administration will only trust us. We ask no conscription, no forced loans. If necessary, we will give property, life, all, to preserve the blessings which are ours in this land of our birth and adoption. And, while I would make no forcible resistance to the conscription acts or any other act, but would resort to the courts to pronounce on its validity and abide by their decision, yet it has seemed to me that the Administration, not only by its laws, but in these arrests and in a hundred other ways, has evinced a suspicion of the faithfulness and integrity of the people. We want a united North; and our greatest objection to the illegal acts against which we protest, is that they have

claiming the right to petition the Government for redress of grievances, to criticise its acts, censure its policy, and thus correct the abuses of those who administer it.

Mr. Gauson's speech was received with enthusiastic applause, and at its close, Asber P. Nichols, Esq., moved the appointment of the following Vice Presidents and Secretaries:

VICE PRESIDENTS.

- 1st Ward—Thomas Edmonds, Richard Harris.
- 2d " C. K. Loomis, Levi J. Walters.
- 3d " Joseph Zimmerman, Thos. O'Grady.
- 4th " Geo. V. Brown, Geo. Schwarz.
- 5th " Chas. Beckwith, Sebastian Schwable.
- 6th " Solomon Scheu, Henry Dilger.
- 7th " Wm. T. Wardwell, J. L. Haberstro.
- 8th " James Ryan, John S. Munderbank.
- 9th " John T. Hudson, Isaac W. Brownell.
- 10th " Israel T. Hatch, John F. Morton.
- 11th " John B. Skinner, Elijah D. Eimer.
- 12th " John Ambrose, H. A. Swartz.
- 13th " Oasmus Lee, A. T. Patchin.
- Aurora—James M. Paine.
- Alden—Henry Berick.
- Amherst—T. A. Hopkins.
- Boston—George Brindley.
- Brant—Nathaniel Smith.



*Erie*

- Oneida—J. W. Dodge.
- Clarence—J. W. Dodge.
- e Colden—Daniel T. Francis.
- e Collins—Penny Bartlett.
- e Concord—A. C. Ashman.
- e Eden—A. Thorn.
- t Evan—John Andrus.
- t Elma—Zina A. Hemstreet.
- s East Hamburg—Allen Potter.
- Grand Island—Levant Ransom.
- o Hamburg—Henry Canfield.
- o Holland—O. G. Rowley.
- s Lancaster—John Dykstar.
- a Marilla—Benjamin Fones.
- North Collins—Edwin Guiney.
- o Newstead—Alfred Mead.
- sardina—Sylvester Holmes.
- o Tonawanda—David Kohler.
- o Wales—Thomas Hill.
- o West Seneca—John G. Langner.

SECRETARIES.

David Gray, Fred. Held, George J. Bryan.

On motion of William Williams, Esq., the Chairman named the following Committee on Resolutions: William Williams, James M. Humphrey, Dr. C. F. Brunck, Asher P. Nichols, Joseph Warren, Stephen Lockwood and Horatio Seymour.

HON SANFORD E. CHURCH'S ADDRESS.

*Mr. Chairman and Fellow Citizens;*

After the able and comprehensive address of your presiding officer, I owe an apology for attempting to add anything to the force of his remarks. I am gratified, however, to meet the citizens of Buffalo and Erie County on an occasion so novel and interesting as this. You have assembled under the protecting shield of the Constitution, framed by our fathers and cemented by their blood, and under which you have enjoyed privileges exceeding those possessed by any other people upon earth. I am here among you not to excite your imaginations or irritate your passions, and, above all, I am not here, and you are not here, to do anything to weaken the power or authority of the government. We are here to pledge anew, on the one hand, our best efforts to strengthen and invigorate this government in prosecuting the war against those in hostility to it; and, on the other hand, to implore those who administer the government not themselves to undermine the glorious fabric our fathers have reared.

Our government, as you well know, is a peculiar one. It is not, like nearly every other on the face of the earth, founded on military power or force. It does not depend for its perpetuity on the will or inclination of any one man or set of men, however high and talented these may be. It depends solely for its maintenance on the will of the great mass of the people—on public opinion. It is that power which has sent a million of men into the field to fight in its defence. It is that which upholds Abraham Lincoln in his presidential seat. It is that which has led our youth to lay their lives on the country's altar, and which has taken millions of treasure from the pockets of the people into the public coffers. It is that and that alone which will preserve the government, and keep us a free people, if anything is to so preserve and keep us.

The government being thus founded on public sentiment, it follows that the right of discussion is indispensable to the successful operation of that government. Without that right, at all times and under all circumstances maintained, the government, in the form in which it was bequeathed to us, cannot exist for a moment. And whenever the humblest citizen is deprived of the right of free discussion by military authority, that moment our liberties receive a stab, which if persisted in, must prove fatal to the State.

I need not call to mind the scenes through which we have passed in the last two years. You remember well how, when the first gun was fired at the flag, the great heart of the people responded and throbbed in its defence. You remember how you rushed to the rescue of the Constitution and the Country. You did not stop to inquire the cause of the war, or to accuse your political opponents of the political crimes of which you knew them to be guilty. You saw only the government in peril—a

force threatening its existence and striving to pull down the national ensign, and without regard to party feeling you rushed to the rescue. Never, in the history of the world, has an administration been so vigorously supported as this of Abraham Lincoln's has been. The people rallied round it with an unanimity unparalleled, and for two years they have continued so to support it. 75,000 men were called for, and they came at the word; 200,000, 500,000, and they were forthcoming; and when again the call was made, 600,000 more volunteered in the nation's defence. The Government called for millions, and the bankers furnished it; more millions—and the people laid it in the lap of the country. They never have refused, and I trust in heaven, never will refuse, either men or money, till the Government shall be restored in all its ancient strength, and the old banner shall wave over every foot of American soil.

But while we thus give the government our unquestioning support, we do claim the right to criticize the action of the administration. The arbitrary arrests, concerning which there is now such excitement, interfere with this personal right. You remember that soon after the war commenced, certain citizens were taken without warrant or process of law, and confined in forts and military prisons. The people looked on in consternation, and did not at first comprehend what it meant. They did not know but that some urgent necessity existed for such unparalleled proceedings. They saw the editor of a country paper seized and immured in a dungeon. A defenceless woman was spirited away and confined in a cell without knowing the cause of her detention. You saw, yourselves, a minister of the gospel from your own county, illegally seized and imprisoned for the crime of preaching a discourse based on Christ's sermon on the Mount. [The chairman suggested at this point that the authorities at Washington hadn't probably heard of that sermon, an idea which amused the audience considerably.]—The people looked on with alarm. Yet those acts of arbitrary power did not seem to be in pursuance of any settled policy, but rather dictated by the fitful impulses of men unused to the possession of power. All these acts, however, were brought to the notice of the people at last election. They were jealous, thank heaven! at even an indication of a purpose to encroach on their liberties; and when they cease to be thus jealous they will be fit for any yoke of despotism that may be placed on them—And this subject of arbitrary arrests, more than anything else, I believe, caused the victory of the Democratic party, and the election of the noble and patriotic man who now fills the executive chair of the Empire State. [Tremendous cheering for Seymour.]

The election in New York seemed to be understood at Washington. It was regarded, rightfully, as a decision of the people against the whole system of illegal arrests, and for a time nothing more was heard of it. The Administration promptly desisted from its unconstitutional and lawless course.

A few months ago occurred an exciting election in New Hampshire. Soldiers were permitted by the Administration to go home and vote. You remember the case of Lieut. Edgerly, which took place at this time. This officer, being at home, deposited his vote for the Democratic ticket, a ticket which received a plurality of all the votes in the State, and which he had voted all his life. The Government sent an order from Washington dismissing him, for this offence, from the service, and that too, in language insulting to a majority of the people, not only in New Hampshire, but throughout the loyal States. The order read that he was discharged for "voting the copperhead ticket, and by this means aiding the rebel cause." I undertake to say, and I wish my voice could reach the White House as I speak it, that never was an outrage so foul as this.