not at all advised as to the action which it is proposed take in the Convention. I see nothing wrong, but, on contrary, much that is praiseworthy, in any attempt peaceful solution of our national difficulties. Nothing more certain than that war, according to the principles policy of the national administration, can never re the Union. Nor is there the slightest ground for lieving that a restoration of the Union, under the condition enters at all into the intentions of the men now power. To place power in fetter bands as soon as it be constitutionally done, is, therefore, a great and erruling public necessity. There is no other possibility saving our institutions. Entertaining this view of the ects, I venture to express the hope that the Convention ll propose harmonious and united action by all the ponents of that destructive policy which has exalted e passion and frenzy of a party above the interests and appiness of the country. I think that divided organiza on and action are to be deprecated, because division mong the friends of constitutional government may erpetuate the rule of the misguided men who now hold e reins of power. Very respectfully, yours,

GEO. F. COMSTOCK.

LETTER FROM THE HON. GEORGE H. PENDLETON.

CINCINNATI, May 28, 1863.

MY DEAR SIR—I have returned within an hour from an engagement to address a political meeting in the interior of the State and find your letter awaiting me, urging my presence on the 3d of June. I regret extremely that I cannot be with you; but since military orders and arrests have attempted to break up the system of democratic meetings and organizations, I have felt it to be my duty to stay in my own State and attend every meeting where I was expected, and maintain, by my example and presence, the ordinary organization of the democratic party. Engagements made several weeks since for the 30th of May and the 4th of June will prevent my going to New York at the appointed time. The system of intimidation attempted to be practised here will, I am sure, be recognized as a sufficient reason for not neglecting even an ordinary county meeting in favor of your State Convention. In haste, truly yours, GEO. H. PENDLETON.

LETTER FROM THE HON. J. CLANCY JONES.

READING, PA., May 27, 1863.

DEAR SIR—I am in receipt of your invitation to attend and address a Mass State Convention to be held in New York on the 3d of June next. The movement meets my cordial approval. "Peace, with a view to negotiations on the basis of a restoration of the Union," is the true ground for the democracy to stand upon in my judgment, and nothing but a professional engagement to defend citizens of my own county, under recognizances to appear on the 2d of June before the United States Commissioner at Philadelphia, on a charge of conspiracy to overthrow the government of Abraham Lincoln, prevents my prompt acceptance of your invitation. Very respectfully, your obedient servant, J. CLANCY JONES.

To JOHN J. VAN ALLEN, Esq., Chairman Committee on Invitation, &c.

LETTER FROM THE HON. WILLIAM B. REED.

PHILADELPHIA, May 28, 1863.

GENTLEMEN—It will not be in my power to attend the meeting of the democracy in New York on Wednesday. I have a very clear impression that every man's duty now is at home, within the limits of the Commonwealth where his lot is cast, and to which, amidst the rupture of all other ties, he owes undiminished allegiance. Here, then, be it a place of danger or security, let every Pennsylvanian remain, resolute to maintain the integrity of the State as a sovereignty, and to shape, if possible, her policy so as to restore peace and promote ultimate reconciliation. Very respectfully, yours,

WILLIAM B. REED.

To the Committee of the New York Convention.

SPEECH OF ATTORNEY GENERAL A. R. WOOTTEN, OF DELAWARE.

ALFRED R. WOOTTEN, Attorney General of Delaware, was then introduced and spoke as follows:—

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW FREEMEN—As such I address you, notwithstanding you are partially held in the tyrannical chains of Mr. Lincoln's unfortunate administration. I have the pleasure, my fellow citizens, to represent the little State of Delaware—(cries of "Good")—that has felt and trembled beneath the tyrannical power of an imbecile administration—("bravo" and applause)—an administration that, while it pretended to represent the flag of our country, was sucking, like a leech, its life blood, dragging the vital part of this great and glorious Union over upon the verge of destruction—(applause)—an administration, my fellow citizens, that never from the hour of its birth even had an imaginary idea of preserving intact and perfect the constitution which it is my duty and your duty to stand by. ("Good," "Good," and applause.) I hold here that the republican party, with Mr. Lincoln at its head—(groans)—has to-day violated the constitution, and I hope the time will arrive when they will receive their just deserts, be tried, convicted, and, I hope, hung. (Uproarious cheering, accompanied with waving of hats.) A democrat always respects the constitution, because he acts from principle, and he is never indeed to act contrary to that principle because he has the power to. (Cheers.) The present administration have violated your rights. They stand to-day degraded in the eyes of humanity—("That's so" and applause)—for an insult to the flag and as traitors before their God. (Applause.) Two years, Mr. President, they have exercised what? The control of this country. With their printing press at their elbow, the sword in their hands, the muzzles by their side—what has been their great and glorious triumph? ("Nothing." "Greenbacks.") The downfall of that liberty for which Washington fought and which the democratic party has ever endeared—freedom of speech. What was Russia, and what is she now? Without meaning to pay any disrespect to my country (because I worship it, aye, I worship it upon the platform of the constitution), Russia is her paimiest days, when she wielded the tyrannical sword of oppression, never dared exercise the oppression that to-day Mr. Lincoln has exercised, without reading the newspapers to find what the people think of him. (Groans for Mr. Lincoln.) When Russia had stretched her frontiers hundreds of miles westward, and religious freedom and liberty sank beneath her mighty power, she was yet open to the voice of the people. Her reaction came, and to-day the most tyrannical power of Europe would tremble under under such a despotism as Mr. Lincoln exercises. ("That's so" and applause.) You are the American people. From whence did you spring? Philadelphia last week was honored by such a convention as this—(cheers)—when peace and good will was proclaimed towards each and every man who honored her rights, who respected his government. That old Hall of Independence rang with declarations in favor of freedom of speech and the right of the people to speak for themselves. (Cheers.) My fellow citizens, just look at the record of little Trembling Delaware. When the administration, in its fatal play, found that the voice of her people was unanimous in favor of peace; when they deposited their votes at the ballot box to put down such a miserable and contemptible Governor as we now have—(groans.)—when I went to deposit my vote at the ballot box, I went under the crossed bayonets of Mr. Lincoln's minions. Look, now, where Delaware stands. I fear not the administration. I had rather die—(great cheering and waving of hats)—in one of the forts than let my tongue and voice be chained, which I am proud to say have ever been democratic.

Why, there never was a time that the democratic party ever changed your liberties. There never was a time within the history of this country that a man had not the right to say to his fellow citizens in mass as we do—speak for peace. We speak for peace, for the interests of that country, and we want it understood; that country that recognized the right of revolution and the right to criticise, and more especially to criticise an administration that is weak and imbecile and tottering to the ground. (Applause.) Who, a hound might hunt Mr. Lincoln and never would find him by an honest scent. (Laughter and applause.) Why should they object to the little State of Delaware, the one who first adopted the constitution, and as long as my voice can be heard I will endorse that constitution, and I know it will be antagonistical to the republican party. What do you arrest, and whom do you arrest? Speak of the liberties of the people, and then say that I must endorse every act of an administration, when by their own course, by their own conduct, they have violated the principles of the constitution. As my noble friend, as I am happy to call him, Mr. Bayard, has said in the United States Senate, expressed his views, and he has no reason to change them, and I endorse them, yet to-day the carcasses of our noble dead lie on the battle field, where they have fallen in this war because Mr. Chase and his minions filled their pockets with what instead of being greenbacks should be redbacks, stained with their blood. (Applause.) But they fear criticism, Mr. Vallandigham (great applause) they have paid him the highest compliment, and were they to honor me with such a banishment, I should exclaim in the language of Catoline, when banished from Rome—"What is banished, but set free from daily contact of the things I loathe. I go but I return and here I devote your senate. I have wrongs to stir the fever in the blood, and to make the infant's sinews as strong as steel." When that patriot, Mr. Vallandigham, again returns, having expressed the sentiments of three-fourths of the independent people of this country, and the echo of his greatness will sweep the rocks from river to river. (Applause.) I am a union man. I would like to see the south come into the great and glorious Union. But I detest, denounce and abhor the present administration—(great applause)—because it is fatal to the rights of the people, and fatal to the principles of the constitution. If Mr. Lincoln and his full administration is right, then open discussion can never affect him; if he is wrong he should meet the fate that the wrong always meet. (Applause.) You in the State of New York have the power of this great State—the Empire State—has the power, and if I were you I would exercise it. (Applause and "We will.") You cannot tell to whom you may be travelling and the end you may reach if you bow—not to the constitution, for you and I always have done that; I never knew a democrat but what remembered it; I never knew a republican but what detested it, because the constitution was right and the abolitionists always wrong. (Applause.) You must act and think for yourselves. Let your voice be for peace. (Applause.) Denounce this war as in violation of all constitutional privileges. Put down this man Burnside. (Groans for Burnside.) The democrat who falls into the republican party falls like an angel from Heaven, hurled so low that you cannot reach him within search warrant. (Laughter and applause.) You must look to your own interests. I came not here to address this meeting. I was found he came from the bitter State of Delaware, which has been trampled under foot. I am happy to meet this vast assemblage of intellect, which is a foreboding that the people of this state will demand their rights, and in demanding them will demand them under the constitution. (Applause and cheers for Hon. Fernando Wood, who here emerged and appeared upon the platform.) I see that my distinguished friend has arrived. I would that this vast assemblage was made of Wood. (Laughter and applause.) It is a piece of timber in this platform that dones all the assaults of the imbecile administration, when we shall find that the war has failed, if we have not already found, that the dead bones of the democratic party will be to cover up the retreating forms of the republicans from the gaze of those who have an utter contempt for them. (Great applause.) The glorious flag of our country is the emblem of the democratic party—is the emblem of peace and liberty; but it blinds the eye of a republican until he has covered it with greenbacks which have been stolen from your pockets. (Laughter and applause.) Whenever you speak of the administration, of what do you speak? George Washington had the modesty to say that he was not the country, but that the people were. Mr. Lincoln—(groans)—has had the impudence not only to control your actions, but also the expression of your honest sentiments. I think that if five years ago, under a democratic administration, a lawyer had set his foot in a court and claimed that free speech was treason, the first thing the Presecuting Attorney would have done would have been to make a motion to arrest him on the ground of insanity. (Applause.) To-night when you assembled here you came as good and true old democrats, and when these heavy waves of oppression have left the shore of the present time then you can speak and act as yourselves, and, while saying your country look down upon the dead carcass of republicanism lying beneath the deep waves of contempt. (Applause.) I do not blame Mr. Lincoln; not I. He ought to be educated in a school of infantry. I never have blamed him. He got into a place that he was utterly unfit to fill. ("That's so," and groans.) He got there by accident, he is a mistake in the life of this country. And I dare make the assertion that if you were to make the inquiry of him—"What is the President of the United States?" he would tell you a joke that would be beneath the dignity of the least among you. I tell you that your interests, and the interests of the country are identified. I feel this (taking up a glass of water, which called forth loud shouts of laughter). I see that I have an appreciative audience. I feel that you are identified with that flag which the democratic party has ever cherished since the foundation of the constitution; willing and ever ready to stand by it upon the principles of that old democratic party which was inaugurated when this government was inaugurated. Give it a straightforward and honest support. Rebuke this administration by such immense assemblages as this. Let your cry be "Peace, peace and an honest government," instead of "War, war and robbery." I thank you for your kind attention, but my voice fails me—("Go on," "go on")—I can only say to you in the language of a man who abhors and detests an imbecile administration, who likes the democratic party, because it is always honest, who cries for peace because he believes that war is destruction. Let the democratic party rise while the republican party sinks into its grave of rottenness and contempt. (Applause.) We have tried the game of war, and what has been our success? The annals of Richmond speak for themselves. We have taken it five times, and yet we cannot command it. And the fight at Vicksburg tells us that the more they press upon those men they will find foemen worthy of their steel. (Applause.) We will find men who are Union men, men who loved their country; men who were ready and willing to fight a foreign Power. But when you come in contact with these men, when you meet them you will find that they tremble not beneath the power of oppression. They are men who fought for that flag; who have their rights, and who will ever demand them. (Applause.) I advocate peace upon this principle—that I firmly believe that destruction never built up a government; I firmly believe that each and every one of you are unwilling to leave your homes and fight against a part of your own government. Can you convince them by crushing them out and subjugating them? Will that make them your friends? It is an idea that a maniac would tremble at. Unfortunately the administration never had brains enough to go crazy. (Applause.) The democratic party want this old government; they want you to exercise the privileges you used to exercise. This same black republican party in their first onset cried—"Freedom of Speech," where has it gone? Echo answers, "where." It does not even have the chance of glistening in their bayonets. If we go on with this system of subjugation, you must fall, never to recover. But day is dawning. The democracy of Pennsylvania has spoken, and it finds its echo in this assemblage to-night. (Applause.) Allow me to put little Delaware into this contest—(applause)—that she may be received into this great struggle for independence and liberty. (Great applause.)

SPEECH OF HON. FERNANDO WOOD.

Hon. FERNANDO WOOD, on being introduced, came forward and was greeted with loud and rapturous cheering. He said:—

We have fallen upon evil times. We have lived too long, if we have outlived our country. Indications admonish us that the American Union has been severed, and it may be forever. Disguise it as we may, candor compels the admission that our once proud republic has fallen from its exalted height. It is now prostrate. Decried, insulted, and without second rate position abroad—rent asunder by fearful civil war at home—ruled by despotic power on principles of partisan hate, and upon theories of government utterly antagonistic to those upon which our institutions were founded, we stand before the world an object of wonder, contempt and ridicule. These facts are not referred to in a spirit of reproach, but anticipate the record of history, and I shall leave to others to fix the responsibility. I reproach none. It is not difficult to charge error or wrong doing after the accomplishment of results. All of us can see causes for misfortunes that have occurred better than we can provide a preventive. "It is human to err, it is divine to forgive," and, while easy to commit error ourselves, it is difficult to overlook it in others. With these sentiments, I am disposed to alleviate the national woes rather than indulge criticism upon the causes. I would do something to extricate the country from its terrible calamities. (Applause.) The effort, however feeble, is ennobling. Even the attempt, if made in good faith, is worthy the highest intellect and the most elevated patriotism. I regret that, of the many of this character of which America has boasted, who have honored us in the several departments of human progress, none have arisen at this time for this blessed mission. Heretofore, in every age, great national exigencies have produced the man for the occasion. As the Almighty "tempers the wind to the shorn lamb," so has he, heretofore, provided the instrument by which great national results have been accomplished for the advantage of humanity. As yet, He has not vouchsafed this favor to us. No man equal to this crisis has appeared—neither in the field nor in the cabinet; nor in the many elevated spheres of private life has the man presented himself with the brain, the heart and the courage to seize and work out the great political problem now to be solved in our case, and to utter efficiently the truths of reason with the force and power equal to the pending crisis. Those who have the intellectual ability have lacked the nerve, and those with the nerve have lacked the ability. But there is another wonder; that in this civilized population of over thirty millions—North and South—abounding with benevolence, purity, civilization and enlightened Christianity, none are found to raise the banner of peace. Among the thousand spires which rear their lofty turrets to a benignant God, but one covers a pulpit devoted to the true principles of Christ, and proclaims "On earth peace, good will toward men." (Applause and voices, "Who is it?") The exception is called for. It is that of a gentleman, I believe, now within these walls—Mr. Pratt, a preacher from Staten Island. (Good, good, and three cheers for Rev. Mr. Pratt. As if the opposite constituted the whole duty of man, war, bloodshed and rapine are encouraged, and "all uncharitableness" taught, as if to mock the spirit of the "meek and lowly Jesus." Those whose professions should instil the kindlier methods of settling human controversy have been foremost in the race for human sacrifice, forgetting that war and hate are the children of Satan, and that peace and love are the emanation of the Divine Spirit. I have looked upon this with wonder, and have said—"Oh! Israel, is this be your God?" I am not surprised that the country and the church are alike upon the road to ruin, and that God has withdrawn his countenance from each. Now, without believing that my feeble voice and influence can accomplish much toward averting this revulsion of our political and social system, I should be recreant to every impulse of my heart and to every cherished principle of my life if I did not throw myself into the breach to do whatever in me lies to impede, if not stay, this avalanche of general destruction. (Applause.) Without the ability to do much, I have not the temerity to attempt much; but whatever I can shall be done to bring the American people to a realization of their present perilous condition. With this spirit and with this determination I throw myself into this cause, and in the language of Senator Benton, when he presented a proposition to the United States Senate, with little hope of its immediate success, amidst the general indignation of his compeers, "Solitary and alone I put this ball in motion." That proposition was to expunge the resolutions from the records of the Senate which placed a mark of condemnation upon the illustrious Andrew Jackson. Though contemned and derided then, it finally succeeded amid the approving plaudits of the whole American people. So with this. Though now to be denounced by the open enemies of the democratic party from without, and to be yet more vilently opposed by so-called democrats from within, yet, nevertheless, it must finally triumph, not only amid the approving plaudits of the American people, and, indeed, of the friends of human liberty, progress and self government throughout the world, but of the very angels of Heaven themselves. Benton's effort was to restore the fair fame of a gallant hero; mine will be to restore the amity, harmony and salvation of the best institutions ever devised for the government of man. I declare for peace, and, as preparatory for peace, aim in favor of a cessation of hostilities, that propositions may be made or accepted which shall conduce to or result in an amicable adjustment of the causes which led to this war. (Cheers and applause.) I am not for a peace based upon the final separation of the States, but for peace as the only means which will lead to restoration, and am opposed to, and until the popular voice of the country shall decree for it shall continue to oppose, any movement which has for its aim the breaking up of the glorious old Union under which we have lived and prospered for over three-quarters of a century. (Applause.) Upon this occasion I have not the time to go into an extensive analysis of the grounds upon which I can sustain my demand for a cessation of hostilities. The address and resolutions which have been submitted and approved cover them fully. I will, however, submit ten propositions, each capable of elucidation, which, upon other occasions, I will attempt to maintain. They are,—

1. The war should cease, because it should never have been commenced, inasmuch as there is no coercive military power in the federal government as against the States, which are sovereign, and in possession of all power not delegated. If power of coercion exists at all it is legal and not military.

2. Suppose there was no necessity for it. An amicable adjustment of the question in dispute could have been and can be still, procured on terms of fairness and equality.

3. Because, however legal and just at the commencement, it has been diverted from its ostensible original purpose, and made a war for the abolition of slavery and the extinguishment of the Southern States, as such, which, of course, as a consequence, subverts the government itself.

4. Because it is made a pretext for the most outrageous and damnable crimes against the liberty of the citizen, the rights of property, and even against the form of government under which we have lived.

5. Because it is creating a stupendous public money debt, which must bear down labor, destroy capital and finally cause national bankruptcy and dishonor.

6. Because, in the military, it is establishing a new and dangerous power which already overrides the courts and the constitution, and which history teaches when once firmly established becomes permanent, despotic and tyrannical. When military law subverts the civil law liberty departs forever.

7. Because there is neither in the civil nor in the military departments of government any man or men of sufficient mental power to successfully prosecute the war against the vastly superior statesmen and generals of the South.

8. Because the commercial wealth of the country derived from foreign trade, and largely enhanced by Southern products, must gradually disappear if this war continues. As yet artificial stimulants have supplied the defection of sound mercantile resources; but time must dissipate them, and then will follow a reaction, terrible, overwhelming and annihilating.

9. Because the popular enthusiasm necessary to conduct the war and supply the failing armies has subsided. Force, by a draft, cannot supply this indispensable requisite. Republicans who have grown up with the ideas of personal freedom and right to political opinions and action cannot be so suddenly changed as to become willing instruments of power, and be used effectually against their own convictions of policy and right.

10. And, finally, because experience should admonish us that the overruling power of God is against us. We cannot succeed in what we have undertaken. Hence every dollar expended is thrown away—every life lost is little less than murder—every acre of land laid waste is so much toward national impoverishment—and every day's continuance of the war places an additional barrier between us and reunion, and drives another nail in the coffin of the republic.

This night, at this moment, the city of Chicago may be in flames. There has been assembled this night one of the largest and most determined gatherings of the people of Chicago ever assembled there, in front of the office of that noble democratic paper, the Chicago *Times*, protesting with sentorian power against this military usurpation upon the rights of a free press; and if I know the character of the Western people, if I understand the character of the men of Chicago, they possess the spirit of the men of New York. (Applause.) And I dare and defy the administration to send to the city of New York their General Burnside to suppress them. (Applause.) And I here, in the name of this assembly of thousands and tens of thousands, inside and outside of this hall, request the administration to give General Burnside this department. (Great applause.) And if this conflict must come, if the revolution must commence, I want the powers that be to try their hands upon us. (Vociferous applause.) I may have uttered the language of treason—I have certainly said more than was uttered by our lamented and glorious friend, Vallandigham, who has been struck down. (Three cheers for Vallandigham.) I may be the next glorious martyr on the altar of my country's freedom ("No, never!") I ask your attention and quiet for a moment until I relate to you an anecdote of General Washington. General Washington when a young man, as we all know, was a planter upon the Potomac river. He had a large, fine plantation. He had a neighbor, who owned an adjoining estate, with whom he had a dispute as to the boundary line between the two plantations. His neighbor was a tyrannical, despotic, resolute man. He probably conceived that he was the owner of the disputed boundary. George Washington, honest, resolute, not desiring to interfere with the rights of others, yet firmly believed that the title to the disputed line was in himself. One day he was out walking, with his faithful servant by his side, and in those times it was the practice to go over these large areas, numbering thousands of acres, with an armed servant. Suddenly Washington found himself right upon the dividing and disputing line, and beheld before him his enemy, the claimant of the line. The claimant stood before him, armed. He held a rifle in his hand, and said to Washington—"Sir, go back; don't you dare to cross that line." Said Washington, calmly—"I will cross it." His enemy cocked his rifle, and said—"If you cross that line and I will kill you." Washington coolly turned to his servant and said, "John, do you hear what he says? He says if I cross that line he will kill me. John, I intend to cross that line. Now, when he takes aim, John, do you take aim, and when he shoots me do you shoot him." (Applause.) Now, the application I make of that is this, when one of your fellow citizens, be he the humble individual now before you, or any other man, shall be taken in the discharge of his rights and in the maintenance of his own, do you strike down the tyrant that does it. ("We will," and great applause.)

SPEECH OF MR. A. R. WOOD, OF VIRGINIA.

Mr. A. R. WOOD, of Virginia was then introduced and said that before the last Presidential election he spoke in this hall, side by side with Dickinson. "Dan," not "Anna." He had thought himself in good company then; but was now satisfied he was mistaken. He then referred to the present state of the country. He charged upon the republican party the responsibility of this war. The States of the South seceded because the Republican party were warring against the interests of the South, its platform saying that the citizens of the South had no right to carry its constitutional property into the Territories. That is the true cause of secession and of this war. Even when the affairs of this country became larming they refused to adopt the Crittenden compromise, though they knew all the people wanted the difficulties settled upon that or some other basis. The reason given is that the South would not accept it, was determined to go out in any event. He claimed they would have accepted it. One state only (North Carolina) had seceded. There was so large a Union sentiment in the other States that it was doubtful if they could be carried out, even if the Crittenden compromise was defeated. How much more difficult to carry them out and the republicans agreed to that compromise. They say the ordinances of secession did not express the real sentiments of those States, but of their political leaders, who induced those people, but those who rejected that compromise. Why not have submitted that compromise to them? This argument applies with more force to the border states. Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee would have accepted that compromise and remained in the Union. They were extremely attached to the Union, and nothing but the most pressing circumstances led them to secede. Virginia inaugurated the peace convention, which met and reported to Congress a plan of settlement, which only needed the adoption of Congress and settle this controversy. Congress rejected it. Mr. Seward offered a resolution that Congress had no right to legislate in regard to slavery in the States—a most unnecessary piece of legislation, as no one ever claimed any such thing. That was all Congress would do in that time of the country's peril. The South never asked the North to give up any right. She only asked her own rights under the constitution, and the decision of the Supreme Court. She asked no amendment to the constitution, not to give her any new right, but to make more clear those which she already had under the plain letter of the constitution. The republican party refused that reasonable request, and are responsible for this war and all its terrible consequences. The speaker continued at some length in the same strain, advocating the right of secession, morally, legally and constitutionally, which was vociferously applauded and cheered. He referred to the subject of reunion, because in these days of despotism and one man power it behooved us to revert to the first principles underlying all government, which rested in the will of the people. The entire South believe in reunion, and the republican party in Congress should have respected that belief, and done something in the way of conciliation. But they not only refused to do anything to prevent disunion, but have ever since done all they could to prevent reunion. He condemned the administration in its present course. The war had lasted long enough. Let it stop. If the South would not now come back then let them go (great applause.) When that was done reconstruction would commence, and a new and better union would be formed by compromise and conciliation, and we should enjoy the blessings of peace.

SPEECH OF JOSEPH A. FLANDERS.

JOSEPH A. FLANDERS, of Franklin county, was then introduced, and spoke substantially as follows:—

He said that for two years past and more we had been listening on the part of the advocates of the war to the various pretexts upon which the war was prosecuted for the preservation of the national life. ("It's a lie.") He would demonstrate that it was a lie. It had been constantly on the lips of republicans as well as war democrats that this was the object for which the war was prosecuted. Now, there was not a word of truth in all this, but, on the contrary, the war had been prosecuted for the destruction of our national life. What constituted our national life? Does it consist in our magnificent chain of lakes, in our broad rivers, fertile plains, our beautiful mountain slopes, in our productive valleys, our rich and exhaustless mines, our vast commerce, our stupendous system of railroads, our immense territorial extent, or yet in the number of the States composing our confederacy or in the aggregate of our population? No, nor did all these combined, constitute our true national life. They contributed to our national prosperity and greatness, and they have made a part of what had been hitherto the pride of the American heart, but they constituted no part of our national life. It consisted in our constitutional liberty (cheers), in that beautiful and complex system of government, which when faithfully administrated secures and guarantees the rights of the States and the rights of the people (Applause.) It is within the State government that we enjoy and possess our home rights, the right of personal liberty, the right of free speech and of a free press, the right to be exempt from unreasonable search and seizure, the right of the habeas corpus when our liberties are illegally taken away from us. When the people are deprived of these you might as well say that a human corpse has life, when the spirit has departed, as to say that we have national life after these great rights have been wrested from us. (Cheers.) What has been the effect of the war upon these rights? It has prostrated them—it has deprived the people of those rights which have hitherto been held sacred. Instead of the war being prosecuted for the preservation of our national life, it has been prosecuted for its destruction, and it has worked out its end and result. It could not have been otherwise, with a war of this nature, the creature of the States, the federal government upon its creators—a resort to arms for the subjugation of a section of these States. In the very idea is involved the loss of liberty and the establishment of despotism. (Applause.) Such a war could not be prosecuted in the nature of things without the destruction of our liberty. Mr. Douglas, in his great speech in the Senate of the United States on the 15th of March, 1861, with a political sagacity unsurpassed in the history of our country, and with prophetic vision pointed out all the consequences which have followed coercion; and he declared that the history of the world did not record an example of a government strong enough to crush ten millions of people into subjection when they believed their liberties and rights were imperilled, without the government itself being converted into a despotism and every vestige of freedom being destroyed. (Applause.) In April following Mr. Seward, in his official position as Secretary of State, in a letter to Charles Francis Adams, Minister to England, substantially stated the same thing, declared the same doctrine, and although he is generally one of the falsest of prophets and the unsoundest of statesmen, yet he seems in that to have made a prophecy worthy of being considered. He says in that letter that the government cannot resort to the process of coercion by arms. He admits the fact, too, that the States had seceded, for he talks about their being brought back by conciliation. At the time Mr. Seward wrote that letter the administration was fitting out its expedition for Fort Sumter. That expedition was not sent there with a view to hold Fort Sumter in good faith; but it was a dirty trick, for the purpose of precipitating the country into the very condition that Mr. Seward was at the time deploring, (applause); knowing that if they sent that expedition there it would draw the fires of Beauregard's batteries; and the intention was to get up the cry that the South fired the first gun. They knew by sending these troops and provisions to relieve Fort Sumter, they knew they would draw the fire of the batteries in Charleston harbor. That is the honest truth, disguise it as you will, and it is time that the truth was spoken. For two years there has been nothing but a series of lies and deception, and men have been compelled from fear and interest to hold their breath and suppress their convictions. I never did it—I never will. I have been four months an inmate of Seward's bastiles, Forts Lafayette and Warren, for expressing my opinions. (Applause, and a voice, "Three cheers for Judge Flanders, who has thus suffered imprisonment for opinion's sake.")

ANOTHER VOICE—The people will turn the tables upon them soon.

I have endured that discipline at the hands of this administration for honestly expressing my political opinions. As a free citizen of this country I am, notwithstanding that discipline, the better subject of Abraham the First now than when I was sent to Fort Lafayette. (Cheers.) It was the avowed purpose and design of the leaders of the republican party to change the form of the government and convert it into a centralized despotism from the outset. Two years ago this avowal was made by them. In June, 1861, General Banks, standing upon Arlington Heights, looked over to Washington—(groans for Banks)—and extending his arm in that direction, said—"This is the end of this government as it now exists. There will be a reconstruction upon different principles." (A voice—"He is a New England man.) He might quote from Cameron, and from the New York *Tribune* and *Times* to the same effect. The leaders of the republican party have gone on step by step to trample upon the constitution. They have introduced into this country the system of St. Petersburg and Vienna. We were to-day in the condition of Poland, Venice and Hungary. Seward had made the boast to Lord Lyons that he could put his hand upon one side of him upon a bell and order the arrest of a citizen of New York, and by putting his hand upon the other side, touch a bell and order the arrest of a citizen of Ohio, and the Queen of England could not do as much. The speaker then proceeded at some length to give his reasons in opposition to the war, and in favor of peace. He urged those here, in view of what he understands to be the most splendid demonstration ever made in this city, to support no leaders whose action tends to uphold the despotic power now in Washington, but to stand by men who will restore our liberties and preserve our true national life.

SPEECH OF MR. THORIN, OF ALABAMA.

Mr. THORIN was then introduced. He said he was an adopted citizen of Alabama, but a native of that much abused State of South Carolina. (Applause.) He denounced arbitrary arrests in the South—he as boldly denounced it here. He never in the whole course of his life attended a meeting from which he derived such exquisite pleasure as from this meeting as from this meeting to-night. Since the shout that went up after the first battle of this war, Fort Sumter, there had not gone up such a shout as goes up to-night for peace. This war has been prostituted to a war upon the democratic party and principles of free speech and free press. If we keep silent now we are not worthy of the blood that flows in our veins from the fathers of 1776. He knew what it was to incite to revolution, and the penalty rests upon the administration at Washington, and while he blamed all, he blamed Mr. Lincoln for it all. His imbecility could be illustrated by thus—If a donkey gets into a china shop, you must get him out or he will smash the crockery. (Great applause and laughter.) Does this feeling proceed from a sense of danger in the owners of the china shop? If you love your china shop, turn the donkey out. (Renewed laughter.) The English donkey once got into our china shop, and George Washington turned him out. The descendants of our forefathers will not prove unworthy of their example. This war was at first said to be waged for free speech, because the South would not permit it there. He was determined to have free speech. If waving a peace flag would secure it, he would wave it. If it was necessary to wave a sword to secure free speech, he would wave that. (Applause.) A press had been shut up in Chicago because it was in favor of the Union as it was. (Groans for Burnside.) He had contended for the Union in the South. He was not allowed free speech in Washington, and has come farther North to find it. If he had supposed he could not find free speech here he would have remained at the South. He would contend for it here as he had South. He believed that when the waves of sentiment from this meeting flowed South over the federal bayonets at Washington, it would be answered by propositions of peace and settlement, condemned the arrest of Vallandigham, who had advocated nothing which he had not the right to advocate. He did not blame Burnside, who went crazy after the battle of Fredericksburg and was no longer a responsible being. Lincoln endorsed the act of Burnside, and made it his own, and was responsible for it. He proceeded at some length, and closed with this quotation from Patrick Henry—"I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death."

GEORGE FRANCIS TRAIN.

As he appeared the lights in the hall were partially diminished. He said—It is only the light of the hall, not the light of the Union, that is out; that is not out yet. He announced himself as a copperhead, and a copperhead for the Union. It was Eve's copperhead that beguiled Eve, but a black snake. He spoke in an amusing vein for some time, keeping the audience in a roar of laughter. He defended Abraham Lincoln, whose whole idea of property in slaves. By getting Western Virginia to separate from the Old Dominion he had acknowledged the right of secession. After proceeding in this strain for some time he reverted to this war and its cause. England was the cause of the war; Charles Francis Adams should be recalled; Lord Lyons should be notified that the summer weather was coming on and it would be more pleasant for him at home; stop the exportation of grain, fit out privateers with munitions of war for Ireland, was to smash up the abolition party, and he had done it. The democratic party never have understood Abraham Lincoln.

He moves in a mysterious way,
His wonders to perform

And by the proclamation and illegal arrests he had secured to the democratic party Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, which otherwise the democratic party never would have carried. By purchasing the slaves of the district he had made the abolitionists acknowledge the right of a citizen, at least as yet, of the United States. He did not wish to act the demagogue by placing himself before the public on every occasion, and but for the fact that he believed it a great necessity he would not intrude himself there that night. Let them remember the old adage, that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." He would not address them on the constitution, because they all understood that much better than Abe Lincoln—(cheers)—and if they did and keep on being strictly neutral, and practice fully the lesson England has taught us. He was for peace—peace and the Union of the United States—not war and disunion. If it was necessary to have war to save the country he would be one of the first to fall in the trenches for that purpose. He pronounced a eulogy on McClellan, and said he would be recalled in six months.

The Convention then adjourned.

STAND NO. TWO.

The meeting at this stand, which was the front balcony of the Cooper Institute, was the largest outside assemblage that has been held in this city for a long time.

Mr. Peter Fellner called the meeting to order by nominating the Hon. A. C. Niven, of Sullivan county, to preside. Mr. Niven, on assuming the chair, made a stirring address in favor of peace.

SPEECH OF JUDGE M'CUNN.

The Hon. JOHN H. MCCUNN, of New York, was the next speaker. He said:—

FELLOW DEMOCRATS—I hope, after this demonstration, that the slavish doctrine of passive obedience to this weak administration has passed away. Amidst the carnival of incapacity and ruin which has beaten our common country through this administration, the grievances of the people are not redressed, while political proscription is most unrelenting. Their wrongs are aggravated by insult, their liberties taken away without redress, and their persons incarcerated. In such a crisis no honest or brave man though upright as Aristides, or motives. (Applause.) I have hopes yet in our country, and a firmer belief in the unsophisticated masses of our citizens. They understand the [illegible] they may be all, cough, but they have hearts to distinguish right from wrong; they understand the rights of humanity, and I am confident they have spirit and courage to maintain them. (Applause.) At the end of two years of bloody war we are burdened with a fearful debt. We are our best general forced from the field, not for incapacity, but because General McClellan—(Tremendous cheering)—like a majority of the people, differed widely in his political views with the administration. Had Mr. Lincoln relied upon the reputation for honesty of purpose with which he solemnly inaugurated his administration, he might have supplied the place of all other, and avoided the issue but no, he has departed from this purpose, and has ever since added the last negative to his last one, and has openly confessed he is destitute of the chivalric spirit of the man. In a good cause, in the cause of right and justice, or against a foreign foe, our armies are invincible. But on the side of all this Administration, on the ground of aggression to the South and reclaiming their chattels, we cannot succeed. The South has the great basis of our power and wealth, and if she falls she will fall like the strong Samson of old, carrying with her the pillars of our Institutions. A set of bad men, sectional politicians, have obtained power without the voice of the majority; they have stormed the ramparts of our constitution, and are busy dismantling its fortifications, the citadel of our liberties is overturned, its strong Malakoff is nearly untenable, and nothing remains for us but to throw ourselves behind its breach, vanish our lost intrenchments, or perish in the attempt. I know I speak excitedly, but our country is on the verge of ruin. I am not pending the cause of an individual, but the rights of a great and generously wronged people. I contend not for special rights to the South, but for even handed justice. (Applause.) I shall ever contend that the South owe obedience to the constitution, to our Navy, to trade and navigation, to our postal arrangements, the defence of our common country against a foreign foe, and all other federal obligations; but let the line be clearly drawn between these objects and their personal property, their personal and State rights and their domestic State institutions. The indiscriminate hand of abolition vengeance has marked with crimson blood the doorposts of the dwellings of Union and disunion citizens, the innocent and guilty alike, for their blind and special vengeance, and they have determined that all who differ with them in their mad career shall be swept away by their foul plague of fanaticism. No man wishes for the restoration of the Union more than I do; to preserve it and make it more permanent, if possible, is the dearest object of my life. To maintain the rights and honor of my country I would give the last coat from my back, and the last ounce of my heart's warm blood, but to a war such as we are now waging—unfair in its principles, to establish a mere idea of sentiment, fanatical and ruinous in its consequences—I would not contribute a single effort or a single shilling (Loud cheers.) I do not desire to see our country more humiliated. I do not ask for vengeance on the heads of those who were the principal cause of our troubles. I only recommend that they retrace their steps, lest fearful punishment await them; for if this great country, through their wild schemes or evil designs, is divided permanently, I would not give a day's purchase for their safety. The struggle of the Southern people, contending for their rights against Northern fanaticism, is the struggle of a great and powerful people. (That's so.) They will spurn, with a mixture of horror and detestation, any proposition emanating from Mr. Lincoln or his party, because he and they have violated every pledge and promise they have made. He said, in the beginning, he would administer the affairs of the nation under the constitution, and that the special institutions of the South would be protected. Through this promise he obtained seventy-five thousand men, and the united wealth and enthusiasm of the North. When he obtained this number, he changed his policy of conciliation, and determined to conquer and abolitionize the South. He has had fifteen times this number, and two long years of cruel and bloody war have passed, five hundred thousand of our best men have perished in the attempt; their bleached bones whiten every glen and mountain in the land; the men whom they called cowards, knaves and fools have been victorious on almost every field, and in the midst of victories have set examples to our rulers of a moderation worthy of imitation; and yet this is the great people those madmen seek to conquer. (Think of the million of white labor destroyed in this war, of the toiling nineteen or twenty millions of our own kith and kin they are saddling with an enormous debt; a debt that will take oceans of salt sweat from the poor man's brow before it is paid off. Not only the nineteen or twenty millions now existing, but the untold millions of unborn sons of toil, who must come, and go, and slave, and work before it is cancelled. War enslaves the toiling and consuming