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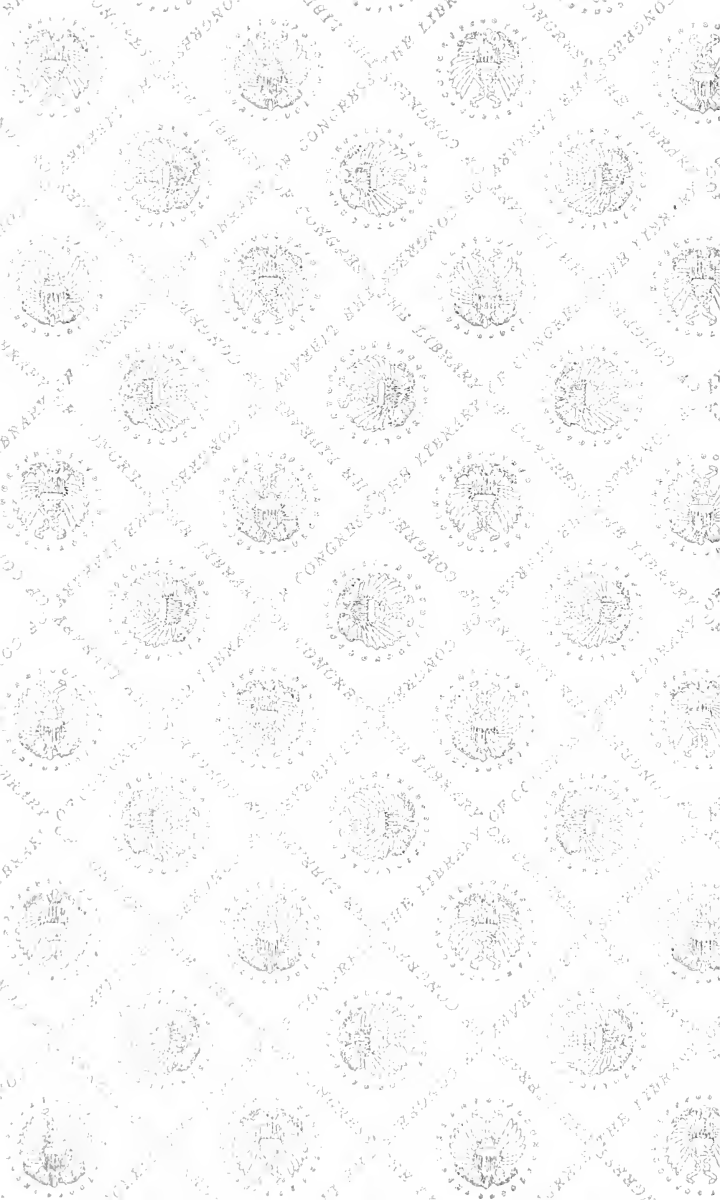
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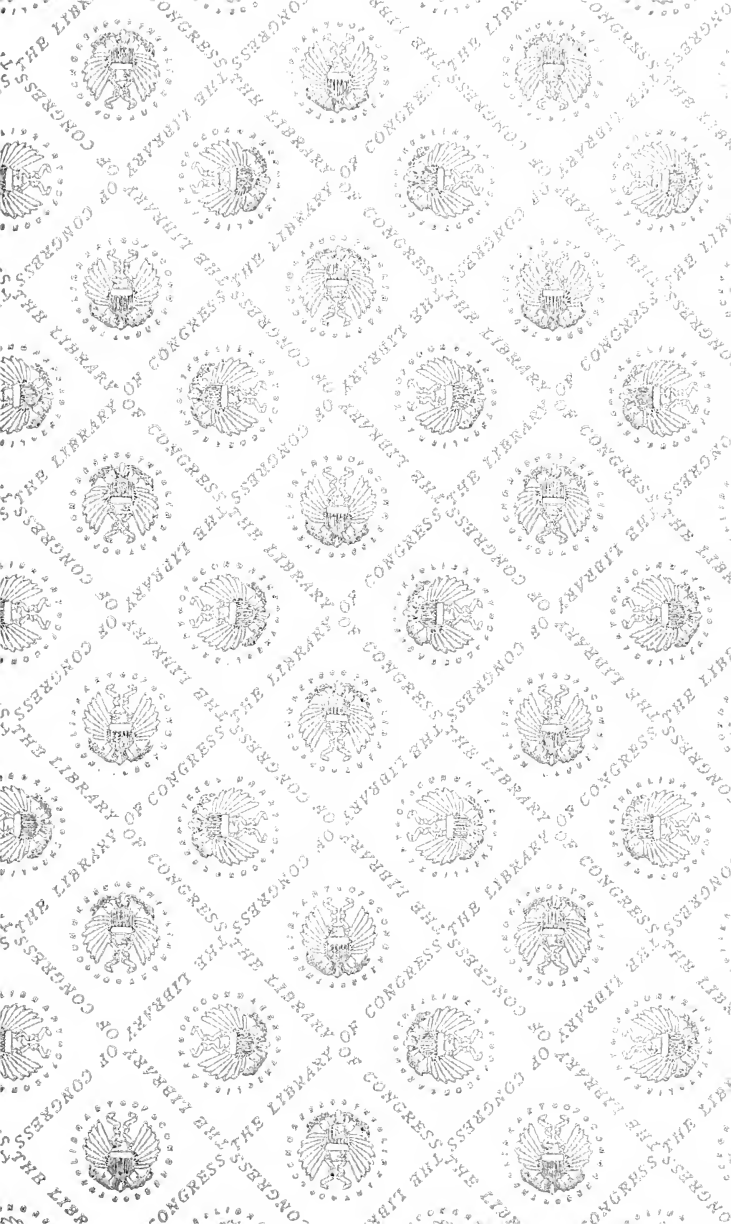
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THE DEFENDERS OF THE COUNTRY AND ITS ENEMIES.

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THE CHICAGO PLATFORM DISSECTED.

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S P E E C H

OF

GOVERNOR BROUGH,

Delivered at Circleville, Ohio, Sept. 3.

*From the Cincinnati Gazette, September 5, 1864.*

CINCINNATI:

GAZETTE CO. STEAM PRINTING HOUSE, COR. FOURTH AND VINE STREETS.

1864.



# S P E E C H .

The citizens of Pickaway county, wishing to manifest their satisfaction at the return of their brothers and sons from the hundred days' service, and to improve the occasion by having the fires of patriotism kindled anew in their own hearts, and perhaps extended into the cold and cheerless hearts of their unbelieving neighbors, invited the people generally to meet together in picnic style at Circleville. Invitations were also sent to Governor BROUGH and to Hon. JOB STEVENSON, candidate for Congress in that District, to address the assemblage, which they did in a very acceptable manner. The following is a full report of Governor Brough's remarks.

E. L.

## OHIO'S HUNDRED DAY MEN.

I come before you to-day, from the labors which, during the last two weeks, in arranging the credits and the military affairs of the State, have left me no time for reflection upon what I should say to you. I have stolen away from business in order to be present with you on this occasion of welcome to the gallant men who, in the hundred days' service, responded to the call of the State, and went forth to perform the most important duty that could be devolved upon them. I feel as though I too would like to greet these noble men here to-day, for not only does not the history of this war, but the history of this country afford no parallel to the noble manner in which the National Guards of Ohio responded to the call that was made upon them by the State and by the nation. Remember the fact, and speak it to their credit everywhere, that from the second day of May, 1864, to the 18th of the same month, 35,000 men, the very cream of the population, the bone and sinew of the State, responded to the call made by telegraph, and within those sixteen days were armed, equipped and mustered into the service of the State, and were put into the field where their services were required to defend you and your Government from the aggressions of the rebel foe.

I am aware of the great responsibility which, as Governor of the State, I exercised in making that call upon the people of the State; but I knew to some extent then, what I know positively now, that but for the response of those National Guards upon that occasion, the cause of the Union in all human probability would have been lost. I did not dare to hesitate under circumstances of that kind, and I was not deceived in the noble manner in which the able-bodied men of the State responded. And I will say to you now, what I could not have said then, that the National Guards were drilled, thrown into the field—32,000 of them out of the State, and the remainder reserved on the borders, thrown into Virginia, the Kanawha Valley, around Baltimore and Washington, thus relieving for active service with Gen. Grant 54,000 veterans, who went forward, and now stand before the walls of Richmond; an army that enabled him to repulse Gen. Lee in the battle of the Wilderness, and drive his army to their fortifications, where to-day he holds them by the throat. I know the privations and perils through which these men have gone, but there are hours in every nation's lifetime when no man may shrink from the duties imposed upon him. I hope these men have returned among you to-day with no more than the ordinary casualties of life. I would

be glad with you to give them the cordial grasp of welcome, and warm assurance of regard, they deserve for their great sacrifices. For although they may not have been in that battle, they have relieved veterans from the positions of responsibility they occupied, and enabled them to go forth and sustain their brothers in the more dangerous duties at the front.

Politicians have carped at the calling out of the National Guards. I do not seek now to defend or justify the call I made upon the people. I am content to leave that, with every other official act of mine, for time to justify. Efforts have been made to poison the minds of these gallant men, by seeking to make them believe that they were called unconstitutionally and illegally into the service which they have so well performed. If the call was not constitutional and legal, the services of the men have been magnificent and glorious. If it was not constitutional to save the country, they have violated the constitution for the country's good.

I do not think that under the present call for more troops, we shall be required to make another call for the assistance of the volunteer soldiers of the State of Ohio. There is a contingency that may make it necessary to do so. One such contingency has just passed away. There was a possibility, for a time, that resistance to the draft, which would have been resistance to the Government, might make it necessary to call out these citizen-soldiers; and I knew that if the country needed their services in this respect, they would come to its aid as promptly as before. I do not think now that that emergency will come to pass. A few weeks ago they were threatening to make trouble; they felt safe in doing so, because, they said the Government would not allow these Ohio boys to come home when their time was up; but as soon as the Guards came home you could see these Copperheads running to their holes with not a word to say. Their courage, like that of the celebrated Bob Acres, oozed out at their fingers' ends as soon as the soldier boys came in sight. I am glad of it, for I do not want to see a drop of blood shed in Ohio, although I do not know but there is some blood among us that is no better than that on the other side of the line. [Cheers.]

#### THE PRESENT POLITICAL CONTEST.

We are approaching, my friends, a contest of a political character that is as important in its bearing as any of the battles on the field of mortal strife that we have been compelled to fight. It is a contest involving the perpetuity of this Union; a contest which is to determine whether we shall crush this rebellion and restore the unity and power of this nation, or whether we shall submit to terms of conciliation and degradation, that will end in the establishment of the arrogant rebel authority. Such is the contest involved in the elections of October and November. While thousands upon thousands of your fellow citizens are battling away upon the field, in front of the armed foe, you are called upon to put yourselves in battle array upon the fields at home, in a political contest—not with arms in your hands, but with brains in your heads, reflection in your minds, and ballots in your hands. That duty you must not shrink from; for in this political contest the Union elements of the country cannot afford to be stricken down. You cannot afford to be beaten. The safety of the nation will not allow the ruling powers of the country to be put into the hands of men who, by any new-fangled ideas, or old ones either, would seek to end this controversy at the sacrifice of your nation's honor and existence. You have the right to choose your rulers, and to change them when you see proper; but you have no right to allow your Government to be overturned. You have only a life estate in it, and privileged to use it during your own lifetime. You cannot, as the lawyers say, cut off the entail; you are bound to transmit it to your posterity as it was given to you. While you can use it, you have no right to overturn the great fabric of Government bequeathed you by your patriotic sires of the revolution.



## THE STRUGGLE FOR FREE GOVERNMENT.

It is said you have been struggling through four long years of war to crush the rebellion and sustain your Government. That is true; but your fathers struggled through seven years of war more dreary than you have seen, to establish the same Government which you are endeavoring to preserve. There were Tories in the revolution as there are peace clamorers now. There was not a time during that long war when your fathers were not urged to yield up the contest and make peace with their enemies. But they stood firm, endured privations, and every abuse that could be heaped upon them for seven long years, struggling on until at last they came out victorious, and as the result transmitted to you the best government God ever gave to man. Are you such degenerate sons as to be willing to surrender that great Government into the hands of rebels, or their sympathizers, after only four years' contest? [Cries of no, no.] Certainly not. You have not so degenerated; you can not, will not do it.

When you are called upon to engage in this civil contest, at the ballot box, I wish you could look into the trenches at Petersburg, or those in front of—Atlanta, I was going to say, but thank God and glorious old Sherman, our army has left them and gone forward into Atlanta itself. [Applause.] I wish you could have looked into the trenches before Atlanta a few days ago, and witnessed the privations which your noble brothers cheerfully endure, and have heard them talking among themselves of their willingness to fight for your liberties if you would only take care of the rebel element at home, and with your votes hold them powerless for evil. If you could have seen and heard these things you would rally in numbers and with a power unequalled by your election of last year, and proclaim to the world that you are prepared to continue this contest as long as rebel endurance holds out against you.

The issue is made up. On the 7th of June last, the National Union Convention met in Baltimore, and nominated by acclamation, without one dissenting voice, your present President a candidate for re-election; and although your Convention was unanimous in its choice, it may be that there are those who would prefer another man. If there are such, and whatever you or I may have thought as to the wisdom of that selection, all objection should pass away now, for your ticket represents the Government of your country and not the interests of any man. Criticism might be made, but this is not the time for it; that time will come by and by, when criticism may be indulged in without injury to our country's cause. We must stand by the platform that pledges unwavering support of the Union, until the rebellion is crushed, or the rebels willingly lay down their arms. They want peace. They can have it any time, by laying down their arms, and yielding obedience to the laws and the Constitution, and they can't have it by anything short of that. [Cheers.]

## THE CHICAGO PLATFORM.

You have marshaled against you a faction of men seeking to obtain the power of the Government, who aided the rebels in bringing this rebellion upon us, and who now want to get control of affairs so as to wind it up to suit themselves and their traitor Democratic brethren in the South. They have met at Chicago, and presented a platform and candidate for the consideration of the public. In reference to the former I heard a remark made to-day by one of your citizens, which I will repeat if you do not consider it irreverent, as I do not. The question was asked him, what he thought of the platform and the candidate presented by the Chicago Convention? The reply was, he thought they had taken Christ's sermon on the mount for their platform, and put the devil on it for their candidate. [Laughter.] I do not know that this is exactly the case, but I do say that they have placed before the people a platform that is full of hypocrisy and inconsistency, that is a

base attempt to deceive the people of this country, and that they have set a military man upon it with epaulets upon his shoulders, under the impression that the people would run after him regardless of the platform.

With regard to the candidate, Geo. B. McClellan, I have not a word to say. I have known him for many years, intimately; his personal character is good, and if it were not, I should not stand before a public assembly to assail it. I do not propose to object to him because from poverty he has won his way to the high position he now occupies. That is one of the peculiar merits of our Government, that any man, however humble his origin, may aspire to the highest position, and by good conduct receive the highest honors of his fellow men. I shall not object to him because he comes from the honorable fraternity of railroad men, for I happen to be one of that class myself. I do not propose to criticise his military campaigns, or his military ability; I leave that to the historian, for I make no pretences to military knowledge myself. But I have a conviction that his military career has been a magnificent failure. We are, however, not seeking a military man to place at the head of our Government; we are seeking, rather, a statesman, a man who has been educated in the Constitution and the laws—the elements and principles of our Republican Government—a man who, by large experience, is able to take charge of this great Government of ours in the hour of its danger, and carry it safely through. That is the kind of a man we are looking for; and laying aside everything of a military reputation and a personal character, tell me where Gen. McClellan has ever evinced any of that ripe experience, and that great political knowledge, which would fit him to become President of the United States. No civil responsibility has ever been entrusted to him, except the superintendence of a railroad; and while I would not depreciate him without cause, if my railroad had needed a Superintendent, during the time he was engaged in that business, there were fifty other men in Ohio whom I would have employed in preference to him. He has given no evidence of a capacity equal to the responsibility of seizing upon the reins of Government in a time like this. He has no political knowledge that would be safe to rely on. Even in the last Presidential campaign—that of 1860—he had not the shrewdness to discover that the welfare of this Government and the perpetuity of its institutions required the election of some other man than John C. Breckinridge, for he supported him for the Presidency. Are we to turn aside at a time like this, and seize upon an inexperienced man and make him President, because for three years he has made every action of life look to his own personal benefit or glory? While I do not criticise the military career of McClellan, I feel myself prompted to say, that but for his political ambition, but for the serpent whispering in his ear as it was whispered to another in olden time, that he might climb the giddy height of glory and be made President, but for this I believe McClellan could have taken Richmond and crushed the rebellion two years ago. [Cheers.] When he lay before Yorktown, with 180,000 men, opposed by only 12,000 of the enemy, a man with any ordinary genius could have gone into Richmond, had it not been that evil-disposed men whispered in his ear. "Don't hurt anybody just now; wait, there is a President to be made out of this business." It is matter of history that McClellan's army of the Peninsula lay there 180,000 strong, before less than 12,000 rebels, when he could have stormed their fortifications; when, if Hooker had been allowed to lead the van, they could have held Lee until fresh cohorts were brought in on the other side, and the enemy completely cut to pieces. Instead of this, McClellan retreated in disorder, after burying 40,000 of his brave soldiers on the banks of the Chickahominy, from disease and wounds. Men very often do unwise things; they do not understand just the time or the way to promote their true interests. If McClellan had gone on and captured Richmond, at that time, all the powers on earth could not

have kept him from holding such a place in the hearts of the people as would have given him all he desired. But he attempted to play the politician when he should have been doing the work of the warrior, and there he sacrificed his first opportunity to crush the rebellion.

Again, he lost his second opportunity of crushing the rebellion on the field of Antietam, when he could have ground it to pieces as between the upper and nether mill-stone. Fighting with but one-fourth his army at a time, and holding his own men thus, until the enemy exhausted their ammunition, he still actually let the rebel army get away from him. He missed his second opportunity, either because, as a politician, he did not want to suppress the rebellion, or from such extraordinary timidity and vacillation as makes him unfit to be placed at the head of a Government.

But Gen. McClellan is a war man. The men who nominated him, however, are peace men. They did not nominate him because, by any act he has heretofore performed, they saw he agreed with them in opinion, but because his reputation would give him a few votes, and as they said at Chicago, they will take care to surround him with men who will manage his administration to suit the party. It is the Seymours and the Woods who want the chestnuts out of the fire, and are willing to use Little Mac's paws to get them out with, when they will pocket them. [Cheers and laughter.] So his timidity and vacillation of character have made him the instrument in the hands of evil men, who, if he does not despise he ought to despise, for accomplishing their ignoble purpose.

They put him forward on the platform with the palpable intention and the purpose of defrauding the people of this Government into changing their rulers, and placing the Government into the hands of those who would turn it over to the rebels. They put forth this platform, full of inconsistencies, and ask the people of the country to believe in their integrity, because they bring out a man who has been in the army. Think of it, peace men of Ohio! They ask you to take this thing of many heads and one body—the tail of which is George H. Pendleton, who has been constantly fighting every measure introduced to carry on this war and weaken the rebellion, till he is now considered as dark hued a traitor as Vallandigham himself.

#### CHICAGO DEMOCRATS.

Here the speaker read the Chicago platform, as follows :

*Resolved*, That in the future as the past, we will adhere with unswerving fidelity to the Union under the Constitution, as the only solid foundation for our strength, security and happiness as a people, as a frame work to government equally conducive to the welfare and prosperity of all the States both Northern and Southern.

*Resolved*, That this Convention does explicitly declare as the sense of the American people, that, after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which, under the pretence of a military necessity or war power other than the Constitution, the Constitution itself has been disregarded in every point, and public liberty and private right alike trodden down, and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired, justice, humanity, liberty and the public welfare demand that an immediate effort be made for the cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate convention of all the States, or other peaceable means, to the end that, at the earliest possible moment, peace may be restored, on the basis of the Federal Union of the States.

*Resolved*, That the direct interference of the military authorities of the United States in the recent elections held in Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri and Delaware, was a shameful violation of the Constitution. The repetition of such acts on the approaching election will be held as revolutionary, and be resisted with all the means and power under our control.

*Resolved*, That the aim and object of the Democratic party is to preserve the Federal Union and the right of the States unimpaired, and they hereby declare that they consider the administrative usurpation of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by the Constitution; the subversion of the civil by military law in the States not in insurrection, the arbitrary military arrest, imprisonment, trial and sentence of American citizens in States where the civil law exists in full force, the suppression of the freedom of speech and of the press; the denial of the right of asylum; the open and avowed disregard of State rights; the employment of unusual test oaths, and the interference with and denial of the right of the people to bear arms, as calculated to prevent a restoration of the Union and perpetuation of the Government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed.

*Resolved*, That the shameful disregard of the Administration of its duty in respect to our fellow-

citizens who now, and long have been, prisoners of war in a suffering condition, deserves the severest reprobation on the score alike of public and common humanity.

*Resolved*, That the sympathy of the Democratic party is heartily and earnestly extended to the soldiers of our army who are and have been on the field under the flag of our country, and in the event of our attaining power, will receive all care, protection, regard and kindness, that the brave soldiers of the republic have so nobly earned.

You will bear me witness, that from the first word to the last, there is nothing in it but what was offered for a purpose. In no word or syllable does it denounce the rebellion or the infernal traitors who brought it on the country. Could it be conceived as possible that a set of men could be congregated together who would pass a series of resolutions as a political platform, and entirely omit every word of condemnation of the men who plunged the country into civil war? Why have they not denounced these men? Because to have done so would have been indirectly to have crucified themselves. The leaders of the Chicago Convention were the aiders and abettors of the Southern men who brought the rebellion upon us, and have been their sympathizers from that time to the present. There could be no more perfect communication by telegraph between the leaders of the Rebel Confederacy and the Chicago Democracy than there is in sympathy between Chicago and Richmond.

Who were those men? They were the men of the Democratic Convention of 1860, who stood around Buchanan's Administration—the abettors and conspirators, who fraternized with Floyd and Thompson, who robbed us of our arms, arsenals, and treasure. They have no denunciation for these men, while they exhaust the dictionary in the use of abusive words against those seeking to crush out the rebellion. It is perhaps a tribute to our Government to say, that there is no other on the face of the earth where men would be allowed to denounce their Government as they do. Not a word is said against rebellion, but, by inference and implication, you are led to suppose the rebellion is right and your Government wrong. Jeff. Davis and his Cabinet, in Richmond, could not have passed resolutions that would please the rebels of the South better than these Chicago resolutions will.

#### DEMOCRATIC UNION.

The second characteristic of the platform is, that it declares for the Union. The Union of what? The Union of this Government, as a power that has the inherent right to protect and take care of itself? No, no. But a Union of the States with their inherent rights. It declares in favor of a union of South Carolina with New York, with the right of South Carolina to rebel to-morrow, if she choose. I want Union, too, but not a Union which confers the privilege on the party to be united with me of knocking me down the next day without redress. I want a Union which will protect the reserved and proper rights of the States, and which will have power to protect at the same time the rights of the people. They declare for the Union; but do they tell you if the Southern men won't come to terms, they will whip them in? Not a word of it. They are for the Union if they can get it by armistice and conciliation. If they can't get it in that way, they are for letting the Confederacy go, to grasp as many of the border States as she can get to follow her. Then the Confederate Democrats of Ohio would say, we can take Ohio to the South; we never did like the East. So New York would say, we can live better without the Yankees of New England. Yes, they are for the Union, if the States please to go with them, but if not there will be no Union.

This body of men declare that they will hereafter assert the supremacy of this Union. They use language which reads very nicely on the face of it, but when you come to analyze it you find it bold treason. There is a purpose here, and that purpose is so finely glossed over that any of these boys can see through the veil. They are for the Union if they can get it, if not they will let the South go. The purpose they seek is to put themselves into political

power, and if they don't restore the Union as it was, they will make a Union with the South that will perpetuate their power for the control of the Government always hereafter.

They do not declare they are against the rebellion, or for its suppression. They declare for peace, an armistice, a Convention of the States, in order to restore the Union upon the basis of State rights. What does Jeff. Davis say? He says the States are disintegrated now, because the Southern States have been exercising their natural right of secession. The States are dissolved now and formed into a new Confederacy. There has been, as the gamblers say, a new cut, shuffle and deal, and Jeff. Davis has the pack in his hands; and he says it is the right of every State to do just as it pleases. These men want a convention of the States to restore the Union on that basis. They want an armistice, and Jeff. Davis says that an armistice is for the purpose of drawing away the Union soldiers from Richmond and Atlanta, and our men-of-war from the Southern ports. Consequently, an armistice means to yield up all that has been gained and allow the rebels to take all they want beside.

Do you remember that last year there was a distinguished citizen "watching and waiting over the border," like Micawber, for something to turn up, who in a proclamation he issued to the people of Ohio, asked you to call back your armies from Southern soil, saying you could then negotiate for peace? He was up at Chicago, and in that Convention found an echo of this infamous declaration. It was, call back your armies; make an armistice; you have reconquered five-eighths of the territory that these Southern rascals took from you, and the good work is still going on step by step—of course slower as you get nearer the center than when on the circumference; while they have just abandoned Atlanta, and the Union army entered it, the second great military post of the State. When the Atlanta fortifications have just been surrendered, and Gen. Thomas is slashing to pieces Hood's army in Georgia, these gentlemen who never have armed themselves with pocket-pistols—glass or otherwise—[laughter]—coolly turn around and say let us have an armistice; let us tear off General Grant's grasp upon Petersburg, and his hold upon Richmond; lay down our arms, and say to these Southern gentlemen, "here we come to yield all to you, although by struggling a few hours longer we could conquer you and restore the Union; still we give it up, and go down on our knees and humbly beg of you to grant us peace." Yes, call back your armies from Atlanta; call them back from all the fields made historic by the blood of your brave brothers, who have laid down their lives for their country; call them back, with arms reversed and with muffled drums: and when you have got them on this side of the river, tell the men to start for their homes, and beat the Rogue's march after them, while they trail the banner of glory and beauty in the dust. That is what you are asked to do, under the banner of the man whose only credit is, that instead of standing at the head of the army of the bravest men that ever trod God's foot-stool, he stands to-day at the head of the most accursed band of traitors this side of Richmond. Make an armistice, call your brave men back, destroy their patriotism, tell them to go home with our sympathy, we will dispense with their arms. for we are civil warriors, and believe with the great Richelieu that "the pen is mightier than the sword." We can save States without it, especially when we give them the right to secede whenever they feel aggrieved, and precipitate another rebellion upon the country whenever they choose to do so. Call back your armies, assemble your convention, and what have you accomplished? You will have allowed the rebels to repossess their territory; they will refuse to agree to anything you will propose, and your armies being disbanded they will say, we have accomplished our purpose, we are ready for another rebellion and another fight, and there are more rivers of blood to flow, and more treasure to be expended to put down the rebellion. We had victory in our hands and

gave it up because the cowards and knaves would not prosecute the war to the end, and turned away from the great end for ignoble and unworthy purposes. And the remedy is a convention of the States. For what? A convention of all the States for the purpose of restoring the Union upon the basis of the rights of the States. As we understand the rights of the States all very well; but the Southern people understand States rights very differently from us. They assert that it is the right of any State to make war when it pleases, to secede when it pleases; it is the right of a State to nullify the laws of the general Government when it pleases. They undertook it once under General Jackson, but it did not prosper. They claim that a State has certain inherent rights, and these are of them. They propose to restore the Union on this basis. What would it amount to? Who can tell that in ten or fifteen years South Carolina might not again rear up her Ebenezer, and say, "I will not obey the laws of the land, and I will rebel." She can do it better then than now; because she will gain power by having time. You will have given your consent to secession. Will you give that consent? If not, you will not put this party in power.

Then you are to have a convention of all the States. Would not that be a rich thing, with Jeff Davis and all his tribe among us, fixing up a Union of the States? I have no doubt those gentlemen of Chicago would like that kind of association; but I imagine that the patriotic men of this country, who have sent their sons to suffer and die, and poured their money into the Treasury to sustain the Government, do not feel much like either going themselves or turning out to elect delegates to go into such a convention. The leaders at Chicago would like that thing, because "fellow feeling makes them wondrous kind." They sympathize with them in their way, and more particularly because, in other times, they have been joined together in political power and patronage. But I take it, this country is not going to go into any such arrangement.

There is but one kind of convention the Northern people will consent to. These rebellious States must come back subjugated, or by voluntarily laying down their arms and submitting to the laws and the constitution. We have two just such conventions in the field now. Grant is President of one, and Sherman is President of the other. [Applause.] I do not think we want any interference of this Chicago Convention in that particular. They do not denounce the rebellion as unholy and wicked. They have no word of unkindness for the scoundrels who are the authors of all our troubles.

They ask an armistice only to let the rebels recuperate. And they ask a convention of States with the Southern leaders, in order to fix the terms by which these brothers of theirs may be permitted to come back. So far we have got in the platform.

After four years of war, they say it is time we had peace. So your fathers thought after four years of war, it was time they had peace, but they didn't lay down their arms on that account; nor submit to ignoble terms, nor ask the British authorities to give them peace. They fought it through seven years. You are not called upon to do that; for if it were not for the hopes which the rebels build upon just such things as this Chicago Convention, you would have had peace to-day; and in spite of that, you can have it in the coming year upon the suppression of the rebellion; for it may be said, without using too strong a figure of speech, that but for the opposition of such men, this rebellion would have been crushed out a year ago. You may go into the ranks of your armies, or the noble men who have come from the field, and learn from them what has given the rebellion strength. They believe there was a power in the North that would have overturned this Government and given them such terms as they asked. Just such men as the leaders of his Chicago Convention, have cost this people millions of money and thou-

sands of lives. It is not too much to say that these peace men are covered over from head to foot with the blood of their slaughtered countrymen. They ought to be held responsible for them, and at the bar of public opinion they are murderers worse than traitors, for they give the rebellion strength and vitality by their conduct in the North. And what they have done in Chicago will be gloated over in the South. It will be howled on till November. For though McClellan may be elected, he is a man of straw that will be brushed aside, and behind him comes up the cohorts of these peace men, who will say to the rebels "we will give you the Government on any terms you please."

They want peace they say. Well let's see on what terms they will get peace. Many of you have read the account of Col. Jaques and Gilmore, who went down to Richmond to sound Jeff. Davis upon the subject of peace, on the principle of the fellow who fought at Bunker Hill. When asked where he belonged; he said he didn't belong anywhere. He was fighting on his own hook. They went to Richmond to feel Davis' pulse. They came back and reported what they saw and heard. These gentlemen on the secession side say it is all a lie, that Davis never said anything of the kind. These leaders and their presses take more pains to defend anything charged upon Davis, than to defend anything charged upon the officers of your Government.

Of course anything that appears here on this side, damaging these rebel leaders, they say is all a lie. They are welcome to say all that Jaques and Gilmore say is a lie. I don't care, although I believe what they say is true. But there is a witness that rises up against them. They cannot deny the truth of what a rebel officer says,—the Secretary of State of the rebel Confederacy, who used to be a Senator of the South, a Jew by birth and a politician by trade, an infernally corrupt one, one who naturally affiliates with the Southern Confederacy. Democratic papers cannot dispute Benjamin. He made an address to one Mason, Minister Plenipotentiary of the Southern Confederacy, etc., to the Court of St. James. He addressed him a letter, telling him what had taken place at Richmond with those two Yankees. Now hear what Benjamin says:

"Mr. Gilmore then addressed the President, and in a few minutes had conveyed the information that those two gentlemen had come to Richmond impressed with the idea that this Government would accept a peace on the basis of a reconstruction of the Union, the abolition of slavery, and the grant of an amnesty to the people of the States as repentant criminals. In order to accomplish the abolition of slavery, it was proposed that there should be a general vote of all the people of both Confederations, and the majority of the vote thus taken was to determine that as well as all other disputed questions. These were stated to be Mr. Lincoln's views. The President answered that as these proposals had been prefaced by the remark that the people of the North were a majority, and that a majority ought to govern, the offer was, in effect, a proposal that the Confederate States should surrender at discretion, admit that they had been wrong from the beginning of the contest, submit to the mercy of their enemies, and avow themselves to be in need of pardon for crimes; that extermination was preferable to such dishonor."

It never has been part of Davis' creed for the majority to govern. It was because the minority could not govern that he went into the rebellion; and he tells those gentlemen they can't put anything down his throat that smacks of majority government. Whether he calculates he has got part of the majority down there and part at Chicago, may be questioned.

Now there is Davis' declaration on the one side, and that of Chicago on the other. Chicago wants peace by an armistice and conciliation. Davis tells them how they are going to get it—to acknowledge the independence of the Southern Confederacy. But if they don't acknowledge that there is no peace for them; that extermination is preferable to them.

I had almost said it was absurd. I will withdraw that term, and say it is not wicked that with declarations of this kind thrown into our teeth there should be found ten or fifteen thousand men assembled who are willing to abase themselves in the dirt, to crawl in the very earth itself, in order to accept such terms? And I would ask if it is not doubly-dyed infamous for

such a set of men to ask the American people to come on a platform of that kind, and put men in power that will do this thing, and surrender the Government to traitors that are almost at their last gasp? You cannot do this thing with honor to yourselves, and in the name of God, how can you do it in justice to your posterity coming up around you, to the honor of that great name of ours which for over eighty years has been the token of freedom, the light by which other nations have been guided, and has promised to be the beacon for all time to come?

I said this platform was a weak attempt to deceive the American people. I said it was full of treason; that it was full of deceit; full of fraud; it was a swindle from end to end. I also said it was full of inconsistencies. These men had elements around them that they were compelled to consult and propitiate. The leaders of this Convention, who want political power and are unscrupulous as to the means to achieve it, were in the minority, and the men who follow Vallandigham and Wood were in a triumphant majority; fire and water were there, and these had to be mixed, oil and water to be mingled. They must win. It is the attributes of semi-traitors that must win followers of this clamor for peace, and must put a man at the head of the ticket who would not be too open, and therefore management and money were necessary. They could not put up Vallandigham or such a man at the head of the ticket. They had an experience of that kind last Fall. [Laughter.] There were plenty of men who said they would rather have Vallandigham than any other man in the nation, but he cannot run. McClellan can get more votes than he can. But Vallandigham didn't like Mac, and wouldn't have any war man on the platform. And it is said they fixed that up by giving Pendleton the tail of the ticket. You recollect the staple commodity of Vallandigham's tactics was arbitrary arrests and suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, so this Convention, in the third resolution, denounced Lincoln for arbitrary arrests and the suspension of *habeas corpus*, and other crimes which they have been in the habit of attributing to him. They then turned around and nominated McClellan, the man who made the first arbitrary arrests after the war began, having taken the Legislature out of the halls where they were in session, and put them in prison, and kept them there sixteen months. What was this for? To soothe those men who are abusing Lincoln? I don't say Gen. McClellan didn't do right. I don't lay that sin to his charge. But I say if he did do right, the men who nominated him at Chicago are the most infernal set of hypocrites and scoundrels that ever walked the earth.

Another evident inconsistency in their war on the President, is, that anything he does is wrong, anything that our man does is right. This is the platform they put forth.

There is no denunciation of the rebellion; no determination to restore the Union and Government by force of arms, if they can't do it by peace and a convention of the States, but denunciation of the President for making arbitrary arrests.

Now I say to you, those gentlemen who have undertaken to conciliate and compromise the rebel element, have gone to the other verge, and shown their own treasonable purposes in the disruption of the Union.

There is no man in this country who respects his Government can put himself in coalition with men who can be so base as to do it themselves.

#### SYMPATHY FOR THE SOLDIER.

Let us go a little further. There is a body of men several hundred thousand strong, and with arms in their hands, who are endeavoring to uphold the dear old flag, and to bring us peace by lawful means. There are four hundred thousand men standing upon the fields of the United States under its banner, ready to lay down their lives for the success of



the Union cause. There are four hundred thousand of those, that these scamps at Chicago were angling after. It would not do, therefore, after passing resolutions of armistice, and calling back the army in disgrace, to let this pill go without a little sugar-coating. It is notorious that the soldiers have good jaws to crack hard tack with, and gullets to get them down, but they could not swallow that pill without a little sugar-coating, so they must pass the fourth resolution complimenting the soldiers.

I want your papers to print this platform at the head of your columns to the election. I want every man of you to read it, and to prevail on your neighbors to sit down and read the fourth resolution in regard to soldiers. Coolly consider its language. It is the most infernal insult to a body of brave and noble men, ever offered even by the Southern Confederacy. For Davis himself has acknowledged our men were brave and gallant. What do these men say?

*“Resolved, That the sympathy of the Democratic party is heartily and earnestly extended to the soldiers of our army who are and have been on the field under the flag of our country, and in the event of our attaining power, will receive all care, protection, regard and kindness that the brave soldiers of the Republic have so nobly earned.”*

How does it read?

*“Resolved, That we tender our thanks to the noble men in the army,”* etc.

Not a word of it. What then? “That we tender our sympathies,” and our pity, to our soldiers in the field. We do not glorify them. We do not rejoice in their gallant deeds—in their victories. No. No man in that Chicago Convention ever rejoiced over a victory yet; nor any man that supports the Chicago platform was ever found kindling a bonfire over a victory won by your arms. [Cheers.] This is not a bare assertion. They do not rejoice in the victories won. No. But they “sympathize” with the soldiers who are standing under the old flag, and on the battle-field. Well, they might as well sympathize with horses that stood on the battle-field, for the horses would care about as much about it as the soldiers; and the mules too. I don’t know but the mules would have kicked up their heels at their sympathy for the soldiers too.

The language of that resolution is simply impudent and abusive. It is simply cowardly, and means disgrace. With the outward tongue it speaks in accents of affection, but inwardly of the traitor. “We sympathize with our soldiers.” They are not then in a glorious cause. We don’t rejoice with them that their patriotism called them forth to uphold that banner. We don’t sympathize with the brave that have gone forth to die. We don’t glory in anything they do. We don’t say their cause is just. We don’t thank them. *We simply pity them!*

Then what? Don’t trust me for these words, for although they are ground into my memory, and burned into my brain, I won’t ask you to trust to my memory. “In the event of our coming into power, they (the soldiers,) will receive all the care, protection and regard that the soldiers of the Republic have earned.” If they come into power—that is what they are after—they will protect and send them to their homes, to sin no more by taking up arms against their Southern brethren. They shan’t be punished because they dared to fight Jeff. Davis. They shan’t be put into prison—there shan’t any harm come upon them—they will protect them and send them out of danger! “We want their votes, and we must be kind to them.” And as the Devil promised what did not belong to him, and what he could not get, to Christ, these fellows promise their protection; and as that distinguished gentleman was cast out of Heaven into the lower regions, a similar fate awaits the Chicago fellows. [Laughter and applause.] Look at the naked infamy attempted to be practiced on the people by the passage of this resolution. They want the ordinary

reader to suppose that they intend to compliment the soldiers for doing what they have done. But they don't mean any such thing. If they had meant it, why could they have not said, "We tender our thanks to our brave soldiers who have been upholding our flag against armed rebellion?" They could not say it, because the traitors did not mean it.

#### EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS.

In perfect character and keeping, is the next resolution denouncing the Government for an alleged neglect of our prisoners in Rebel hands. The Rebel leaders have systematically violated the cartel arranged for exchanges. They have made unheard-of demands, and claimed advantages totally unwarranted. Every present advance on our part for exchange, is met by procrastination and delay; and the secret reason of this is, that the leaders conceive that by procrastination they are irritating our people, and manufacturing political capital against the Administration. The managers of the Chicago Convention understand and sympathize with this action; and are prompt to give it all the efficiency in their power. To those acquainted with the facts, this resolution contains the most conclusive evidence of perfect sympathy and co-operation between the leaders at Chicago and the chiefs of the Rebel Confederacy.

#### REGARD FOR DOUGLAS.

Following on the heels of the platform is a scarcely less infamous resolution, presented by an individual, expressing the regards of the Convention for that great statesman, Stephen A. Douglas—their great appreciation of the character of the noble Senator from Illinois. If he had lived how he would have stood up for and sustained them! Right there by the tomb of Douglas! And it is a wonder his bones did not turn in their coffin and burst their cements and come forth to reprove their hypocrisy. They shed tears over the tomb of Douglas! They, like crocodiles, pour out bitter water over the bones of the man whom they crucified as certainly as the Jews crucified Christ. Whom they doubly crucified—first in 1856, and then in 1860, pursuing him through the whole of the last campaign; the very men who set up Breckinridge—who is now the leader of one branch of the rebel army—and ran him, and defeated his election. These men put on saintly airs, and weep hypocritical tears over him whom they destroyed. They broke his great heart, and sent him to his grave. The last words on his lips, which will be memorable while the Republic lives, were:

"In this crisis there can be but two parties. There can be no neutrals in this war, only patriots and traitors."

If Douglas' voice could have come up from his tomb on the banks of the lake, in answer to the words of these hypocritical knaves, it would have been to say: "Look at the handwriting on the wall." "There can be but two parties—patriots and traitors—you are of the latter class." Away with such contemptible meanness and hypocrisy!

#### NOW IS NO TIME TO GIVE UP.

I ask if you can support a man put forth under such circumstances? I say you cannot trust the destinies of your country in such hands. And I repeat that just at this opportune moment of time, when we have this rebellion by the throat; when we are strangling it; when our men are going by thousands to the field cheerfully and nobly, when Sherman has taken Atlanta; when Grant holds the Weldon Railroad; when Sheridan holds the valley of the Shenandoah; when the military situation is better than it ever has been, and when we have men at the head of our armies who are earnest at this work, and men who know what they are about. They may sing "President" in

Grant's cars, but he pays no attention to them; his only answer is, "I came here to hurt somebody, and will do it before I leave." Sherman tells them to go out of his lines. They are men who are doing what they were put there to do.

All I ask is, don't crowd them too hard; there is no man idle. You think Grant does not move fast enough at Richmond. A few weeks ago Grant said to an official in high position: "I suppose the people blame me for being too slow; but I am a soldier, looking to the welfare of my army, and the welfare of my country, and I say to you, Mr. Secretary, there has not been a day, for the last sixty-five consecutive days, in which I could have fought my army six hours without putting half my men in the hospital." You were all impatient during that time. You did not know dust was six inches deep, which brought men to the ground. But it is true. Grant has consulted the welfare of the army and the welfare of the Government in holding still until cooler weather, but Richmond is as sure to fall as I live. But while you are impatient and desponding, uneasy under the call for more men, God bless you! see how they are coming! I tell you the patriotism of this country is not all dead, and it was not all at Chicago. These fellows cry out, "Now is the time to make peace." Grant says it is not. Had it not been for these men, we could have had a united sentiment in the North; and if the rebels were not buoyed up by the rebels of the north; if rebeldom was not sustained by the people north, this rebellion could be crushed in six months. We can not say these men shall not talk and pass resolutions; but we can say they shall not elect men of that kind to office; and we can turn around to Grant and say, "Notwithstanding the operations of these fellows up here, you see you are backed." This is no time to be halting; there has not been an hour, from the opening of this rebellion to this time, that the rebels could not have had peace by coming back into the Union and submitting to the laws and the constitution.

#### OMISSION OF SLAVERY IN THE PLATFORM.

I must not omit one thing, although it has been omitted in the Chicago platform. Some of you will remember I have been tolerably conversant with Democratic matters. I used to run with their machines from 1836 to 1848, when they run them into the ground, and I left. [Laughter.] This is the first National Convention of the Democratic party that I ever knew where the irrepressible negro was smothered in the room of the Committee on Resolutions. They did not suffer enough of that animal to crop out to give an idea that the negro was in the woodpile. [Laughter.] There is not a word in this platform about slavery. I think, as Greeley says, "the world moves." I think Democratic brethren are getting educated. It used to be we could not start the wagon off without loading slavery in the fore end and into the hind end and into the middle, [laughter,] while we men who used to make speeches around the country, had at every campaign, before starting out from Columbus, to shoulder a negro and start off with him. [Laughter.] Slavery had to be taken care of. The Democratic party is getting educated; they make a platform and do not say slavery once. I do not know that I have any fault to find, except while they did not say slavery they thought it all the time. The reason they did not put it in their platform was, they were too great cowards. After looking the dictionary through, they could not find any language in which they could disguise that colored individual, so the people would not see him; therefore, they concluded to bury him out of sight. None the less are they prepared to denounce the President, because as they say, he has said the only way to bring about negotiations for peace, is to consent that there be an abolition of slavery. There are, as I said, things I could criticise in our Administration. I would not have

gone quite so far as the President did in his "To whom it may concern;" but I will go this far: I never will consent, so far as I am concerned, in the restoration or reconstruction of this Union, that the powers of slavery, as heretofore recognized, shall ever be conferred on it again. [Applause.]

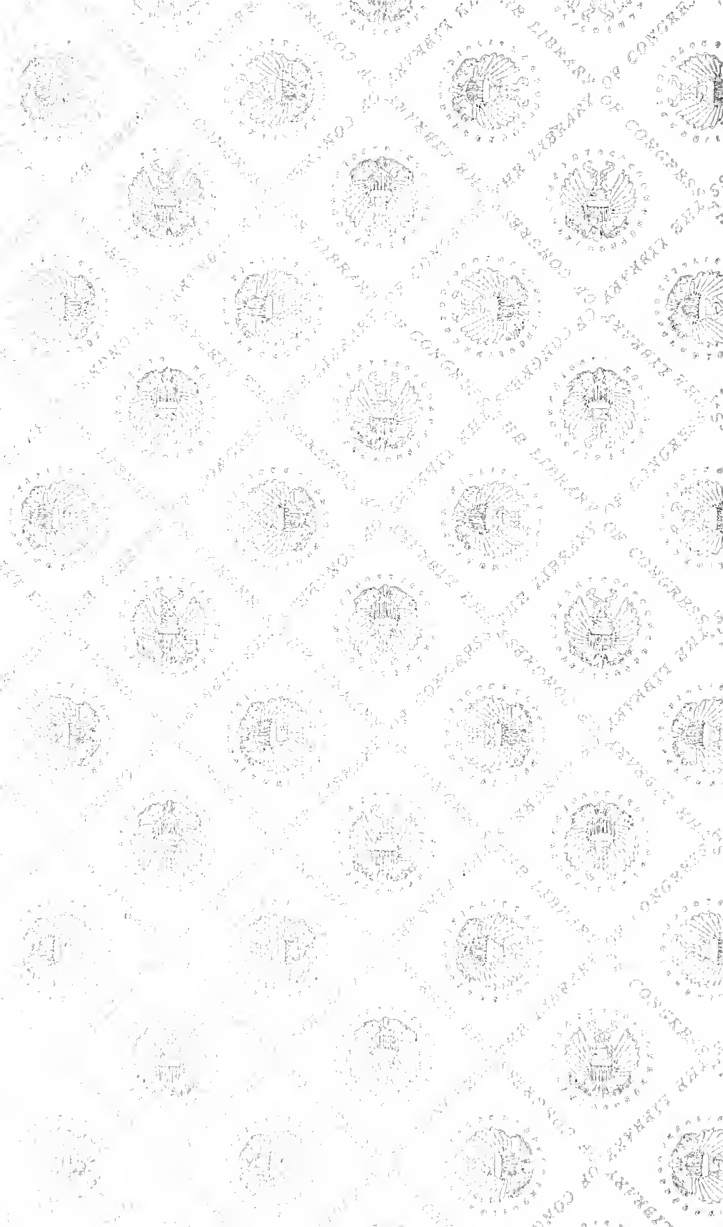
I will not say I would continue the war to free every negro in bondage; but I say, no more shall slavery be represented in the councils of my country; no two-thirds vote cast on the basis of slave population. There are to be no more men come into Congress and say: you shall not admit a State into this Union without putting slavery in it. I will have no more guarantees for slavery. If they hold it—and I do not believe they can for two years after the rebellion is wiped out—they shall hold it as they do their horses and cattle—at their own risk. No more admissions of slavery into the territories for the purpose of keeping the balance of power. And, my Democratic friends at Chicago knew this was the sentiment of the people of this country, and did not dare to put it in their platform.

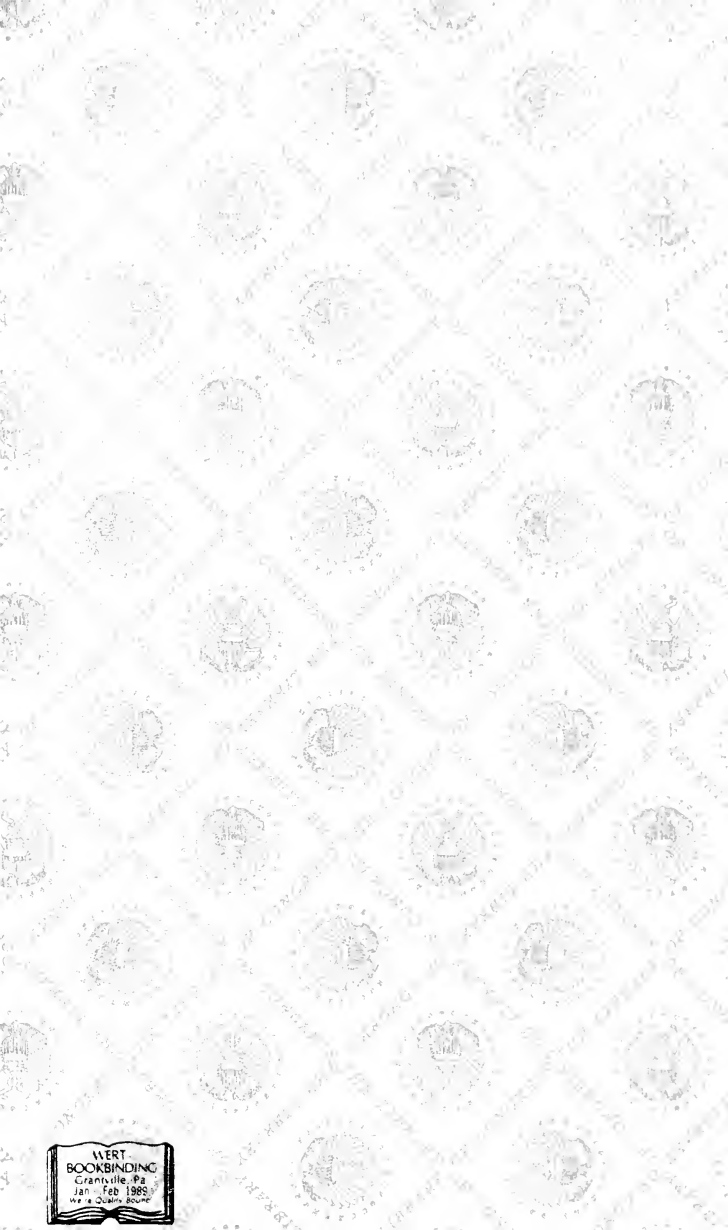
They oppose the President because he says there must be abolition of slavery. There will be abolition of slavery; for the moment you take from it its political character, that moment its death is certain. Twenty years ago it would have been abolished had it not have been for the political character of the institution. If they had not rebelled against their Government they would now have their institution with all its guarantees. In striking it down, I want to take back that privilege which they never had as a constitutional right. The President comes so near the sentiment of the people of this country that the Chicago managers are afraid to censure him for that. They do not dare to say which way they think, lest peradventure they might lose a few votes.

#### APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE.

I have said what I have in a spirit of frankness and truth. Take both platforms and read them well. Go among your neighbors and talk with them. If you are going to succeed in sustaining this Government, you must go to work. You can not sit at home and expect votes to come. You must work for it as the duty you owe to your Government and to yourselves, but above all as the duty you owe to those gallant fellows of ours who are standing on the field of battle. Great God! are you going to suffer the word to go down to them that they have to submit to giving up all they have struggled so hard to gain, to go back and leave their comrades in the soil! Are you going to say to them that they must surrender all the conquests of four years for the manufacture of a batch of political conspirators? Can you say that to those noble fellows down there? Father, can you say it to your son? Brother, can you say it to your brother? Uncle, can you say it to your nephew? I know there is no wife that will say it to her husband. If you are not going to do it, you must take hold of this work, and go at it with power and energy. You must not falter in the next four weeks; but every man must consider that it is his duty to enlighten one man who sits in darkness, and convince one man, at least, of the error of his ways; that it is his duty to save his country, save himself, and the army in the field. Now, men, take hold of this work. Let us go home and talk about what we have heard here to-day. Let us talk to our neighbors, and let us get them to go to some other neighbor, and let all turn out, on another occasion, to hear better speakers than you have heard here to-day. If you do this, all of you, you can carry the State by 100,000 majority just as easily as you did it in October last. [Applause.]







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