XXXVIth CONGRESS—Third Session.

SENATE....WASHINGTON, Feb. 21, 1863.

Mr. HARRIS (Rep., N. Y.) presented a petition from a large number of the citizens of New-York City, asking for the establishment of a submarine telegraph from Fortress Monroe to Galveston.

Mr. KENNEDY (Un., Md.) called up the bill to amend the act to establish and equalize the grade of line officers in the Navy. Passed.

Mr. LANE (Rep., Kan.) introduced a bill to grant a right of way through the military reserves of Kansas.

Mr. WILSON (Rep., Mass.) introduced a bill to incorporate the National Academy of Sciences.

Mr. HOWARD (Rep., Mich.) called up the bill to divide the State of Michigan into two Judicial Districts.

After discussion by Messrs. FOSTER, TRUMBULL, FESSENDEN, and others, the bill passed: Yeas 25; Nays 11.

CREDENTIALS OF MR. MORRILL.

Mr. FESSENDEN presented the credentials of the Hon. L. M. Morrill, re-elected United States Senator from the State of Maine for six years from the 4th of March next.

INQUIRY REGARDING ARRESTS.

Mr. POWELL (Dem., Ky.) offered a resolution that a Committee of three be appointed to investigate the facts in reference to the arrest, imprisonment, and release of D. A. Mahony, J. A. Mullen, and Andrew J. Duff. Laid over.

THE TREASONABLE MEETING IN KENTUCKY.

Mr. POWELL also gave notice that he should, at an early day, offer a resolution for a Committee to investigate the conduct of Gen. Gilbert in dispersing a Convention in Kentucky.

PRINTING THE CURRENCY BILL.

Mr. SHERMAN (Rep., Ohio) offered a resolution that 10,000 extra copies be printed of the bill to provide for a national currency.

Referred to the Committee on Priming.

THE ARMY.

Mr. WILSON (Rep., Mass.) introduced a bill to promote the health, comfort, and efficiency of the Army.

Referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

LANDS FOR RAILROADS AND TELEGRAPHS IN KANSAS.

Mr. LANE (Rep., Kansas) called up the bill to grant lands to Kansas for the construction of railroads and telegraphs. Passed.

ARBITRARY ARRESTS AND SUSPENSION OF THE WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS.

The bill for the discharge of State prisoners was then taken up, the question being on the amendment of Mr. Carlile, offered as a substitute for the substitute proposed by Mr. Trumbull.

Mr. POWELL (Dem., Ky.) spoke at some length in favor of Mr. Carlile's amendment, contending that the writ of habeas corpus never should be suspended where the courts were open. He referred to the case of Theobald Wolf Tone, where such a writ was granted, though Tone confessed his guilt.

Mr. HOWARD (Rep., Mich.), in reply, referred to the case of Napoleon, who, while on a British ship, claimed that he was not a prisoner of war, but going as a guest to England; yet the British ministry refused to allow a writ of habeas corpus in that case.

Mr. DOOLITTLE (Rep., Wis.), quoted a number of instances from British history, showing that always in cases of necessity, as invasion or insurrection, the Executive Government had in the first instance established martial law. He asked Mr. Powell if he held there was no right to declare martial law within the lines of the army?

Mr. POWELL said he did hold that there was no authority to declare martial law anywhere.

Mr. GRIMES (Rep., Iowa), asked if the Senator made a difference between martial law and military law?

Mr. POWELL said he did. Martial was no law at all, but simply the will of the military commander. Military law was the acts and regulations established by Congress for the use of the army. He declared that the bill gave the President power to arrest for political offenses. But no definition was given of such offenses. Belonging to the Democratic party might be deemed a political offense. The other day a Convention of people in Kentucky was dispersed by a man named Gilbert, Colonel or General, who was reported to have said that there were Rebels in the Convention. To vindicate his fellow Democrats of Kentucky, so fearfully disrobed by this satrap of power, he read the resolutions passed by a meeting of the Democrats in the Kentucky Legislature, which he wished to go upon the record, to show that these men were true lovers of civil liberty, and to stand as a monument of infamy against this man Gilbert.

Mr. WILSON (Rep., Mass.)—Mr. President: When this war commenced I made a resolution to do all I could to put down the Rebellion, and to do it without any party feeling in the matter, and I have endeavored to act in conformity with that resolution. In all the names that have come before the Committee of which I am a member, over 3,000 of them, there never has been a party division on any of them. But it is hard, Sir, to sit and hear such speeches as that uttered by the Senator from Kentucky to-day. That Senator has in his place passed an eulogium on the beds of men who put forth that address, an address which the loyal heart of America will pronounce treason to our Constitution. The Senator wishes that paper to go upon the record as an honor to the men who penned it, and as a record of infamy on the Administration. I too, Sir, desire to have it go upon the record, that the record may be made to all coming generations as the evidence that the men who conceived that address, who signed that address, who responded to the call of that address, and who applied that address, are traitors to the country and the nation. [Loud applause in the galleries, amid cries of order.]

The CHAIR said if any more such demonstrations were made in the galleries, they should be immediately cleared.

Mr. WILSON—I desire that the paper may go upon record as a paper that arraigns the Administration, because the brave men of the North-West who tread the soil of Kentucky with arms in their hands to maintain the safety of that State and the cause of our common country, have taken for their support a little straw, or hay, or corn, or wheat. I desire that address shall go upon record, because it calls upon the Senator and Representatives of Kentucky to oppose giving men or money to carry on this war for the maintenance of the Constitution and the Union. Yes, Sir. Let that paper go upon the record, and let the eulogium pronounced here to-day by the Senator from Kentucky go upon the record, and let the loyal heart of America decide whether that address is loyal, and whether that eulogium is worthy of a loyal Senator. Sir, it is strange that when this Republic is menaced, and when 600,000 or 700,000 armed Democrats are traversing the soil of this country to overturn the institutions of the nation, it is strange that men can rise day after day in the Senate of the United States, with no words of rebuke for armed treason, but only denunciation of the President of the United States and of the loyal men of this country who are supporting his administration and supporting the cause of our country. I should think the Senator from Kentucky, and the men who unite with him in these denunciations, would feel the blush of shame mantling their cheeks when they think of the acts of the men they once followed, and whose counsels led them for so many years, whose hands are now red with the blood of our murdered countrymen. They tell us that the land is filled with graves of our murdered citizens. They tell us we have thousands of widows and orphans, but who filled these graves and made these widows and orphans? Every bullet fired in this war at the breasts of our loyal men has been fired by a Democrat, for a man has to be a Democrat in America before he can be a traitor. Every brave man who stood by the flag of his country, who has followed that flag with unswerving fealty through sunshine and storm, amid the diseases of the camp and the fire of the battle-field, every one of these men who sleep in bloody graves, have gone down by bullets fired by Democrats. Every widow made by this war in America was made a widow by Democrats; every orphan child of loyal men killed in this strife, was made an orphan by Democratic bullets; every mother whose sons have fallen in defense of their country has been made childless by Democratic bullets; every flag riddled and torn by shell and shot has been riddled and torn by Democratic shell and shot. Sir, with these facts before the nation, that Democratic leaders in these halls plotted this Rebellion—with the oath of office upon their lips, they sat here day by day and plotted the overthrow of this country; they raised the standard of revolt and for nearly two years they have been exerting all the power they possess endeavoring to destroy our institutions—notwithstanding all these facts, that will go down to all coming generations of men, men calling themselves Democrats, rise in the country and denounce the Government and every act of the Government, and call upon people not to enlist, or to desert the ranks of their country, or call upon Legislatures not to give men and money to carry on successfully through this bloody Rebellion. Why, sir, there are traitors in the loyal States as well as in the disloyal States, and there is not a loyal man in America who does not in his heart instinctively feel that the men of Kentucky who drafted the address read here to-day, who signed it, and who responded to its call, are in their hearts traitors to their country. The loyal heart of America will pronounce that decision, and from that verdict there never is to be an appeal. During the last few months our ears have been pained and our souls made sick by this talk of the sympathizers with treason. We have had these secret deeds of the Knights of the Golden Circle, and resolutions of Conventions and Legislatures; and the other day they had a Convention at Hartford, Conn. And there will never be any mistake about the character of this Hartford Convention. It was sustained and led by Toucey and Seymour, and the other chiefs of that faction who, under the name of Democracy, are endeavoring to destroy the Government and the Constitution. One of these chiefs, in a speech, made use of the following language: "If any of these United States Marshals should attempt to arrest me I would kill 'em, damn 'em; I would kill 'em, and I say to you if any of these infamous whelps should attempt to arrest any of you without due process of law, kill them, damn them; kill them." And that was the character of other speeches. We have heard a great deal about leaving New-England out in the cold, but I apprehend that these men who talk about that would not want to leave that man out. He sympathizes too much with traitors, and possesses too much in harmony with them, too. The man who can utter such language is a traitor, and would be a traitor in arms against his country if he did not dread the consequences of his action.

Mr. TURPIE (Dem., Ind.)—If the Senator will allow me. I do not think any person has seriously contemplated anything like the secession of the East or of the South, but I believe, so far as this talk about leaving New-England out in the cold is concerned, it was to allow Massachusetts the benefit of the draft.

Mr. WILSON—Sir, New-England needs no defense. In former days there have been men of ability who dashed their heads against Plymouth Rock and who were rolled back like the waves of the ocean, and I shall not attempt to defend her from the small men of latter days. Massachusetts needs no defense here. It is too late for any man from New-England to defend her against the assaults of men whose sympathies are with the disloyal of this country, and I have no defense to make for Massachusetts or New-England. Now, Sir, we have heard here day after day the President of the United States denounced as a tyrant and a usurper, and the Senator from Kentucky talks about the President's usurpations. The history of these times will show to all who come after us that never in the history of mankind has it happened that an Administration has been so charitable, so humane, so kind, to traitors in arms, or to men who sympathized with traitors in arms. History will do justice to the President, and show that if anything he has had too much heart and too much kindness for the stern duties belonging to his office; and yet this man, true and faithful, borne down with the weight of care and duty imposed upon him, is denounced here day after day as a usurper and a tyrant. It is in every sense of the word untrue. It is unjust; it is wicked; and such will be the judgment of the country, and of the Christian and civilized world in the present and coming generations. I have witnessed his kindness and charity toward these men whose hands are dripping with the blood of my neighbors and friends. I have wished for one hour only of Andrew Jackson. Sir, instead of being a tyrant and a usurper, he dealt too leniently and too gently with the wickedest rebellion the world ever saw. A rebellion without cause, a rebellion conceived in iniquity, and brought forth at a time and under circumstances that should meet the abhorrence of mankind. But all these assaults on the President will fall harmless at his feet, and the feeling of patriotism that is now rising in the East and in the West will overwhelm all these traitors and sympathizers with rebellion. The brave men who are now fighting in the field and pouring out their blood for their country, are turning back to strike a blow at the men who are sympathizing with those who are trying to shoot them down in front, and it is plain to see, Sir, that these men are cowering before the storm of the rising patriotism and indignation of this nation. I tell these men, be they here or elsewhere, that all their talk of revolution in the Free States, all their attempted legislation and acts in favor of rebellion, will meet the stern condemnation of the patriots of America. They begin to feel it, they are hearing from the brave men in the field, who will brook no sympathy with treason. I have seen a letter from a gallant Admiral of the Navy which states that the first news he had of the Democratic victory in New-York was its being shouted at his men by the Rebel pickets. Those victories were hailed with joy throughout all Rebeldom as the triumph of their Democratic brethren in the North. There are sympathizers with treason all over the North, and even in Massachusetts. Last year when the report came that Banks was driven out of the valley of the Shenandoah by Jackson, there was a man who laid down in his cornfield and rolled in the dirt, so excessive was his joy. Mr. Wilson contended that the President had the right to suspend the writ of habeas corpus and make arrests when the life of the country was at stake. He believed that it was his duty to issue an Emancipation Proclamation, and to put down the Rebellion by striking at its cause and support—at that institution which had raised two crops for Rebellion. He was in favor of using every means to crush the Rebellion, and he would use slaves for all military purposes. The Government might take our sons, and brothers, and neighbors to fight and to be placed in the front of battle to be killed by the Rebels: but no, it must not touch the slave, nor make any use of him to put down this Rebellion. He was for the country, and the whole country, and in favor of employing all means to crush out treason.

Mr. POWELL said he had listened to the most extraordinary speech of the Senator from Massachusetts, who had gone into the general system of denunciation of good and true men simply because he could not meet the arguments and facts contained in that address. That address was true—every word of it; and the Senator could not say that it was untrue. It arraigned the Administration for its unconstitutional acts and oppressions; and the Senator could not meet the specific arguments therein set forth, and hence he entered into the general denunciation of Democrats all over the country. It had been customary to denounce Democrats as disloyal before elections. Gov. Seymour of New-York had been denounced by the Abolition press as a traitor. Democrats in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and other states had been so maligned. And now they charged the Democracy of Connecticut with being disloyal. And why? Is it because they are opposed to the war, and believe the country can only be saved by peace? They might be disloyal to Abolition hearted Senators, but they were not to the country at large. The honest, intelligent, liberty-loving people were not with the Senator and his party. He might think so, but he was mistaken. Only brainless barristers, who had somehow managed to get shoulder straps, and cheating contractors, wanted the war to continue. The people wanted peace. But the Senator had said that all the widows and orphans, and all the men killed, had been made so by Democratic bullets. Did not the Senator know that a large number of those now in rebellion never were Democrats? Did he not know that such men as John Bell, and Zollicoffer, and others, never were Democrats? The Senator must know all this. And yet he had the audacious impudence to rise here and say that every bullet fired in this war had been fired by a Democrat. In the hot abolition zeal of the Senator he might believe this to be true. He hurled back with scorn the denunciation of the men of Kentucky who drew up and signed that address. His constituents, who drew up and penned that address, were as true and as loyal men as the Senator from Massachusetts, or any of his Abolition horde ever dared to think they were. The Senator said that the Democrats were cowering before the rising patriotism of the people. When did the patriotism of the people die out? And when did the Democracy cower? Was it when they carried the elections last Fall? The Senator and his party thought they had found a torch to light the fires of patriotism when they issued the Emancipation Proclamation. But where were the men flocking along the streets that were promised by the Governor of the Senator's State? And where were the 200,000 promised by the editor of a chief paper of the Abolition party? The Senator had admitted that some of the arrests had been mistakes. The whole of them were a cruel mistake, unjust to innocent persons, and a violation of the Constitution.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

On motion of Mr. GRIMES, the Senate went into executive session, after which it adjourned until Monday.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

A Committee of Conference was asked of the Senate on the disagreeing amendments of the two bodies on the bill to provide ways and means for the support of the Government.

The House resumed the consideration of the Post-Office Reform bill.

Mr. LAZEAR (Dem., Pa.) offered an amendment, providing that all soldiers in camp and hospital shall receive and transmit letters free of postage.

Mr. MAYNARD (Un., Tenn.) offered an amendment, to include sailors and all other persons in camp, hospital, or on shipboard.

Mr. COLFAX (Rep., Ind.) opposed the proposition, saying, however, that as much as Mr. Lazear might desire the passage of such a measure, it needed much elaboration before it could be passed into a law. There were already great abuses of the franking privilege, which would be proportionately increased by extending it to the hundreds of thousands of men in the field.

Mr. Maynard's amendment was rejected, 14 against 93.

Mr. BIDDLE (Dem., Penn.)—Such privileges were extended to soldiers in the war with Mexico.

Mr. Lazear's amendment was adopted by a vote of 73 against 46.

Mr. HUTCHINS (Rep., Ohio) said that this bill, as a measure of postal reform, would prove a signal failure, and in order to render it efficient, he proposed a uniform letter rate of 2 cents.

This, and Mr. Maynard's amendment, making a uniform rate of 1 cent, were rejected.

Mr. MORRILL (Rep., Vt.) reported, from the Committee of Ways and Means, amendments to the Tax bill, the consideration of which was postponed until Tuesday next.

Mr. HUTCHINS ineffectually moved to table the Post-Office Reform bill, and the bill then passed by a vote of 72 Yeas against 56 Nays.

THE TAX BILL.

Mr. MORRILL (Rep., Vt.) reported from the Committee of Ways and Means amendments to the Tax bill, the consideration of which was postponed until Tuesday next.

REJECTED PATENT EXTENSION.

The House debated and then rejected the Senate bill extending the patent of Cowan's steam safety guard.

THE POST-ROUTE BILL.

The House concurred in the Senate's amendments to the Post-Route bill, including pre-emption rights to the Overland Mail Company between St. Joseph and Placerville.

PREVENTION OF CORRESPONDENCE WITH REBELS.

The House passed the Senate bill to prevent correspondence with the Rebels. It provides that if any person being a citizen of the United States and residing in a foreign country, or any citizen thereof, without permission of the Government of the United States, and with the intent to defeat the measures of the Government, shall, either directly or indirectly, open any correspondence or intercourse with the pretended Rebel Government, or any individual acting or sympathizing therewith, or shall counsel or assist in such proceedings, shall be deemed guilty of high misdemeanor, and on conviction, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding $10,000, and imprisonment not less than six months nor more than five years, the offender to be tried by a Court within the jurisdiction of which he may first have been arrested.

THE MILITIA BILL.

The Senate bill for enrolling and calling out the National forces, and for other purposes, is to be considered on Monday.

PREVENTION OF BRIBERY.

The House passed the Senate bill to amend the act preventing members of Congress from taking considerations for procuring contracts, office or place, so as to embrace any agent of the Government of the United States.

LETTERS OF MARQUE.

The Senate bill authorizing the President, in all domestic or foreign wars, to issue letters of marque and reprisal, such power to continue two years, was taken up.

Mr. COX (Dem., Ohio) said this measure was not so much directed at the commerce of the Rebels (for they had little of it) as to throw out a threat against foreign nations in case of future wars with them. He briefly argued to show the necessity of referring the bill to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. FREDERICK A. CONKLING (Rep., N. Y.) and Mr. WASHBURNE (Rep., Ill.) wanted the bill to be passed now. The latter said he had received letters from New-York and elsewhere, from the merchants and others, urging the passage of the bill.

Mr. McKNIGHT (Rep., Pa.) wanted to have the bill acted on now. He thought that the Secretary of State had managed our affairs with foreign countries admirably and adroitly.

The bill was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs, with the privilege of reporting at any time.

Miscellaneous business of no public importance then followed, and at 5 o'clock the House adjourned.

THE BIRTHDAY OF WASHINGTON.

Republican Celebration—The Speech of Mr. Dickinson.

The Republican Central Committee celebrated the 131st anniversary of the birthday of Washington, on Saturday evening, by a supper at the City Assembly Rooms. The inspiration of the occasion was hightened by the presence of a large number of ladies. The room was otherwise decorated with flags and banners, and music added its charm to the festivity. Supper was announced at 8½ o'clock.

Among the guests at the principal table were the Hon. D. S. Dickinson, Mayor Opdyke, Collector Barney, Dr. R. C. Hitchcock, Col. S. H. Mix of the 3d New-York Cavalry, Sinclair Tousey, Charles S. Spencer Edgar Ketchum, Sheridan Shook, Elliot C. Cowdin, Henry Smith, Charles H. Hall, and Owen W. Brennan.

At 9 o'clock Mr. WM. A. DARLING, Chairman of the Committee, commenced the intellectual programme of the evening by a very happy statement of the object of the assemblage. He introduced as the presiding officer of the evening

Mr. CHARLES A. DANA, who congratulated the Committee on the success of theirs and the country's cause since they last met on a similar occasion. He recounted our principal victories, and paid an eloquent tribute to Gen. Rosecrans. He found reasons for congratulation and hope in the East and the West, in the South and the South-West. He proceeded to announce the regular toasts as follows:

1. *The Republic one and indivisible*; (great applause), one country, one government, one flag, one destiny.

The Rev. Prof. R. C. HITCHCOCK said that, if he was happy a year ago in meeting the loyalty of this commercial metropolis of the Union beneath its mantle of broadcloth, he was still more happy in meeting it now, since the mantle was frilled with silk. He congratulated the Republican Central Committee upon the happiness which belonged to them this evening, in welcoming to their fellowship the Representatives of those who, by their prayers, by their self-sacrifice, by their noble consecration of themselves to the great interests of the country, had done so much to cheer the heart and to strengthen the hand of the nation in this its deadly strife. (Cheers.) Dr. Hitchcock alluded to the refusal of Webster, 13 years ago, to recognize a law of God, and contended that our every act was none other than a fulfillment of God's predestinad law, a predestination recognized not only by the Presbyterian catechism, but by the father of modern philosophy, Descartes. He argued that the configuration of the continent, and the substantial unity of race, showed that this Union was a divine decree, which not all the slaveholding aristocracy of the South, backed by the serf-holding aristocracy of Europe, could ever overcome.

2. *The President of the United States.* [Three cheers.]

3. *The Empire State*—great alike in its power and its fidelity to the cause of the whole nation.

The announcement that Mr. Dickinson would respond was received with enthusiastic applause, the entire assemblage rising and waving their handkerchiefs.

Mr. DICKINSON said: Ladies and gentlemen, the social days of the great and good have been celebrated through all time, wherever civilization has travelled, and the memory of the patriot Washington has been held dear by the American people. [Applause.] He was one of those who founded the great Government of equality, who repudiated the idea of heaven-descended rulers, and with the first parents of this Republic ingrafted the great and sublime idea of equality. He and those with whom he acted acknowledged no ruler but the Ruler of the Skies; no sovereign but the Sovereign of the Universe; no protector except Him who notes as well the fall of a sparrow as the destruction of an empire. It is this that has made the memory of Washington dear. Well might the shepherds of the political Bethlehem, if they had known the birthday of Washington, have assembled at his birth to see the star in the east. He added in forming this great Government of equality, and it is this which has made his memory so dear. He discharged his great and benign mission on the earth, and, like the prophet Elijah, passed away in a fiery chariot to heaven. "My father, my father, the chariots of Israel, and the horsemen thereof," was exclaimed by the American people when earth lost and eternity gained a mighty spirit. [Cheers.] But if the mission, if the history, if the work of George Washington was a cheat and a delusion, if this Government was founded only to blast expectations, only to disappoint hope, then it would have been far better that George Washington never had been born, and that this Government had slept forever in the wide abyss of possibility. Yes, my fellow-citizens, far better that the birthday of George Washington had been cursed, as the Idumian cursed his natal day: "Let the day be cursed in which I was born, and the night in which it was said that a man child has been conceived." But this cannot, will not, shall not be. [Loud cheering.] This Government is destined to pass on by a will stronger than all human existence—to pass on to the glorious and great fruition that awaits it, and we can not only see this mighty people of this great and glorious Government, but we can hear the footsteps of the coming millions in the distance. [Cheers.] In this great constellation of political hope, these thirty-four sons and these blooming territorial daughters, we can see in this bright and beautiful constellation the Empire State, our parent queen, unveil her peerless light and shed luster and glory and genial warmth upon all. It is the second land of promise, like that region between the Mediterranean and the Jordan, full of all the elements of greatness, full of all the elements of wealth, full of all the elements of success, moral and material, that can bless a people. Look out upon her mighty expanse, see her great inland seas, see her mighty rivers moving to their destination like a human soul to the bosom of its father and its God. See its contributions to commerce, see the productions of its industry, see its letters, arts and arms, see all its greatness, its internal improvements, its bright and beautiful hills, its sunny slopes, its silvery streams, its smiling valleys, and then say whether this land is not worth preserving, and a Union is not worth fighting for that has such a people.

"Breathes there a man with soul so dead,
That never to himself hath said
This is my own, my native land!" [Applause.]

In the midst of this a Rebellion is upon us. This great and benign Government, that has come down to bless our people, like that genial sunshine that shods its rays upon all God's children alike, that has come down like the refreshing rains of Heaven, or like the fertilizing dews, unseen and unheld, this great, this good, this benign and unequaled Government, has put its nose into the water that came to Rebeldom to drink. This wolf of a Government has attempted to fasten its fangs upon the lamb, the Rebellion. [Laughter.] What shall the Empire State say? What shall the Empire State do in this emergency? There is no half-way house—there are no compromise measures here. There are two great antagonisms, a Government and a Rebellion, a Government at Washington, a Rebellion hatched in hell. [Cheers.] Where shall she cast her potential voice? She has taken up her position with the Government which she helped to found, and of which she sits empress crowning this mighty court. We say, the Empire State shall say: War, uncompromising war [loud cheering], war to the knife [continued cheering], until the Rebellion is put down. [Applause.] If a riot should arise in your city here, would our friend the Mayor send out an embassador of peace, or would he send out the representatives of the law in their majesty to crush it down to darkness and to dust? [Cheers.] It is a question between the Government and the Rebellion. It has been nothing else, it is nothing else, and it never will be anything else; and you may baptize it at the font of infidel politics, as often as you choose, and when it comes out the same bastard of Rebellion will be seen. [Laughter and cheers.] But it is feared by the politicians that some incidents may be drawn in that may be uncomfortable. This reminds me of the transmigration philosopher who begged a man to desist from the chastisement of a dog, for, he said, he could recognize in its howl the voice of a deceased friend. There are a great many politicians, I think now, who the moment they hear Slavery crying, believe that they hear the voice of a departed friend. [Loud laughter and applause.] Now I have been one of those conservative people, not according to the modern doctrine of conservatism—for I was old-fashioned in my definition—but I was for letting the institution of Slavery entirely alone to work out its own problem under the guidance of a benevolent Providence—not interfering with it in any shape or manner, but leaving it to the localities where it existed, to be dealt with in their own time and way. When they said "Constitution," I said "Constitution." When they appealed to that as their shield, I invoked its protection for them. When they said powder, I said powder. [Applause.] And when they inquired who can make war upon the Beast, I said the American people. [Cheering.] I have had no anxieties upon this subject, except to afford them the shield of the Constitution, so long as they invoked it. But when they threw it away, when they resorted to arms, I said then, put them down by the whole power of the American people. [Applause.] And I say so now. [Cheers.] I was an old-fashioned Democrat, as you may remember. I am a Democrat now [applause], of the staightest sect. But a great many who were Abolitionists when I was a Democrat—or tried to be if it paid well—now call me to account, and say I am radical, very radical, indeed, and they are conservative. Well, I will admit they are conservative in one sense, and only one, and that is not the etymological or technical sense, but it is the American sense, and that is, opposed to the Government and all its institutions and interests. [Applause.] They say I am radical. I admit I am radical in this radicalism, if they intend by this that I am for making this cure complete, and thorough, and effectual, then I am radical, or, being fairly in, I have an idea to see this war fairly out. The question of Emancipation has become one of the questions of the day. It cannot be blinked any longer; and I have no disposition to get around it. I will meet it as I have always met questions. Many of you thought I was on the wrong side; but I always took one side. I never took both sides on any question. [Laughter and cheers.] I took the side of letting this question entirely alone, so long as they appealed to the Constitution; when they threw that away, and repudiated it, I said, as I say now—and I want the reporters to be sure to get me down—I speak for the benefit of political sneaks generally—[cheering]—I say that the only safeguard of Slavery was the recognition of the Constitution; that the opinion of the world is against it; all the instincts of humanity and religion are against it; the advance of civilization is against it; the interests—moral, material, commercial, and religious—of the country are all against it; and while I would prosecute the war solely and entirely for the purpose of putting down this Rebellion, if Slavery happens to go along with it, I will hold up both my hands and cry amen to putting them both down. [Great applause.] I never favored it as an institution. I favored letting it alone when they invoked the Constitution; when they threw that away, and exposed its nakedness and deformity, I cared not how quick it went by the board. [Cheers.] They sent their pitcher to the well once too much. [Laughter.] Icarus soared so near heaven that the sun's heat melted away his waxen wings, and he came down to destruction and baptized the Icarian Sea, we are told. Although his father cried Icarus, Icarus, he heeded not, he was determined, in his ambition and security, to soar up to the heavens; and thus he was destroyed. Slavery had traded so long in the politics of the country, had controlled convictions, had made the mean mighty and the little great, that it thought it could do anything, and remembering that soaring upward like Icarus melted waxen wings, and it went right downward. But it melted its waxen wings there and destroyed the institution for ever. [Great laughter and applause.] The friends of Slavery have done for it what its enemies never could have done; and the Abolitionists ought to hold a day of thanksgiving and prayer for the friends of Slavery for destroying it from the face of the civilized earth. [Applause.] What we want in the Empire State, this great and mighty Empire State is, a reformation in our political system. Names have become controlling. I suppose I am regarded as a heretic, now-a-days, from the Democratic faith, and I propose, if the doctrines I have advocated for the last two years are heretical, I propose to be regarded so hereafter. Like the jaryman who insisted upon his position, I do not propose to change my position under any circumstances in this matter, but to stand where I have taken up my ground. I am not Conservative; I am Radical: Radical let it be then. I was never of the trading the robbing, the expediency class of Democrats. I belonged to the Jackson Democracy, whose creed, first and foremost, that the Union must and shall be preserved. [Cheers.] There I stand to-day, and when they set up an image for me to worship, I say to them as Wallace said to Edward:

"Unto my God, three times I daily bow,
But like a Christian knight, pray what art thou?"
[Laughter and cheers.]

Our Democratic friends do not acknowledge them as the Democracy—they are a spurious imitation, not the genuine Jacob Townsend. [Laughter.] They say they obtained a great conservative victory in the last Fall's election. We have all heard of the very lucky individual who drew the elephant in a lottery. [laughter], and who could not sell him, and could not give him away, and could not keep him, and did not know exactly what to do with him when he got him. Now, I fear that our friends who succeeded in the last Fall's election have drawn the political elephant; they seem to be a good deal troubled with him just now, and don't know precisely what to do with him. They are evidently in divided counsels. Before the election they were opposed to arbitrary arrests—they were opposed to these thousand interferences that they complain of—but since the election they seem to have changed their position. They changed their spots, as the good lady advised her little son the leopard could. "Mother," he said, "can the leopard change his spots?" "To be sure he can, my son," she said, "when he gets tired of one spot he can go to another." [Laughter.] They seem to be changing their spots in the same way. Before the elections they were for the most liberal propositions of peace. Why to be sure they were. The Southern people were our brethren; burning a little gunpowder and murdering a few thousands of men, but then it would be all right; and they hoped it would be made up by some political action, and all be smoothed over so that the brothers of a common tie might meet again in a National Convention and nominate some gentleman, either fit or unfit, for the Presidency, and all go along nicely again as before. But when they came to enunciate these ideas and these gentlemen at the South seeing in their imagination a rope and a kind of an uncomfortable noose at the end of it, which does not exactly suit their ambition, said: we will have nothing to do with you one way or the other, we will have separation any way. Then these gentlemen began to reconsider their idea, and some of them think that upon the whole it is best to prosecute the war. That has been my idea from the beginning. There has not been a day from the time they fired upon Sumter to this moment but what I would have hewed them as Saul did Agag. [Cheers.] It is said we should not have negro soldiers. Well, suppose they do, I am in favor of them. [Cheers.] It seems to be feared that they will get between the wind and our nobility. I profess to be an average humanitarian and philanthropist, but I had much rather my black friend would be shot than myself I can tell you. [Applause.] But no, that is one of the political ideas, the mean political ideas of the time to refuse to avail ourselves of what no people in the history of man, either civilized or savage, ever did refuse in the course of any war from the time of Moses to the present day. No people have ever refused in war, the aid of an inferior order of civilization. But it suited the purposes of the day, and hence negroes, however efficient, must not be used in battle. It detracts from the dignity and the character of those who wish to fight the battles of the country. [Laughter.] I must confess I am not troubled with any such Chesterfieldian. The plethoric Turk visiting the European nobility, asked them when engaged in a dance why they did not let their servants do it for them—[laughter]; and I confess that I have often inquired when I see our sons and brothers and the husbands of our fair women going to the war, why not send the negroes? I say let us avail ourselves of every element, slave or free, black or white, on two legs or four, to put down this accursed rebellion. [Applause.] In the progress of the course of this controversy it has been said that New England must be repudiated. Ah, yes, repudiate New-England, repudiate the storehouse which furnishes you all your naval supplies; repudiate the mother who has given you your life blood, and your energy and your character, and all that you bear out with you to fight the great battles of life! [Cheers]. I have not learned from our opposing friends—the Democratic party they call themselves, but I went to examine their warrants and see if they out-rank me. [I have not understood precisely what they propose to do. Their ideas appear to be as clear on the subject of war as those of Jack Bunsby upon the subject of navigation. "If so be," said that renowned and experienced navigator, "the ship is not afloat, probably she has gone down." [Laughter.] They know not what to do. They are upon false premises. They are angling and bobbing after a bite from political parties. They have not any great, and general, and leading idea in this matter. They call their victory of last Fall a conservative victory. Now, let us look at that a little. Go out to the hills and the valleys; go along the meandering streams; go where the stars shine in all their beauty, and where the breezes play in all their freshness and fragrance, and what has been the result? Why, there you see, my friends, there you see a majority of between 29,000 and 30,000 rolled up against this mighty conservative element. Where is the overthrow? Go down into the wards of this city, where, I doubt not, there are some very good people, but where liquor-shops predominate, where dance-houses send up their music, where brothels fester, and where villainy and immorality congregate, and you will find that entire majority overthrown, and that is the conservative victory of 1862. [Cheers and laughter.] Go abroad. The English and their position has been alluded to. The English people are with us. Prince Albert was with us, and with his dying hand corrected dispatches for the purpose of mitigating the controversy between the English people and the American people. Queen Victoria is with us. Bright and Cobden are with us [cheers], and the great lights of the British people are with us, but that miserable, degraded, hireling organ, *The London Times*, is against us. Gregory and Lindsay & Co. have vented their litileness upon us, and the British aristocracy are against us in this great question, not that they hate the American people, but that they hate republican liberty. And this question is not merely between the loyal people of the loyal States and this internal Rebellion, but it is a question between the American people and the tyrannies and aristocracies of the earth, and has to be fought as such. France we have little to say about. It is a Government of schemes, a Government of design, that will go where it can to serve its own particular selfish purposes for the time being, and we have to expect no friendship from it. It will be governed only by its sense of selfishness and its fear. The British Government we have a little right to call to account. When these States were at peace with each other, when our States were going on successfully in full tide of prosperous experiment, we heard a cry from abroad. To be sure, it was subdued by caducees and interrupted by sobs, and we hardly knew what it meant unless it was a cry of bereaved Africa stretching forth her mothers' hands and asking for her sons. But really it was England. She furnished houses of her aristocracy for the generation of Emancipation gas, but the very first squall this bastard Confederacy gives for the upholding and support of American Slavery, the Brinsh aristocracy in the name of the British Government, advertise themselves as wet-nurses to start with. And she has held on to that position till the present moment. She deserves to be arraigned at the bar of the civilized world, and charged with unfriendliness and hypocrisy, and I charge it upon her. She fitted out this nefarious pirate Alabama in her own ports, built by a member of Parliament, manned by English sailors, and it was known what her infamous errand was. And when our merchants of this great city get together their contributions of charity to feed the starving people of Lancashire, it will be a mercy indeed if this nefarious pirate shall not seize them. [Cheers.] Now I want to put all these matters in array. I want to defy all who undertake to set up a standard of politics in this matter. I want them to know how fully and thoroughly I despise all their bolts of excommunication. When the Governor of Dorne was summoned to surrender to General Eaton, he sent back for his answer, "Your head or my head;" and I send the same to politicians to-day who undertake to turn me out of the party. I have checked my baggage through on this train. [Great applause.] I have enlisted for this war, and I care nothing for Democrats or Republicans as such; I have one great idea, to put down this internal Rebellion. [Cheers.] I thank God Almighty that He has permitted me to live in this day, this latter part of the 19th century, in order that I may combat this infernal idea of Rebellion against the Government. Now, what becomes the duty of the Empire State under these circumstances? It is her duty to demand in the name of Christianity and of civilization the putting down of this Rebellion. It is her duty to mark with the brand of Cain every man that interferes, to mark not for safety as Cain was marked, but for distinction every man who stands between the putting down of this Rebellion and the American people. She has a great and mighty mission to perform. I invoke her people of all parties—repudiating all mere political ideas—to march forward in this great and mighty work. I invoke her children to raise their hands against this monster that has come to torment them. I invoke woman, at the domestic altar, to raise her effectual prayer to Heaven against this infernal monster. She, who like Jephtha's daughter, could come forward and bare her bosom to the sword for the good of her country. I invoke her, I invoke her sons to come forward, not only upon the battle-field, but in every line of life, and in every avenue of society, to put down this Rebellion and save this Government—the last great hope of man. Almighty God, I say, if this Government must fall—if it must go down in blood and tears—if the example of Washington and the great sparks of the Revolution, and those who founded this Government, must go down, let it go down by blood, let it go down by force; but let not the Empire State contribute its mighty influence. [Cheers.] Give us rather, Father of Mercies, oceans of blood, rivers of tears, give us pestilence, give us famine, give us a life of suffering, give us an ignoble death, rather than curse us and our memories with the idea that we have contributed to uphold this terrible Rebellion. When this nation perishes, oh, may it perish by the force of a foreign foe. Let not its foundation be sapped, let it not fall a prey to the assassin's dagger at home. Let it perish by foreign force, so that when it shall perish we may not say that like the stricken eagle it has fallen by its own action; and especially by the action of the Empire State, that

So the struck eagle, stretched upon the plain,
No more through rolling clouds to soar again,
Viewed his own feather on the fatal dart,
Which winged the shaft that quivered in his heart.
Keen were his pangs, but keener far to feel,
He nursed the pinion that impelled the steel;
While the same plumage that had warmed his nest,
Drank the life-drop from his bleeding breast.

No, it shall not be. The Empire State shall stand in this great controversy, it shall come forward with the influence of its sons and its daughters; it shall come forward with the influence of all ages, sexes and conditions, and rescue our land from the hand of the despoiler. God grant it. God grant it, my friends. [Loud and prolonged applause.]

4. The Commercial Metropolis—Its wealth and prosperity are due to the vitality of freedom; may it ever remember that material results are the work of moral causes.

5. The Spirit and Example of Washington—Now dearer than ever to the People, who have pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor in defense of the free institutions and the national unity with which his existence and his glory were identified.

6. The Constitution of the United States—A noble instrument formed to perpetuate the blessings of liberty and not the curses of bondage. [Applause.]

7. The Army and Navy of the United States—all honor to their heroism and devotion