THE LOYALTY OF NEW-YORK

The Young Men for the Union and the War.

MASS MEETING IN THE COOPER INSTITUTE

SPEECHES AND RESOLUTIONS.

LETTER FROM GENERAL DIX.

The Loyal Young Men of New-York, without distinction of party, thronged last evening to the Cooper Institute, to testify to their devotion to the Union, and their determination to sustain their brothers in the field.

The vast hall was gaily decorated with flags and banners. Among the mottoes displayed were:

"Down with the Rebellion.
Up with the rights of *free* labor."

One Flag,
One Country,
One Destiny.

Sustain our brave soldiers.

About the hall was displayed the escutcheon of the Union, bearing in prominent letters: "Union and Freedom—Sept. 22, 1862."

After spirited airs by the 7th Regiment Band, at 8 o'clock the meeting was called to order by

Mr. E. J. FITHIAN, Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, who said:

MEN AND CITIZENS OF THE CITY OF NEW-YORK: The loyal young men of the State of New-York, irrespective of previous political association, recently held a State Convention at Syracuse. In that Convention were represented quite fully the loyal young men of the State, of all parties, and from nearly every county and district. It was there resolved, in substance, that allegiance and fealty to country was superior to the obligations of party. That when our country is in peril, either from enemies without or traitors within, it is the solemn duty of every patriot, ignoring all mere party obligations, to give a cordial and hearty support, not alone to his Government, but to the men in whose hands for the time being is confided the administration of that Government [cheers]; because, in times of great peril and danger, to pretend to support one's Government, while at the same time thwarting and oppressing in every possible manner the Administration of that Government, is a mockery and a delusion. [Applause.] It is keeping the "promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope." The Young Men's Convention, therefore, considered that in this time of the country's peril the best way to sustain the Government was to elect men to office who were the open, avowed, and cordial friends and supporters of the Administration of that Government. They accordingly resolved that the gentlemen placed in nomination for State officers by the "Union State Convention," then just held at Syracuse, were entitled to the confidence and support of the loyal young men of the State. And this meeting is called for the purpose of asking the indorsement of the young men of New-York City to those resolves. For nearly three years this Republic, the only free nation upon earth, has been struggling with varying fortune to maintain its rightful power and authority against the most most formidable as well as causeless rebellion history ever chronicled. At times the task seemed almost hopeless. Aided by the hearty sympathy and the covert support of the leading despots of Europe, and the traitorous "Copperheads" at home, the Rebellion had such success as to cause patriots everywhere almost to "despair of the Republic." But all this has now changed. The persistent, steady, and determined efforts of a great people, battling for their country, for truth and justice, for a republican Government, for the permanence of their institutions, for their homes and families, and for every thing dear and sacred to freemen, could not fail. And success seems at last about to crown our efforts. With unrelenting purpose, everywhere the march of the loyal legions is onward and victorious. Stronghold after stronghold, and State after State, is being wrested from the treasonous clutch of the Rebellion. Through the Valley of the Mississippi and Ohio, the Cumberland and the Tennessee, the Yazoo, Arkansas, Red and Little Kanawha, on the James, Savannah and Tuckahoe, from the top of the Alleghanies, in the gorges of the Blue Ridge, in the rice swamps of the Carolinas, and the everglades of Florida and the bayous of Louisiana, in some part of nearly every State that once owned the sway of the Union—the time-honored battle flag of our fathers waves in triumph—a beacon of hope to the patriot and terror to the traitor. [Applause.] And while our brave sons and brothers in arms are thus battling upon the tested field for the National cause, and periling health, comfort and life, and encountering privations, hunger, pestilence, wounds and death for their country, we, who remain at home assembled upon to discharge our less onerous but responsable and imperative duties. And one of the plainest dictates of patriotism is that we so discharge those duties as to see to it that the potential power of the great Free States of the North, and particularly the "Empire State", itself a nation in wealth and strength, shall not be controlled to any man or set of men upon whose hands rest a single stain of disloyalty. [Cheers.], whose lips blanch with the slightest fear or faltering, or in whose hearts there rests a single spark of tenderness toward this blackest and most damnable insurrection that ever threw its purse-proud curses into the flight of heaven, since Satan was from "Paradise driven out." [Applause.] It becomes the young men of New-York, on the contrary, to put forth every honorable effort to elect men to office who, laying all personal ambitions upon the altar of their country, shall devote themselves to the glorious task of transmitting to posterity the great nation which our fathers gave to us, with not a single acre of its patrimony impaired, not a star blotted from its escutcheon, or a principle surrendered from the great charter of its liberties. [Cheers.]—men, who will send forth to our soldiers and sailors the tenderest sympathies of the people, and wield the whole power of the commonwealth to crush out with iron hand and heel, not only the Rebellion that roars from without, but the cowardly mob that hisses and murmurs within [Loud cheers], and who, while seeking to avoid controversy with other nations, will at the same time demand that the National Government bid defiance to all foreign despots who may seek to meddle in this land. [Great cheering.] Such men fellow-citizens, we believe the nominees of the Union State Convention to be. And to the end that you may give organized expression to your views in this regard, permit me to nominate as your Chairman Col. Elliot F. Shepard.

The nomination of Mr. Shepard was unanimously acceded to. On taking the chair Mr. SHEPARD said:

Fellow-citizens—In thanking you for the vote which you have just given, I beg to say that the Loyal Young Men of New York have met to-day to ratify nominations which represent the great loyal Union sentiment of our State. The platform can be announced in one expressive word, and that word is Union. It can say to all other platforms what the sturdy, imperissable granite can say to the brittle soapstone: "You are silly, but I am true; you can be used for trifles, but I can be used for the foundation and the superstructure of proud edifices." We march, fellow-citizens, with every one who is for the suppression of the Rebellion, and against every one who is not. I see every destination in politics here. I see Odd fellows, Free Masons, and Democrats, and Loyal Leaguers, and Prohibitionists and Anti-Prohibitionists, and Know-Nothings and Radicals, and Whigs, and Silver Greys, and Regulars, and Independents, and Barnburners, and Hard-shells and Soft-shells [Laughter and applause]—men who have laid aside all those distinctions and determined not to know them again, but to know their country and their whole country, and nothing but their country, until after an honorable and enduring peace has been triumphantly conquered. Great and glorious as is this country, there is an organization against it which is headed by Horatio Seymour—you know who I mean. Though the snake may shed its skin, it remains the same. He began his gubernatorial career as an enemy to the Government and an enemy to the army; he has done everything in his power to prevent the re-enforcement of our armies, and he has pursued such a course that it has been necessary to withdraw from Meade's army, where they ought to be, some of our noble law-abiding soldiers, that they might secure the execution here at home of three acts which the Constitution has declined to be the supreme law of the land—soldiers of whom their commanding general has lately said, "Not one complaint has been made respecting them." Because the papers were not every day announcing new victories for our armies last year, this Governor declared that the Administration was imbecile and unconstitutional, and when the papers daily chronicled victories by land and by water—along the shore of the Atlantic, the banks of the Mississippi, Rye, and in Chattanooga, [applause], now he says the soldiers are successful [applause]—let him say that the administration is successful. The stigma is being removed from labor in the South, so that all those who are best fitted for the warm climates will go there, and can labor without danger of re-enslavement, and as the Rebellion goes down the rights of free labor will go up in the South as well as in the North. [Cheers].

Mr. DECAMP proposed the following list of Vice-Presidents:

R. B. Roosevelt,	Alex. McLeod,	Nathaniel Hayden,
Wm. H. Gibson,	John Taylor,	Shepherd Knapp,
John E. Parsons,	Geo. P. Nelson,	Nathaniel R. Doyle,
John Sedgwick,	Ira Allen,	Herman G. Carter,
James E. Carter,	F. A. Stout,	Edw. Whitmore,
Jas. A. Stansbury,	John O. Johnson,	Fred. Elliott,
Oswin O'Brien,	John Hopper,	
H. T. Cleaveland,	Samuel C. Reid,	
J. A. Stevens, jr.,	Coleman Robinson,	
Benj. F. Manierre,	Samuel B. Hard,	
A. J. Williamson,	R. H. Headley,	
Wm. Orton,	Ira O. Miller,	
J. T. Cleaveland,	Andreas Willeman,	
Jos. B. Hoyt,	E. F. Loeder,	
Rufus S. Andrews,	Dr. Louis Saunan,	
Edw. Robinson,	Adolphus Lange,	
Thos. C. Acton,	Edward Gilbert,	
Justin Thatcher,	Ferdinand Remack,	
E. Delafield Smith,	Herman Foster,	
Chas. A. Dana,	F. Markham,	
Benj. F. Pinckney,	C. F. Steinbrenner,	
R. F. Milliken,	Francis Reeche,	
Robert Tippman,	C. J. Steinbicker,	
Henry Brooks,	Dr. Schwarzenberg.	

——Hoosted.

Mr. ROBINSON presented the following list of Secretaries:

Theodore Tilton,	Wm. Oland Bourne,	A. C. Raw,
Alexander Winter,	Chas. W. Goodwin,	Herman Gutecat,
Edward Haldane,	John McGuerison,	Sydney A. Beane,
H. C. Perley,	P. C. Van Wyck,	James L. Hastie,
John J. Silcox,	Ethan Allen,	Henry Bickoff,
A. Hall, jr.,	E. E. Ellery,	George Manchot,
Chas. E. Flynn,	I. W. England,	Dect. L. Bateman,
J. A. Hardenbrook,	John Y. Foster,	Gustavus Levy.

The nominations were accepted.

Mr. H. B. STANTON, on being introduced to the audience, said:

Your Committee is aware that about three hours ago, Mr. President, I had as much expectation of preaching a sermon at Trinity Church to-night, as I had of addressing your meeting at Cooper Institute. Indeed, as a loyal man, who, when business permits, reads the papers, I ought probably to be ashamed to say that, until one of your Committee called upon me in the midst of professional business, in mid-afternoon, I did not know that there was to be a meeting here this evening. Of course, then, I have had no opportunity to get up a speech, and I shall ask this audience to follow along with me during the next fifteen or twenty minutes, while I pick up a speech—a bit here and a bit there—no logical syllogisms—certainly not clad in ornate phraseology. "Silver and gold have I none; but such as I have, give I unto thee." I find, Sir, the country engaged in one of the greatest wars that has marked, and diversified, and crimsoned history. Our country is one vast camp. The round globe almost vibrates under the tread of our armies. We are waging battle on a scale that would have astonished Cæsar, Marlborough, Frederick, or even the great Napoleon. Though I have often discussed the question, I shall not to-night inquire how we became involved in this war. But we may believe the divine apothegm, "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God;" and I shall inquire how we can get out of this war most successfully and honorably. Three methods occur to me by which we can attain peace. Probably when the convulsions which now agitate the land first shook its dark wing over it, the minds of most of you were turned to what is familiarly called a compromise, as the best mode of adjustment. Men whom the world had been accustomed to call wise had resorted to compromise, in times that were past, for the adjustment of these sectional difficulties. But, Sir, let me say here, and with emphasis, that, however it might have been in the early stages of this controversy, we have in my judgment, now arrived at a point where the South would be willing to accept no compromise, which the North would be willing to tender to them. We have gone so far in this dread struggle that—to phraphase rather than quote Macbeth—"Going through, and to the end, is better than stopping where we are or retreating." Yes, Sir. So far have we gone *in*, that the only safe way out is the way clear through. In the days that are passed, that which it has been attempted to compromise is the irrepressible conflict between free labor and slave labor. That same conflict confronts us now, and it is the chief obstacle in the way of compromise. There are men who would not only save the country, but conserve Slavery. Sir, you know that I have belonged to that class who insisted that this war was not commenced to destroy Slavery, and ought not to be prosecuted merely for the destruction of Slavery. But I say to you, Sir, that the man who would believe that an earthquake could run through Broadway from Union Park to the Battery for three years, and not destroy its buildings, would be a wise man compared with him who thinks that when this earthquake war, which now tracks blood from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, shall have kept up its march for three years, there will be left anything of Slavery to compromise. [Cheers.] Whatever we may have wished, or, intended, or desired, Slavery, Sir, when this war shall have been ended, will be dead and doomed. So much for Slavery, and so much for compromise. But no, my fellow-citizens, another idea occurs to me. There are some things that cannot be compromised. One of those things is the conflict between right and wrong, between Liberty and Slavery! And if we were to scab over this difficulty with some shallow compromise, without probing the wound, the patient might indeed rise with a flush cheek; but it would spot him all over in three years like leprosy. This is a conflict between irreconcilable systems, and I am for meeting it and not for handing over to my posterity the evils which it would inflict upon them. There is another way to peace which some have spoken of. Not by way of compromise, for the South will not accept compromise. It is by giving to our wayward brethren below the Potomac that which they commenced the war for and for which they prolong the conflict. That is, a disunion of this Union. Fellow-citizens, of all the delusions that have taken possession of the human mind, the greatest is, that this Union can be divided and leave the two halves intact. You could never agree upon the line, or, having ascertained the line, you could never agree upon the terms of separation; or, if the terms could be agreed upon, such would be the hostility, that one party would probably send for Beauregard, and the other for McClellan, and every exchange of sentiment, would have to be under a flag of truce; martial-law proclamations, and they would never get half-way through their first proposition. But, fellow-citizens, suppose all this were possible, and that we could get rid of this troublesome question of Slavery, and could see a peace of twenty-five years extending before us, the best interests of the human race would still require that we should fight it out to the end. [Cheers.] Fellow-citizens, we are fighting the battle for republican government and regulated liberty, and if we permit the despots below the Potomac and the crowned heads across the Potomac to break this Union in twain, this experiment will have failed. Never! The land of Washington and Jefferson; the land of Franklin and of Jay; the land of Hamilton and of Clinton; the land of Jackson and of Webster; the land of Marshall and of Kent; so great in arms; so great in law and literature; so great in science and statesmanship—God helping us—it shall not expire in eternal night. The ship of state which our fathers launched in the great struggle of Independence is now tempest-tossed in a wild and dangerous sea. Half the crew have mutinied, and though the night be dark, and clouds gather around the horizon, I would say, as the tempest-tossed mariner whose chart and compass fail him, steers his bark by the polar light, so we in the dark and terrible night that is before us and around us and upon us, will guide our course, by the fixed star of the National unity forever. Our institutions have lifted their lofty dome. They have sent their resplendent rays across the sea. Millions in the remotest part of the earth look to this Republic as their hope, and were it to go down, personifying it in the fell of the great Pole, we might say:

"Hope for a season bid the world farewell
And Freedom shrieked as Kosciusko fell."

Discarding then all hope of peace by compromise or a division of the Union, we must think of but one way to peace, and that is through war—dread war. But some faint-hearted souls may doubt whether we can succeed. It is an adage in war, that the longest purse wins. The greatest genius for war the world ever saw—Napoleon—was subdued because he could not cope with the London Exchange. When my distinguished friend Secretary Chase went to New-York to get his first loan of $50,000,000, *The London Times* said Mr. Chase had exceed $50,000,000 from the banks; but he would not be so well at the London Exchange, but since that prophecy of *The London Times* we have raised $1,200,000,000, and have not borrowed a dime out of our own exchange. [Loud applause.] Now let us look at our Southern brethren. Gold here is about 30. Well, to get a gold dollar in Richmond you pay about $13 of Confederate money. Why, that Confederate scrip, at the present price of paper, is not worth more by the pound avoirdupois than a pound Sterling. [Laughter.] Roots in the South $50 a pair! [Laughter.] So much for money. The longest purse wins. Now for the other resources of war. Probably no country is capable of draining out of the well of its own internal resources, such multitudinous scenes as we. People talk of war with England. Gentlemen, you may build a stone wall a thousand feet high, and shut up the United States for twenty years, so that not a dollar's worth shall be sold outside our lines, and at the end of that period, I think, we shall be richer than at its commencement. But England, if she couldn't be the tinpeddler of the universe, and trade and bluster in every port on the face of the globe, half her people would die of starvation, and her wealth and aristocracy would be in extreme danger of being crowded out into St. George's Channel. And as for Napoleon, I would say to him, strengthen yourself between the Rhine and the Atlantic; leave foreign nations alone; they ruined your uncle, and finally caged him on a desolate rock in the dreary Atlantic, where the winds and the waves howled around him until he died. I now come to the men. A gentleman recently from the Southremarked as he passed thoughour streets, "Why what a great crowd of men are here. In the South the men have all gone to the war." We can keep a million of men in the field. But the fact that the Confederates could not keep Vicksburg, which President Davis said was the key to the Gulf of Mexico, shows that they are down to the lees and emptyings of their means of raising armies. Yet, in addition to our other resources, we have 4,000,000 of men below the Potomac, which are capable of furnishing when pressed, 200,000 soldiers; and Millikens Bend, and Morris Island, and Port Hudson, show that they can bear competition with the proudest white soldiers among us. I am pleased with this. I think we want soldiers, and I believe that the negro makes a good soldier. I believe, too, in retribution, and I believe that this Rebellion would read magnificently in history, if its last expiring life were trodden out of it, by the long heel of the negro—[Prolonged laughter.]—No gentlemen, we shall win, we shall see the day come, when through these thirty-four States, united, happy and prosperous, the Sun, as he rises, shall never rise upon a master, nor set, upon a slave.

A Committee on Resolutions was appointed, consisting of Lewis L. Delafield, Walter S. Pinckney, Wm. H. Armstrong, Edward Remack, Ira O. Miller and John Austin Stevens, jr. The Committee reported the following:

Whereas, The loyal young men of the City of New York, without reference to their former political action, have this night assembled to proclaim their unalterable devotion to the Union, therefore

Resolved, That we heartily commend the Administration for using all the means granted to it by the Constitution and the laws for suppressing this wicked and causeless Rebellion, and that we regard with suspicion and contempt all those who, while they cry for a vigorous war policy, object to the measures employed for carrying it out.

Resolved, That we speak the sentiment of the whole nation in expressing our unanimous opposition to foreign interventions, whether by friendly mediation or armed assault; that the people approve of the declaration of the Government that any recognition of the so-called Confederacy by foreign powers will be regarded as an act of hostility; and that they will not tolerate the establishment of any European Government on this continent, but insist upon the enforcement of the Monroe doctrine to the fullest extent. [Loud applause.]

Resolved, That the American Government does not prosecute this war for the conquest or extermination of the Rebels, but for the restoration of the Union. And as it is the firm resolve of the people to use every means to crush the Rebellion, so it is their earnest wish to welcome back the repentant Rebels to their duties as citizens. [Cheers.]

Resolved, That we offer our heartfelt sympathy to the survivors of the late Lawless butchery, and to the persecuted Union men of the Southern and Border States; and that we give them our solemn pledge that we shall spare no exertions to restore them to their rights and homes. [Applause.]

Resolved, That we invite all men who love their country to unite with us in electing to office those men, who, pledged to support the Union, are alike the candidates of the soldier in the field and in the hospital, of the suffering Union men of the Border States and of the loyal Union men of the Northern States, and who are the enemies of Copperheads at home and of traitors abroad [cheers], to wit, the candidates nominated by the Syracuse Convention; and that we pledge to them the Union vote of the City of New-York.

Resolved, That the nation owes a debt of gratitude to its heroic army and navy, which it can never pay [applause]; that it is the bounden duty of this people to stand by its brave defenders in their hours of trial as well as in their days of triumph, and to shield them from the fratricidal blows of those who, without sharing their dangers, would rob them of their rights [applause], and that it is the fixed purpose of this people to strengthen the army at every hazard, until the Rebellion is finally crushed, and our war-worn veterans return to happy homes to enjoy the honors they have won and the liberty of the glorious Government they have preserved. [Prolonged applause.]

The resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Mr. H. C. PARSER offered the following in addition, which was received and adopted amid thunders of applause:

Resolved, That Gov. Seymour, in treating a revolutionary and murderous mob in this city as his "friends," and in refusing to co-operate with the national authorities to preserve the public peace and enforce the laws, is entitled to no other "friends" than those whom he has chosen to associate with and encourage, and whom he has promised to protect.

Mr. ROBERT B. ROOSEVELT read letters from Mayor Opdyke and Major-Gen. Dix, the latter including the following letter, which the gallant defender of his country has recently addressed to the War Democrats of Wisconsin:

The following letter from Major-Gen. Dix to the War Democracy was then read. It is preceded by this motto:

"Patriotism emanates from the heart, fills [illegible] infuses itself into the whole man, and speaks and acts [illegible] language. A friend of his country in war will feel, speak, and act for his country; revere his country's cause and hate his country's enemies. America wants no friend, acknowledges the fidelity of no citizen, who, after war is declared, condemns the justice of her cause and sympathizes with the enemy. All such are traitors in their hearts."

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, May 15, 1861.

NEW-YORK, Sept. 9, 1863.

To the War Democracy of Wisconsin:

GENTLEMEN: I received, the day before yesterday, yours of the 21st August, inviting me to attend a War Convention of the loyal Democracy of Wisconsin, on the 17th inst., at the city of Janesville. I have not seen the platform, embracing the Byron address, put forth by the Democracy of Wisconsin at Madison, on the 5th of August; but it is enough for me to know that you are in favor of "the resolute prosecution of the war," and of "unconditionally supporting the Government in its efforts and credit, in upholding its laws and replenishing its armies until the supremacy of the Constitution shall be established over every State and upon every spot of our domain." This is my own purpose, and I have seen, with the deepest regret, manifestations of a determination on the part of a portion of the Democracy of the country to withhold its support from the Government in carrying on the war, on account of certain errors of policy, thus giving aid to the public enemies, who are in arms against the Union and the national life. This determination, if persevered in, will inevitably betray the Democratic party into a course of action which will be fatal to it by leaving it, at the close of the war, now not far distant (if we are united), in the same relation to the country in which the Federal party was left at the close of the war of 1812.

I cannot accept your invitation to address you. My public duties demand my constant presence here; and I believe I can be most serviceable to the country by confining myself strictly to the discharge of those which are devolved on me by my military command. But I take pleasure in responding to your request to write to you.

In a great national struggle for existence, what is the duty of all good citizens? Manifestly, to sustain the Government with all their strength. If it is weak, we should rally around it and try to make it strong. If it is guilty of errors of conduct, we should not, for that reason, rush into an opposition which may disqualify it for the great end it is laboring to accomplish, but we should still sustain it, and trust for their correction to the recurrence of the popular ordeal, through which every Administration is, after a brief period, to pass.

The measure which has produced, perhaps, more dissatisfaction than any other is the President's Emancipation Proclamation. I certainly should not have advised it. I believed that it would prove practically inoperative—that it would only reach negroes who came within our control, and they were, by the laws of war, if we chose so to regard them, free without it. It was purely a war measure, and if the war should cease to-morrow, it would cease to be practically operative, excepting so far as it has been executed. This is, however, a question of interpretation for the courts, and it does not become me to anticipate their decision.

But putting another construction on it—that it was, as has been charged, the index of a radical change in the policy of the war—of the intention of the Administration to make it a war for the abolition of Slavery, and not for a reconstruction of the Union on the basis of the Constitution, the only basis, as I think, on which reconstruction is possible;—is it wise or patriotic to withdraw our support from the Government on account of it? In a war for the stability of the country there can be but two sides. The neutral may, it is true, clog the movement of the Government by his dead weight, as the six inches of mortar impedes its motion. But he who, by assuming an attitude of hostility to the Government embarrasses it in the prosecution of the war, is an auxiliary to the public enemy. The question is, whether war with the Emancipation Proclamation shall be maintained against the Rebellion, or whether the Rebellion shall be allowed to go on unresisted on account of the Proclamation? In other words, whether aid shall be given to the Administration of Abraham Lincoln or the usurpation of Jefferson Davis.

Great dissatisfaction has also been created by permitting arbitrary arrests by military authority in states which are loyal, and in which the machinery of the Courts is in full operation. Condemnation of these in speech or through the press is one of the prerogatives of free discussion. But when opposition is carried to the extremity of withholding support from the Government in carrying on the war, or leading into open resistance to it, a crime is committed and the public enemy is aided and encouraged.

This is now the imminent danger which threatens the Democratic Party. Opposition to the measures referred to has degenerated into opposition to the war. The law authorizing a draft of men to replenish the ranks of the army has been vehemently condemned by leading members and leading papers of the Democratic party, and every effort has been made to defeat its execution and to prevent the Government from getting men under it. It has been denounced as unconstitutional, as tyrannical, as precedented, and a measure of tyranny to which the Anglo-Saxon race has never submitted. These misrepresentations, sustained in many instances by high authority, have done much to render the measure odious and to defeat its purpose.

Of the necessity of the act I have nothing to say, except for what all know, that it was found impracticable to keep up the numerical force of the army to the proper standard by voluntary enlistment. It was passed by Congress under a sense of the responsibility which the members owe to the people, and in view of the exigencies of the military service. It is a law, and a law of imperious public duty. Obedience to it is more than an ordinary duty under existing emergencies. It is the dictate of patriotism, of the sense of honor, and of the high feeling which impels every man who is worthy of his country, to step forward when the Government is in peril.

In seasons of public danger compulsory military service, of which the draft is the mildest and the most equitable form, has been resorted to in England, for the army as well as the navy, in nearly every critical reign from the time of William the Conqueror down to George the Fourth. It has been enforced by the King's prerogative, and by statute law; it was regulated by the Parliament under Charles the First and by the Parliament under Oliver Cromwell after Charles was beheaded. One of their acts elicited an encomium from Hallam, in his constitutional History of England. It was adopted in Massachusetts, New-York and Virginia, under the colonial regime, and continued after they had thrown off their allegiance to the British crown. It had the leading features of the present draft—substitutes and pecuniary contribution as a commutation for personal service. It was confirmed by the United States, under the Articles of Confederation, all Congress, under the Constitution, was invested with the unlimited power to "raise and support armies." It is peculiarly and pre-eminently an Anglo-Saxon method of providing for great public emergencies; but in the heat of party strife men become as untrue to history as they are to the duties of citizenship.

In this State the denunciations hurled against the present draft by the press, and by men in high position, led to the most disgraceful riot known to the history of the country, in which hundreds of lives were lost, and delayed the execution of the measure for a period which will not fall short of two months. If the law had been cheerfully obeyed—if those who have been busy in denouncing it had been as earnest in their appeals to the patriotism of the people to carry it out, a great public dishonor would probably have been averted, and Lee's army, the last dependence of the insurgents, might ere this have been hopelessly crippled or dispersed.

From the period of the Confederation this mode of replenishing the army has been called a draft, and the men enrolled for service drafted men. The Federalists in 1814 gave it, in order to render it odious, the name of conscription. The same course is adopted by its enemies now. Some who are supporters of the law have, it is true, with a looseness of expression by no means creditable to them, applied to it the term by which it was stigmatized by the enemies of the Democracy, in the war of 1812; but it is unknown to the law and to the instructions of the Government, and a persistence in the use of a term which suggests the severe French system of compulsion, and keeps out of view the comparatively mild Anglo-Saxon draft, cannot be dictated by a patriotic motive.

In 1814 after the desperate contests on the Niagara frontier, when it became necessary to fill up the ranks of the army, and when volunteering, as now, had become an uncertain reliance, Mr. Monroe, then acting Secretary of State and Secretary of War, and afterward President of the United States, proposed several plans, one of which, and the most prominent, was a draft. Mr. Madison, who was President, referred to it in terms of approval in his message to Congress.

Mr. Monroe, in his letter to the Committee of the House of Representatives, defended the measure in a clear and unanswerable argument, from which there is room only for the following extracts:

"In proposing a draft as one of the modes of raising men in case of actual necessity in the present great emergency of the country, I have thought it my duty to examine such objections to it as occurred, particularly those of a constitutional nature. It is from my sacred regard to the principles of our Constitution that I have ventured to trouble the Committee with any remarks on this part of the subject."

"Congress have a right by the Constitution to raise regular armies, and no restraint is imposed in the exercise of it, except in the provisions which are intended to guard generally against the abuse of power, with none of which does this plan interfere."

"An unqualified grant of power gives the means necessary to carry it into effect. This is a universal maxim, which admits of no exception."

"The commonwealth has a right to the service of all its citizens, or rather the citizens composing the commonwealth have a right, collectively and individually, to the service of each other to repel any danger which may be menaced."

"The plan proposed is not more compulsive than the militia service."

These extracts indicate the tone of the argument in favor of the constitutionality of the measure, as well as its necessity, its propriety, and its justice.

The measure was immediately assailed as unconstitutional by the leading Federalists in Congress. It was denounced as an odious conscription, and in much the same language as its opponents denounce it now. Jeremiah Mason of New-Hampshire, admitted to have been the ablest Federal Senator in Congress at that time, spoke against it.

Mr. Goldsborough, a Federal Senator from Maryland, said:

"A few years past, and the name of conscription was never uttered but it was coupled with execration. Last year it found its way into a letter from the Secretary at War to the Chairman of the Military Committee, and it was then so odious that it was hot little exposed to view. This year we have conscription openly recommended to us by the Secretary at War (Mr. Monroe) in an official paper; and, worst of all, it finds champions and advocates on this floor."

In the House of Representatives, Mr. Cyrus King, a Federal member from Massachusetts, said:

"James Madison, President of the United States, is the father of this system of conscription for America, as his unfortunate friend Bonaparte was of that of France. This he announced in his message before referred to, as follows: 'I earnestly renew, at the same time, a recommendation of such changes in the system of militia as, by classing and disciplining for the most prompt and active service the portions most capable of it, will give to that great resource for the public security all the requisite energy and efficiency.

"His plans, therefore, substantially embraced by these conscription bills, were afterward submitted to Congress by his Secretary of War, James Monroe, and by him attempted to be recommended to the American people by the plea of necessity:

'So spake the fiend, and with necessity,
The tyrant's plea, excused his devilish deeds.'

"Your President further says, in the same message: 'We see the people rushing with enthusiasm to the scenes where danger and duty call; in offering their blood they give the surest pledge that no other tribute will be withheld.' If this be true, Sir, where is the necessity of violating the Constitution to impose on the people a military despotism and French conscription?"

Mr. Morris S. Miller, a distinguished Federal member from Utica, said:

"The plan which gentlemen wish adopted is conscription. They call it classification and penalty—classification and draft. Sir, there is poison in the dish; garnish it as you please, there is poison still. You call it classification. [illegible] The times demand that things should be called by their right names—this is conscription, and with features more hideous than are to be found in the exploded system of our unfortunate cousin of Elba."

"What are the plans by which you intend to fill your army? I object to them all as unconstitutional and inexpedient. They all look to force, and you have no right to raise an army except by voluntary enlistment."

"Mr. Chairman, this plan violates the Constitution of your country. It invades the rights of State Governments. It is a direct infringement of their sovereignty. It concentrates all power in the General Government, and deprives the States of their necessary security."

"Much less can I forget that the Governor of New-York (Mr. Tompkins), who has lent himself to the Administration as the pioneer of conscription, did pardon a horse-thief on condition that he should enlist."

"I have followed four children to the tomb. Under present circumstances ought I to replace their loss? When I see the attempt to fasten this conscription on me, ought I to regret that they have gone to heaven? My daughters, had they lived, might have been the mothers of conscripts; my sons might have been conscripts themselves."

"I have carefully examined this conscription question with all the seriousness and attention required by the solemnity of the occasion. I have exercised that small measure of talent which it has pleased the Almighty to bestow upon me, and I have arrived at this conclusion: The plan of conscription violates the Constitution; it trenches on the rights of the States, and takes from them their necessary security; it destroys all claim to personal freedom; it will poison all the comforts of this people. In this belief, I have no hesitation to say that I think it will be resisted, and that it ought to be resisted."

Leading men of the democratic party have carried into this war the same hostility to the draft that Judge Miller and his federal associates in Congress carried into the war of 1812. There is this difference, however, and one by no means favorable to the opponents of the draft of the present day. Judge Miller's hostility to it was before it became a law, and his was a legitimate opposition, having for its purpose to prevent the adoption of the measure. On the other hand, those who follow in his footsteps regard the draft with all the moral power they can exert in order to defeat the execution of a law duly passed by both houses of Congress. Judge Miller, as a member of Congress, and a part of the law-making power, had a perfect right to oppose the measure in debate and by his vote. But those who resist it when it has become a law, not only violate one of the first articles of citizenship, but array themselves against the war by attempting to defeat the execution of a measure so essential to success as the recruiting of our armies.

While it is the highest duty of the citizen in time of war to sustain the Government against the public enemy, there has been no epoch in the history of the Republic in which this obligation was more imperative than it is at the present moment. Not only is our national existence threatened by the Southern insurrection, but our institutions almost have been lost, while domestic discord has found our hands in violating the time-honored policy of the country. Spain has appropriated to herself another of the fertile islands of the sea. France has overthrown the authority of a neighboring Republic, and is seeking to place an Austrian monarch on an American throne. Great Britain, forgetful of her history and her good faith, and reckless of international obligations, has become a secure base for naval enterprises by rebellious citizens to ravage our commerce and insult our flag; in view of these public wrongs, and of the day of reckoning which must come, it is no time for our citizens to relax their zeal and energy, or to inculcate theories which strike at the foundation of the military power of the Government. On the contrary, it is the duty of the statesman, who loves his country, and would record her wrongs, to cherish and keep alive that spirit of devotion which will enable us to present against all foes, whether domestic or foreign, an unbroken front; to proclaim and to exemplify in his conduct the only doctrine worthy of a patriot, that in time of war the Government treat fidelity to the hearty and zealous support of the whole people against the common enemy.

Let me return a moment to the year 1814. Previous to the debates in Congress referred to, important movements were in progress in the State of New-York. At a special session of the Legislature called in the month of September by Governor Tompkins, before Mr. Monroe presented his plan for a conscript, Mr. Van Buren, then a young member of the Senate, brought forward several measures to infuse new vigor into the prosecution of the war. The most prominent was a bill to place at the disposal of the General Government 12,000 men for two years, to be raised by a classification of the militia of the State.

This measure encountered the most violent opposition from the Federal members of the Legislature; but it passed both Houses, and became a law on the 20th of October, 1814, nine days after Mr. Monroe's plan was submitted to Congress. Col. Mitchell, Col. Benton, in a letter to the Mississippi Convention in 1840, said that it was "the most energetic war measure ever adopted in this country."

Mr. Niles (see his "Register" vol. 7, Nov. 26, 1814) says: "The great State of New-York has taken a stand that says to the Hartford Convention." The Legislature adjourned on the 20th of October, after passing several acts of great importance. Among them is an act to raise 12,000 men to be raised by an equal classification, and are intended as a permanent force to relieve the militia, &c.

Thus it will be seen that the draft, which was proposed in Congress and adopted in New-York, and which was denounced by the Federalists as a conscription, as unconstitutional, and as tyrannical, had the support of Madison, Monroe, Tompkins, Van Buren, and other great men of the Democratic party, and had not the treaty of peace, concluded at Ghent, in December, 1814, put an end to the war, there is little doubt that this mode of replenishing the army would have been adopted in Congress as it was in New-York.

The course of those who are denouncing and resisting the draft now, in nearly the same manner and the same language as that in which the Federalists denounced it and its advocates, Madison, Monroe and Tompkins, is in great danger of placing the Democracy of the country in a position of open disloyalty to the Government and to one of its leading war measures. If this course is persisted in and sustained by the great body of the party, its downfall is certain. The danger can only be averted by an honest and unqualified support of the war. It is not enough to pass patriotic resolutions and declarations of principle. These are a mere deception unless they are followed up by consistent acts, and by putting forward as representative men those who have given evidence in their conduct that their hearts are in the great struggle in which the country is engaged for the preservation of its life. If this be not done, the Democracy will inevitably draw down upon itself the popular distrust, which fell upon the Federal party at the close of the war of 1812, and rendered its resuscitation impossible. Into this abyss I will not consent to be dragged down. I have been all my life a member of the Democratic party. Its principles as proclaimed by Jefferson, Madison, and Jackson, have always been, and will ever be my guides; and while I do not deem it compatible with my military duties to take an active part in political contests, I shall do all in my power to rescue the party from the destruction with which it is menaced by the impolicy, the partisan spirit, and the want of patriotism by which some of its leading men are actuated, and to rally it so far as my humble efforts avail, to the support of the Government and the preservation of the Union. If it cannot be saved, I will not be an agent in its downfall. But if it is doomed to succumb to the influence of unfaithful leaders and pernicious counsels, my hope still is, that the great body of its members will, before it is too late, resume its ancient principles, and combining with the conservative elements of the country, will resume its proper influence in the conduct of public affairs, and guide us, as in the better days of the Republic, under the sacred banner of constitutional liberty and law, in our majestic march to prosperity and power.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
JOHN A. DIX.

MESSRS. MATT. H. CARPENTER, LEVI HUBBELL, C. D. ROBINSON.

Judge EZRA HIESTARD of Louisiana was then introduced, and was received with great applause. He said:

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE CITY OF NEW-YORK: The enthusiasm which you exhibit at my appearance almost overpowers me to such an extent as to deprive me of the power of thought, or even of speech. After a residence of thirty-four years in the City of New-Orleans, with but very little absence at any time, and only once, of a period of six weeks, during the last twenty-seven years, fatigued with the extent of my labors during the last few months, I determined to pay the Northern portion of my country a visit. [Applause.] I appear, therefore, before you, not a stranger, although everything is strange around me, for I adopt the motto which stood at the head of one of your public papers in the City of New-York years ago, which was:

"No pent up Utica contracts our powers,
For the whole boundless continent is ours." [Cheers.]

I realize, wherever I may go, whatever the sectionover which those Stars and Stripes float, that I am among my countrymen and my friends; therefore it is that I can say with truth and sincerity that I am not a stranger among you. [Applause.] With the question of your local politics I am necessarily unacquainted. With the history of the country and the events which have taken place within the last few years, I, like the balance of my fellow countrymen, pretend to some little knowledge. I have neither the time nor the disposition to dilate at large upon the various scenes and circumstances through which the Union men of the South have passed during the eventful period which has passed over our heads since the beginning of Secession; a recital of that would be too long and too tedious for this occasion. There are, however, certain facts connected with it that I shall speak of, and to them I shall confine my remarks. I will begin by stating to you fairly and candidly, whatever may be your prejudices, that I have been a slaveholder ever since I have been able to own one; and, so far as Slavery exists in Louisiana, I am one now. I have never had any scruples of conscience up