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With the best respects of

"GOLDEN VOICE,"

S. P. Chase

SPEECHES

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S. P. CHASE,

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY,

DURING HIS VISIT TO CALIFORNIA,

WITH HIS

SPEECHES

AT INDIANAPOLIS,

AND AT THE

MASS MEETING IN BALTIMORE,

OCTOBER, 1862.

WASHINGTON,

PRINTED BY W. B. MOORE

1862.

U. L. A.

“GOING HOME TO VOTE.”

AUTHENTIC

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SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY,
DURING HIS VISIT TO OHIO, ETC.

Since the last Presidential contest there has been no election that aroused such interest at the National Capital as the late one in Ohio. In others there have been important questions of policy involved; but in this the question was above all policy; it was whether an Aider and Abetter of Treason should be rewarded with the highest office of a great State, as a rebuke to the Government for its efforts to sustain itself *against* Treason.

The result was thought far from certain. The leading politicians of the State reasoned that last year the Democrats had carried it by a majority of six thousand; that since then fifteen thousand had been sent to the war, and that not less than ten thousand of them were from our side; and with these facts and the unparalleled activity of the Vallandigham party in the canvass, they urged that the home vote could not by any means be considered safe. If we were defeated on this, it was considered that the moral effect of the victory would be lost. The Soldiers' vote would elect our ticket, but our opponents would deny that it was a free or fair election. Accordingly every effort was made to carry the home vote. Every Ohioan abroad, and especially every Ohioan in Washington, who could possibly get the time, held it to be his duty to go home and vote. As few of them, even of those who had been away the longest, had ever intended to abandon the State as their permanent place of residence, there were few whose legal right to do so was not indisputable.

The Secretary of the Treasury, to whom the State naturally looked for assistance in the canvass, had made two or three appointments to visit Ohio during the campaign, but the press of public business or of public danger had each time prevented him. Of late the Assistant Secretary had completely broken down, and had gone to England in search of health; and the gentleman appointed to succeed him had performed the duties of his office but a single day when he too was prostrated.

Thus tied up, it had seemed impossible for Mr. CHASE to escape, for even the briefest participation in the contest. At last, however, as he expressed it, he felt that he *could not* stay quietly in his place in Washington at such a crisis; and so he decided to follow his clerks, and "go home to vote." It was about two o'clock on the Friday afternoon preceding the Tuesday of the election, when he found that he could arrange the business of the Department, so as to be absent for a few days. At half past six he was off.

The Baltimore and Ohio railroad provided a special car for him, and the Master of Transportation accompanied him throughout the entire length of the road. The Presi-

dent of the Ohio Central, awaited him at the Ohio river. No notice whatever had been given of his visit, and even his most intimate friends in the State knew nothing of it save what they read in the dispatches from Washington, announcing his departure, in the daily papers of Saturday morning.

The train was over two hours behind time, and did not reach Columbus until about two o'clock in the morning. To the Secretary's astonishment, however, the depot was crowded with a large concourse of citizen's waiting to receive him; and he was greeted as the train entered the depot with prolonged cheering, and shouts of "Hurrah for our old Governor," "How are you, old Greenbacks?" "Glad to see you home again," etc., etc. A procession was formed, preceded by a band of music, and the Secretary was conducted to the hotel; where, in response to enthusiastic calls, he spoke as follows:

SPEECH ON ARRIVAL AT COLUMBUS.

I am profoundly grateful, my fellow-citizens of Columbus, for this most unexpected welcome. I am all the more grateful because of the circumstances which attend it; though I cannot but regret that you have put yourselves to the inconvenience, this cold night, and at this unseasonable hour, of coming out to welcome one who is certainly no stranger to you. ("No inconvenience, Governor—glad to see you at any time of day or night.") Thank you, my friends. It does me good to stand once more on this soil, and look once more into Ohio faces. ("So it does us good to have you here.") I little expected to be absent from home so long when I left you. It is now near three years since, at the instance of the eminent citizen who then held the office of Governor, I went to Washington to attend the Peace Conference. Since then I have never been able to leave the Capital, except on business. I have often thought of coming home to see you all, and have a good time, but never found myself able to do so till now: and even now I have only come to vote the Union ticket, and to hurry back to my work.

I hardly know whether I have a right to vote after so long an absence. ("Of course you have," "certainly you have;" "just come down to your old Second ward, and we will show you.") Well, I believe I have not lost my residence; at any rate I could not feel easy away, when you were working here with all your might for your country, and so I resolved to come home and try. ("Bully for you;" "that's just like you.")

Times have changed since I left you. We have had sad days and dark days; but I hope and believe that the saddest and darkest are past. At the beginning of the Rebellion, when the bankers hesitated about advancing their cash on the bonds of the Government, I told them that treason must be put down and the war prosecuted until it had been put down, even if we had to carry it on with Government notes, and issue Government notes till we got down to the old Revolutionary standard, when it took a thousand dollars to buy a breakfast. (Laughter, and "Well, I guess we can stand it.") Well, I don't think you will have to stand it. I have no idea that there is any possibility of coming to that, or anywhere near to that. I have no fears as to the final result. I trust, indeed, that the end is even now approaching. To be sure, I have nothing to do with military matters, except to provide means to pay expenses; but it looks to me as if the end was coming. Our armies largely outnumber the rebel armies. We have regained half the territory they originally held; what remains to them is cut in two; the Mississippi is opened; all the cities on its shores are ours—Columbus, Memphis, Vicksburgh, Natchez, New Orleans. The deliverance of devoted East Tennessee, thank God! is achieved; Nashville and Knoxville are ours; our fleets blockade the whole seacoast, and we hold the most important ports. (Cheers, and "What we gain we hold.") Steadily the armed power of the nation moves on, and henceforth we may hope there will be no steps backward. We may hope soon to hear of the fall of Charleston; but whether it fall soon or late, the end is certain, and in that faith I rest.

Sometimes, to be sure, I have thought the war did not go on so fast as it ought; that some mistakes might have been avoided—some misfortunes averted. Doubtless you have all sometimes thought the same. We have all, no doubt, thought that if we only had the power we could push matters faster; correct some evils; avoid some delays; but it is easier to stand off and criticize than to take hold and do. The President, you may rely on it, is not unmindful of his responsibility; but is honestly and earnestly doing his best. I am sure I can say that much for myself, ("That you can,") and for the other Heads of Departments. And let me say to you, that the best thing for us all to do is to

join hands, and without carping or fault-finding, which can only do harm, uphold the Government and hasten the common triumph. ("That's so," and cheers.)

Some of us are in the habit of tracing our evils to a certain peculiar institution. Now, I have thought it not amiss to try to help the cure of them by another peculiar institution. (Laughter, and "Hurrah for the Greenbacks.") This peculiar institution, gentlemen, is not much like the other. That hopes to live by the nation's death; this only by the nation's life. The currency and the Republic must stand together. The currency cannot break if the Republic remains unbroken.

The struggle we are engaged in must end in the freedom of labor, and in institutions founded on free labor. I am glad if you think that my efforts to establish a financial policy which will assure just wages for free labor, have contributed something to safe deliverance from the perilous present, and to the securing of a rich and glorious future for our country. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

I have said more than I intended, my friends. I must not keep you longer in this cold. Let me renew my heartfelt thanks for your kindness, and bid you "good night."

The Secretary was then besieged by crowds, eager to take him by the hand and welcome him back to Columbus; and finally, after more music and more cheers, the assembly dispersed at between three and four o'clock in the morning.

He spent Sunday quietly, receiving the calls of his old friends, and attending divine service at the church where he had worshipped when Governor of the State. He proposed to proceed to Cincinnati, (which was his legal place of residence.) on the eleven o'clock train Monday morning, but the citizens of Columbus insisted on another speech from him before the election, and a meeting was accordingly appointed for nine o'clock Monday morning, in the hall of the Loyal League. At this very early hour, the hall was densely packed with an enthusiastic audience. The Secretary spoke as follows:

SPEECH AT COLUMBUS, IN THE HALL OF THE LOYAL LEAGUE.

I have come to Ohio, fellow-citizens, to join you in upholding at the ballot-box the same cause which our brave armies are upholding on the battle-field. I come not to speak, but to vote. I have been long absent from you in person, but never for a moment in spirit; the body has been away, but the heart, never.

When I left the State it was upon the appointment and at the request of my friend and honored successor in the Chief Magistracy, to represent Ohio as one of her delegates in the Peace Conference.

In that Conference I and all who shared my sentiments, were animated by the sincerest and most anxious desire to preserve the peace and harmony of the Republic. Our sole wish was to maintain the Constitution and the Union, without dishonor or injury to any State or any citizen. We assured the delegates from the South, that if they would be content with Slavery in the States where it was, nobody would interfere with them. Join us then, we said, in assuring your people of this plain, indisputable fact, and allay this dangerous excitement. Then call a National Convention to decide on the new claims you now prefer. Could anything be more fair than this proposition? Yet not a single vote from a single Slave State was recorded for it.

The truth is, my friends, the Slaveholders had determined to ruin if they could not rule the Republic. John Tyler was President of the Conference. Mr. Seddon, now the rebel Secretary of War, was a prominent member. Nearly all, if not all the members from

the seceding and many from the non-seceding Slave States, joined the ranks of treason. They did not consent to the proposition for peace which we submitted, because they had pre-determined not to be satisfied with anything short of the absolute submission and humiliation of the non-slaveholders of the country.

So the Conference failed; Mr. LINCOLN was inaugurated. The patience with which as President, he bore their threats and their overt acts of treason seems now absolutely amazing. Arsenalns were robbed; forts seized; the flag insulted; the Capital threatened; the Government menaced; and still the President endured—and still endured.

At length the rebel cannon thundered on Sumter, and roused Government and people alike. Nothing was left for us but war. They chose war, and war they shall have until their last platoon is disbanded and their last musket laid down. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

It is idle to blink the fact that the source, and spring, and fountain of all this woe is Slavery. They were warned that if Slavery took the sword, it would perish by the sword. And it shall perish! Shall perish? It is already dead! (Cheers.)

Throughout the rebel States, with inconsiderable though regretted exceptions, it has received its doom from the Proclamation of Emancipation. Efforts are even yet made, it is true, by some sort of galvanism, to recall the dead thing to life; but galvanism only contorts; it does not vivify.

In the other States also Slavery is virtually dead; not actually dead indeed, for it still struggles against its inevitable fate. In almost all the Border States, so-called, true friends of the Union are speaking out against Slavery in terms and in tones which you, a few years ago, would have thought ultra radical. They so speak because they find themselves irresistibly constrained to take ground against Slavery, in order to take ground for the Union.

And these earnest men are going to triumph, thank God! A few weeks ago they scarcely dared to hope for the election of more than one or two Unconditional Union Emancipation Congressmen in Maryland. Now they feel certain of three and hopeful of five, and expect also to elect their State ticket. In Delaware they expect to elect a Congressman of like faith. In Missouri they refuse the Compromise Ordinance which decrees uncertain future Emancipation, and take their stand on the simple platform "we won't have this thing *any longer*." Thus it is through the Border States. The Unconditional men are rapidly coming into majorities in all of them. They no longer send us messages of distrust and defiance; but, instead of these, cordial invitations to join them in the great deliverance they are striving to achieve for the whole country.

Only the other day I had the pleasure of receiving under my roof some seventy Missourians representing some fifty-seven counties of that State, and some thirty Kansans representing I do not know how many counties of theirs. Instead of the old war between them,

there was only fraternal contention in promoting the common cause of freedom for both States.

These things have a meaning. They mean that the nation is being born again. These struggles and this now in Ohio are the struggles of the new birth. The cause of freedom—the question of every man's right to pay for his toil—is now on trial. There are some mistaken men—and some bad men, too, I fear—who strive against the side of justice and the people. Let them. We shall come out of this struggle with Brough and the whole ticket elected, and the contest ended forever more. (Cheers and “Amen to that.”)

Remember, my countrymen, the men who are upholding our cause in the field. The sun never shone on such soldiers before. I have seen them in camp and on the march—striplings from the fire-side; men in mature manhood; gray-headed sires,—not one dragged like a serf to unwilling fight, but every man a hero, conscious that he fights for himself and all that is dear to him, because he fights for his country. And then their leaders! God be praised that Ohio has given Grant to open the Mississippi, Rosecrans to guard the southeastern gate of Tennessee, and Gillmore to thunder against concentrated rebellion in Charleston. (Enthusiastic cheering.)

What is the voice of these men? They cry to you, “don't let the cause fail at home! We are with you in heart; if the enemy be not upon us on election day we will be with you in the vote. Sustain us at the polls, and count every ballot a bullet aimed straight at the heart of the rebellion.” (Cheers.)

I must close, my friends, for I go to Cincinnati this morning, and the hour for the train is nigh. It is impossible for me to express the pleasure your greeting gives me. God bless you and our noble State forever and forever. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

Loud calls for Ex-Governor Dennison were now made. Finally he appeared, and made a brief speech, exhorting preparation for the next day's contest, and referring to the services of their guest. He closed as follows:

“I had occasion on Saturday to say, what I now repeat, that neither William Pitt nor any financier of whom history makes mention, could boast of such achievements. I take the opportunity to say this here, because, like many others, I did not favor the Secretary's financial policy, and made some objections to its adoption. Time has settled the question. He was right and I was wrong, and I take pleasure in saying so in his presence to-day.

I have but one word to add. Let us work from this hour till to-morrow night for the cause of the Country, of Free Institutions, of the Civilization intrusted to us; let us prove worthy sons of our heroic fathers, and worthy fathers of our heroic soldiers. [Loud cheers for Gov. Dennison, for Gov. Chase, and for the Union ticket.]

A procession was then formed on High street, preceded by a band of music, and the Secretary was escorted to the depot. Here another crowd had assembled, and he could not enter the special car, provided for him, until he had made another speech. He said:

SPEECH AT THE COLUMBUS DEPOT, MONDAY MORNING.

Accept my thanks, my friends, for coming here to bid me good bye. Two hours past midnight on Sunday morning, some of you awaited the arrival of the belated Saturday train to welcome me, and now you have gathered in far greater numbers to say farewell. I thank you for the double kindness; it will never be forgotten. (Cheers.)

Let me leave with you one parting word. To-morrow is the day of trial for our Country. All eyes turn to Ohio. A few hours only are left for the sacred cause—for Freedom, for Union, for the Soldiers, for the Republic. Forget nothing that a patriotic people should do. Vote—and get all you can to vote for Brough and the whole Union ticket. You need only work to win. You will work and you will win. (Cheers.) Heaven bless you. Good Bye. (Prolonged cheering as the Secretary retired to his car.)

The trip from Columbus to Cincinnati was a continued ovation. At some of the stopping places the crowds insisted on speeches, and the Secretary responded briefly, as follows:

AT XENIA, [from the platform of his car.]

It is said to be a dangerous thing, fellow-citizens, to stand on the platform. It is a much more dangerous thing not to have any platform to stand on. It may sometimes be a dangerous thing to maintain a principle, but it is always a much more dangerous thing to have no principle to maintain.

We have one. That principle is now on trial. Its elements are National Unity and, Constitutional Freedom, and to-morrow is to decide its triumph or temporary failure. Are the brave soldiers we have sent to the field engaged in a foolish and a wicked work, or are they doing that for which we and the ages that come after must forever hold their memories precious? That is the question. I do not, cannot, doubt your answer. (Hearty cheering.)

AT MORROW.

These railroads are peculiar institutions. They don't allow a man to make a speech but they do allow him to come out and say to his old friends how glad he is to see them and how much he regrets not having time to mingle with them, and take them by the hands as of yore. (Laughter and cheers.) And he may snatch another moment, by favor of the conductor, to say that he hopes they will all turn out and vote and work for Brough and the whole Union ticket to-morrow; and to add his hearty good-bye. (Hearty cheering.)

At Camp Dennison a crowd of citizens had assembled, and all the troops in camp were drawn up in line to receive the Secretary. He was presented by the General commanding, and spoke as follows:

AT CAMP DENNISON.

SOLDIERS AND CITIZENS: This is altogether unexpected, and as I have no authority either to issue commands to troops or to railroad trains already behind time, I can say but a word.

I have come to express my sympathy and give my vote with those who are upholding at the polls the cause which you maintain in the field. I should not have ventured from my post of duty, even for so short an absence, had I not arranged for the prompt payment of all current obligations, and laid aside the snug little sum of twenty-five millions of dollars to pay you all off again on the first day of November, (laughter and cheers;) but having done this, I thought I would just run out to the Miami valley, and see how the Miami boys I used to know look now. And I must say they look remarkably well. (Laughter.)

I beg you all, soldiers and citizens alike, to remember that to-morrow is the most important of all the three hundred and sixty-five days in the year; indeed, the most important day you may see for many a year to come. You are to decide whether these brave men, and their fellows in distant fields, are to be supported; whether those who have fallen are to be canonized as martyrs, or stigmatized as men who fell in vain in an ignoble cause. I will not ask *you* to vote for Brough and the Union. I should wrong you by doubting it. [Protracted cheering for Secretary Chase, and for the Union ticket.]

A committee of prominent citizens of Cincinnati had been dispatched to Columbus Monday morning to inform the Secretary of the arrangements for his reception at his old home, and to escort him down. On the arrival at the Cincinnati depot, notwithstanding a drenching rain was falling, an immense crowd had assembled. The regulation salute for a member of the Cabinet was fired, and a procession was formed to conduct him to his hotel, comprising a military escort, (preceded by the Newport Barracks band,) under Gen. Cox, commanding the district, and carriages for members of the Chamber of Com-

merce, City Councilmen, Judges, and other officials. The procession having moved through some of the principal streets to the Burnet House, where a very large crowd had assembled, the President of the Chamber of Commerce presented him with a handsome eulogy to the audience. He was received with protracted and enthusiastic cheering, and spoke as follows :

SPEECH AT HIS RECEPTION IN CINCINNATI.

MR. PRESIDENT, GENTLEMEN OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, AND FELLOW-CITIZENS: I fear it will not be in my power to make myself heard by even the title of this vast assemblage. As I look upon it, and as I have looked upon other crowds of my fellow-citizens gathering together to greet me on my way hither, I ask myself, What have I done to merit all this kindness? In a review of the past two years, I see no other ground of claim to these tokens of approval than this simple one, that success at Washington being exceedingly important, if not indispensable, to success in the field, I have in my assigned sphere of responsibility sincerely sought to know my duty, and have then constantly asked God for courage to do it. (Applause.)

After long absence I come among you, here in my old home, and notwithstanding the rain and cold, you surprise me by this outpouring of my old neighbors and friends. It is very kind in you. Be assured that I am deeply grateful for this welcome.

How well I remember when the ground on which this stately house now stands, was part of an open square, terminated just here by a steep bluff over the street where you now are, and occupied only by the modest dwelling of Jacob Burnet, that distinguished and venerated pioneer and citizen, now gone to his rest. I used sometimes to come here when a boy, and how happy I was if I chanced to attract his kindly recognition. But now, my friends, what do we see? A great city, crowded by an intelligent population, and with all the means of unsurpassed prosperity; a city full of schools, churches, workshops, and all the instruments of progress and culture. Do you ask whence come all this progress and prosperity; whence come all these evidences of the highest civilization? The answer leaps to all lips—these are the fruits of free labor and popular government. The lesson is obvious. Free labor and popular government are the greatest of human interests. (Cheers.)

Now, on the other hand, whence comes this great trouble in which our country is involved? Not elsewhere, believe me, than from the refusal of the slaveholding aristocracy to allow freedom to labor, or to recognize the right of the masses to govern the country. (Cheers.) But labor will be free, and the masses will govern, in spite of all the aristocracy between the Ohio and the Gulf. Hence the conflict.

When the struggle began I feared we might be unable to meet the heavy demands which must accumulate on the Treasury; but, by the blessing of God, we have got on very well. While our arms have steadily advanced, our finances, now, when the third year of the war is half gone, are in a more satisfactory condition—apart from the debt, which I do not like—than ever.

Consider our recent progress, and what part the sons of Ohio have borne in it. We hold almost undisputed possession of East Tennessee, and her noble patriots are freed from the galling yoke of usurping tyranny. A son of Ohio, the heroic GRANT, has opened the Mississippi by the capture of the strongest fortress of the rebellion. Another son of Ohio, the gallant and true-hearted ROSECRANS, has taken Chattanooga, and confronts there the greatest of the rebel armies. Still another son of Ohio, the brave and skillful GILLMORE, is training his guns on Charleston. In all this work, Ohio soldiers, not less than Ohio officers, have been conspicuous.

Remember, too, the fallen—the heroic and glorious men who have sealed their devotion to their country by their precious blood. When I was a young man there was no one whom the people of Cincinnati more delighted to love and honor than ROBERT T. LITTLE. He represented you in Congress, and was beloved by Andrew Jackson. His son inherited as a legacy the affection the people bore his father. He inherited, too, his brave, chivalric spirit, and when this war broke out he forgot everything but his country, and hastened to the field. Repeatedly disabled by wounds, he repeatedly returned to the scenes of conflict. At length, in the recent disastrous battle of Chickamauga he fell, pierced by hostile bullets, to rise no more. His last injunction to his countrymen was to maintain the honor of the flag and the integrity of the Republic. "He sleeps his last sleep." What inscription shall his monument bear? What inscription shall the monuments of the thousands who like him have bled and died, bear? Did these young patriots die as the fool dieth? or were they of the noble army of martyrs who to a just and noble cause do not refuse their lives?

Answer ye, men of Cincinnati—answer ye, men of Ohio, by your votes. [Cheers.] Let us do each his part. I have tried to do mine by first providing means to pay our soldiers, ["Hurrah for Greenbacks"] on the first of next month, and by then coming home to vote. The duty right before us now, is to elect the men whose names represent to us here in Ohio, Union and Freedom. This done, the enemy, now losing heart and force, will be deprived of their last hope of support from the loyal States. Their friends everywhere will be disappointed and discouraged. Our brave soldiers will be strengthened and cheered, and the restoration of the Republic will become a comparatively easy task.

But I must relieve you from farther exposure this inclement evening. ["Go on," "go on."] No, no; it would not be right. Let me close by cordial thanks for your too generous appreciation of my humble efforts to serve our country, and by the heartfelt pledge that whatever and whoever may fail, I, who am so bound to you, will never desert your cause, which is the cause of all who love Liberty and have faith in the People. [Prolonged and enthusiastic cheering.]

Extensive arrangements had been made for a large out-door meeting in the evening, but the inclement weather prevented. Not willing to let the eve of the election pass, however, without a great meeting, the committee insisted on a speech from Mr. CHASE in Mozart Hall, the largest hall in the city. Long before his arrival it was densely packed. He was received with prolonged applause, and spoke as follows:

SPEECH IN MOZART HALL.

NEIGHBORS AND FRIENDS: You must not expect a speech from me to-night. I could not refuse to meet you in compliance with the arrangements of the committee, but I have not had time to think out any thing in order. So if I talk to you, it must be in a very plain way.

THE WAR WE HAVE, AND WHEREABOUTS WE ARE IN IT.

We are engaged in a great struggle. It is a struggle brought upon us by no fault of the people of the United States, and when I say by no fault of the people of the United States, I mean precisely what I say. The laboring masses, the merchants, the manufacturers, the mechanics of the North, have had no part in bringing on this war. The non-slaveholders of the South have had no part in it. It is a strife brought on by a conspiracy of the few to rule the many, and it is simply because the leaders of the privileged classes were not willing to trust the people with their cause, that they took up arms for the purpose of establishing a dominion over whites and blacks independently of the Federal Government. That is all there is of the rebellion.

Now this conspiracy is not of recent origin. Wherever you find an aristocracy of any country sternly confronted by the people, it goes to war with the people. The difference between our aristocracy and the aristocracies which have warred upon the people in other countries is, that our aristocracy is or was established on the basis of personal slavery, and under our system of State and National Governments, exercised exclusive control, through political organization, over a distinct section of the country. It occupied certain States, having distinct though subordinate governments, and therefore it was, that when the time came for Aristocracy to rebel against Democracy, South Carolina, the most aristocratic of these aristocratic States, led the way by the action of her State

Government, and was followed by the rest in quick succession until we became involved in this terrible war.

Now, when aristocracy organized like ours, makes war against democracy, there is no choice but to take up the challenge or submit to dismemberment. So, when the aristocracy flung its challenge to us, we just took it up. In the West the aristocracy claimed to control the Mississippi. In the East the aristocracy claimed the mouth of the Chesapeake, and the coast from the Chesapeake all the way round to the Rio Grande. It was impossible to endure this, and the whole country said "It shall not be." So the aristocracy went to war to establish an independent aristocratic Government, like the monarchical Governments of the old world, in the southern section of our country, and we went to war to prevent it.

The simple question then is this: Is this country worth a war? Are the hopes depending on the perpetuity of American Democratic Institutions precious enough to justify a war for the nation's life? Look through the history of the world, and tell me where you will find a people struggling for a nobler object. In the full faith that duty to God and Man required it of us, we entered into the contest. We mean to preserve the life of this Nation, and the integrity of this Republic also. And we mean to do this work thoroughly, so that in all time to come it will be utterly impossible for a disaffected faction in any part of the land to strike a deadly blow at the vitality of the country. (Cheers.)

Such is this war; and because the war is what it is, I have no doubt as to the outcome of it. I have thought the issue certain from the beginning. At worst I have thought it a simple question of endurance. Would the masses continue steadily to sustain the Government in the purpose and determination to subdue the aristocratic faction, and prevent it from getting absolute control of the whole laboring population, white and black, of the rebel States? That was the only question, and I never doubted the will of the people.

We shall go on with the war. It may be that we shall not get on as fast as we wish, but we shall persevere. I should have been very glad if we could have stricken this rebellion down in the first six months. I thought at first that it was possible to do so. But it was not decreed that we should. Six months after six months have followed each other. Varying success has attended our arms, now victory and now defeat, until five times six months have gone, and the war is still upon us. But we gained ground all the time; and now we have the positions which make final success a sure thing. All military men agree, I believe, that the occupation of East Tennessee and the control of the Mississippi, must determine the event of the war. If the rebels could keep the valley of the Upper Tennessee and send out their armies from that region, we could hardly hope for success. But now that we have that valley and hold that strong mountain district, the putting down of the rebellion becomes a mere question of time. With that great central fortress in our

hands, and the ability to concentrate armies there and send them out thence in whatever direction may seem best, we are as sure to succeed as time is to roll on. But the possession of the Mississippi doubles our power to decide the event. Already we have the military control of the river. Soon we hope to have unfettered commercial control; and the control of the river is the control of the great valley it waters. Need I speak of Gillmore's steady and seemingly resistless approaches to Charleston—that hot-bed of rebellious treason? Need I speak of other ports, and of posts and districts, already wrested from the rebellion? Seeing these things who can doubt the result?

In my humble judgment, fellow-citizens, the rebellion may even now be regarded as virtually subdued. I know that it is not actually subdued. The rebels still have great armies in the field, but ours are greater; they have still large resources, but ours are larger. Strong positions remain to them, but the strongest and the controlling positions are ours. Therefore it is that I regard the rebellion as virtually though not actually subdued. And I cannot help thinking—though it is not my business to conduct the war, and I have no right to speak confidently on a subject of which I have no special knowledge—I cannot help thinking that with wise, resolute, energetic action on the part of military directors and leaders, and with the whole heart and might of the people thrown into the contest, the rebellion may be brought to an actual close, and that pretty quickly.

Now, my friends, I have shown you what kind of a war we have and whereabouts we are in the war. I have not attempted speech-making, nor do I mean to do so; but let me just go over some other heads of discussion that seem to me worth thinking about.

RELATIONS OF SLAVERY TO THE GOVERNMENT AND THE REBELLION.

It was the most natural thing in the world when the war began that we should want to get through it without disturbing slavery in the States. I have often spoken to you here in Cincinnati on this subject, and you all know my views; for I am just the same man now, though a little older, and hold just the same faith as when I first began to talk to you more than twenty years ago.

It always seemed very simple and very plain to me that slavery outside of slave States depended absolutely for continuance and existence on the national will—that is to say, on your will and my will. This being understood, it seemed equally simple and plain that slavery outside of slave States ought not to be allowed to exist to the necessary injury and disturbance of free labor. But with slavery in the slave States, I constantly said that we in the free States had nothing to do. Always disliking and condemning the institution, I was yet as much averse to interference with it in South Carolina, by citizens of Ohio, as I was to interference with any institution of Ohio by citizens of South Carolina. This, you know, was my doctrine. So, when this rebellion broke out, it

would have suited me very well if we could have crushed the head of the snake—I mean the rebellion—leaving slavery to be disposed of in the States according to the judgment of their citizens; and, had I been General-in-Chief, I should doubtless have attempted in some awkward way to accomplish this.

But while this seemed to me very desirable, it soon became clear enough that the rebellion was not to be ended after that fashion. The war went on and assumed greater and greater proportions. We put greater and greater armies in the field. Then it was soon seen that slavery was the strongest prop of the rebellion. The slaves raised provisions and did the home work for the rebel armies. The rebel chiefs were thus enabled to force pretty much all the whites physically capable of bearing arms into the military service, while they forced all the blacks to feed and support them. The blacks indeed were not slow to learn on which side their interest lay, and always, when they could, showed friendship to our soldiers. They were almost the only friends on whom any dependence could be placed for information or sympathy, as our armies penetrated the rebel regions. But neither their sympathy nor their co-operation could be permanently reckoned on unless they could be assured of friendship and protection in return. Seeing all this, I could not fail to see that slavery was the life of the rebellion, and to desire that this slavery should be destroyed. There were many ways to get at this, and all, in time of war, and for the efficient prosecution of the war, perfectly legitimate and constitutional. It was not for me to choose the way. I was content with any way of knocking out the underprop of the rebellion. The war brought into existence the power to suppress slavery within hostile States. With the power came the duty; and so, when President LINCOLN determined upon the Proclamation of Freedom, I said AMEN to it with all my heart. (Tremendous cheering.) I disliked nothing in it but the exceptions.

Nobody has thought of interfering with slavery in the States that remained loyal, beyond the necessities created by war; but the intention and effect of the Proclamation was to free, at once and forever, all the slaves of States in insurrection, with the exceptions just alluded to. Thus considered, the Proclamation stands forth the great feature of the war. It was the right thing at the right time, in the right place. It would have been even more right, had it been earlier, and without exceptions. I said when it was promulgated, and I repeat now, that the President who made it merits, and will receive, the benedictions of mankind.

Without the Proclamation we could not achieve success; and I hold that the man who condemns it is talking of that of which he knows nothing, or knows little, or, that he really desires the rebellion to succeed.

But, say some, you are making war against slavery, and not against rebellion; whereas you ought to leave slavery untouched, so that when the rebels submit to the authority of the Union, they

may come back with their slaves just as before. We do not agree to either branch of this assertion. We make war against the rebellion, and against slavery because it is the life of the rebellion; and we don't leave slavery untouched, because we don't want to preserve the seminal principle of rebellion under the forms of restored National Supremacy.

There is less difficulty, my friends, in this business than many suppose. There are two classes of States south of Mason and Dixon's line—States included in the Proclamation, and States not so included. In the included States there are this day no slaves. Either the Proclamation was a monstrous sham and a gross imposition on the civilized world, or it was an effective reality. If the latter, there are to-day no slaves in the rebel States. (Loud cheers.) They are all enfranchised by the Proclamation; for what does it say? "All persons held as slaves within such designated States and parts of States are, and henceforward shall be free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the Military and Naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons." When I gave my voice for issuing that Proclamation, I understood these words in their plain, honest sense; and I would as soon steal into your house and rob your pantry, as be guilty of the infamy of attempting to argue that plain, honest meaning out of them. (Laughter and cheers.)

STATUS OF THE REBEL STATES, AS AFFECTING THE FUTURE OF SLAVERY.

But suppose the Courts hold the Proclamation unconstitutional and invalid; what then? Or, suppose these States come back into the Union and afterwards re-establish slavery; what then? I would try to answer these questions, my friends, if I thought it worth while. But let me suppose in my turn. Suppose that the people of these States, one after another, before sending Senators or Representatives to Congress, meet in State Convention and amend their Constitution so as to prohibit slavery, and so shut out forever this great evil from their States, what court will hold that prohibition invalid? What State, when so guarded, will ever consent to a change of the constitution so as to let the curse in again?

Why, gentlemen, the way out of this difficulty is as straight and clear as the street to the river. All that is needed is to recognize the plain indisputable principle, that in the regards of the National Government, *the loyal citizens of a State constitute the State*. This principle has received the sanction of the Executive and Legislative Departments of the National Government in its application to Virginia, and will doubtless be applied to every other State, the government of which has joined in the rebellion. Who are the loyal citizens in those States included in the Proclamation? They, certainly, and no other, who desire the suppression of the rebellion, and consent to the means which the Government has found necessary for its suppression. Now, of these loyal citizens there is hardly one in a hundred who desires the re-establishment of slavery. There is

hardly one in a hundred who does not desire its perpetual exclusion from the restored State. They have felt the fangs of rebellion, and they know what sharpened them. There is ANDREW JACKSON HAMILTON driven from Texas because of his love for the Union, and hundreds like him, refugees from rebel tyranny—once pro-slavery men, all now anti-slavery men. Then there are such men as Durant, Flanders, May, and their associates in Louisiana; such men as Stickney in Florida, and Pierpont in Virginia, and thousands of like faith and spirit, who once defended slavery, but are now satisfied that its restoration would be the greatest of calamities. All these, and all such as these, feel that to restore slavery is to restore rebellion; and that the exclusion of slavery is essential to their comfort, their welfare, and even to their safety.

Now, what have we to do? Why, just stand by these loyal men. Hunted from their homes by the rebel aristocracy; their wives and children driven to the woods and caves for refuge—let them go back under the Ægis of the American Union, with the protection of the Government pledged to them. They all want to go back; they all want to have their States restored as free States; they all believe that free State Constitutions and free State Governments alone can save them from their enemies—I was going to say, the enemies of human nature. (Cheers.) Is there a man here who wants these noble, faithful, generous men to go back to be trampled under foot by restored rebels? (No, no!) Let them go back, then, under the shield of the National Constitution and the National Union, and let them, and those who though not exiled from home, have come to think as they do, amend their State Constitutions to suit themselves. You may depend upon it, that they will protect themselves against slavery by the simple exercise of popular sovereignty.

With the other Slave States, not included in the Proclamation, the case is different. In them there has been no general enfranchisement of slaves by the President, though in all of them the institution has suffered a severe shock from the war. Aside from this inevitable damage, however, slavery in those States is left where the Constitution has always been understood to leave it, under the disposal of the States themselves. And it may be safely left to that disposal. In every one of these States an Unconditional Union Party has sprung up, and the members of that party in each State have adopted the principle of Emancipation as a cardinal doctrine; and by Emancipation they mean Emancipation by the speediest lawful processes, and in the shortest possible time. In Delaware, in Maryland, in Missouri, in Tennessee, in Kentucky, in every State untouched by the Proclamation, these Unconditional Union men are contending for Union, re-established on the eternal foundations of Justice and Freedom. All we have to do is to stand by them. They will triumph, and their triumph will carry peace and prosperity to the whole land.

Now, my friends, is not this an intelligible statement of the way

in which the slavery question can be, and is likely to be permanently settled? How simple it is just to trust the loyal people with their own business, and stand by them honestly and faithfully while they are doing it. Is this not true popular sovereignty? Can popular sovereignty ever be better employed than in protecting the people who exercise it against the greatest of social and political evils? How plain all things become under the lights of common sense and practical reason!

CONCERNING EUROPEAN INTERVENTION.

As might have been expected, my friends, this war has attracted the attention of the whole world. As might have been expected, aristocracy and despotism are in sympathy with the rebellion. Aristocracy and despotism naturally look with an evil eye on a great and flourishing Democratic Republic. The British aristocracy and the French Emperor would like to see this country dismembered, not only because they fear the Republic may become too strong, but from the natural sympathy of like with like. Aristocracy sympathises with aristocracy, and despotism with despotism the world over; and it could hardly be otherwise than that European aristocracy and despotism should feel kindly towards the aristocracy and despotism which the promoters of rebellion are seeking to establish in America.

I am now and then asked what I think about intervention. Now, if I tell you, you must not suppose I am speaking for anybody but myself. I have no authority to speak for anybody else, either on this subject or any other. But here, among my old friends and neighbors in Ohio, I may speak my mind. So I say this: There has been a good deal of danger, but there is not much now. It may come if our cause suffers disaster; but we have gained too much this year on the rebellion to make intervention prudent just now. No nation ever put into the field such armies as ours; no nation ever so liberally sustained its armies. If we make proper use of this vast strength—if we strike hard, and strike wherever rebellion shows a head to be struck, there will be no intervention—because intervention won't pay. (Cheers.) If we are weak, intervention may come; if we are strong, intervention will think twice and let us alone.

And there is another reason for less fear of intervention than formerly. The Proclamation, and the action of the people in support of it in Slave States and in Free States, have enlisted the liberal sympathies of Europe for us; and their sympathies make Governments cautious.

You know what England has done. You know the sympathy shown in England for the rebel cause. She has behaved toward us in a very unneighborly way. We used to think that the great Anglo-Saxon family was to stand together the world over, for freedom of worship, freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of suffrage, freedom for all; but since the rebellion

broke out, a very unkind and unfriendly spirit has been manifested; and sometimes I have felt as if I wanted to take Old Mother England by the hair and give her a good shaking. (Loud laughter and applause.) But I am not sure this is the wisest plan. I am inclined to think the people, and especially the workingmen, of England are our friends; and that since they have become convinced that we are in earnest against slavery, they have become our warm friends. Some of the best minds and best hearts in England are on our side. They have made such demonstrations that the Government has concluded to detain the rebel iron-clads of which we have heard so much. I rather think that no more pirate ships will be sent from England against us. I rather think, too, that when England looks matters over calmly—when she considers, for example, that the Alabama, fitted out in a British port, armed with British guns, manned by British seamen, has been ever since roving the seas, preying on our commerce and destroying our merchant ships, without ever bringing one into port for prize adjudication—when England, I say, considers these things she will conclude that it is best to pay our American merchants at least for all the damage the Alabama has done. (Loud cheers.)

Well, the French Emperor has improved his opportunity, too. He has been studying ethnology, and has taken up the idea that he is the destined ruler and protector of the Latin race, and so we are to have a sort of new Empire on our western border, in Mexico. Well, gentlemen, I am not much disturbed about that. Empires are not apt to last long in North America. (Cheers.) I don't know how long this new French-Austrian-Latin Empire, if it ever gets fairly born, will last. There was an attempt to establish an Empire in Mexico a good many years ago, but it met no great success. The Emperor, if I remember right, was shot. Perhaps this new Emperor will find a bed of roses there; but I incline to the opinion that he will find the roses few and the bed hard. (Cheers.)

We need not be anxious about this matter, or propose any particular measures about it just now. It is never wise to announce long beforehand what one is going to do. Circumstances may change. It requires no gift of prophecy, however, to predict that when they have looked over the whole ground, and taken all things into consideration, European monarchs will eventually come to the conclusion that, on the whole, it is best to keep their monarchies at home.

He greatly errs, as I think, who supposes that we are to come out of this war weaker than we went into it. We need fear nobody but ourselves; nothing but our own indecision and irresolution. Let us only resolve and act with firmness and vigor, and the time will not be long in coming when our Republic will be re-established from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Gulf towards the pole. Gathering new strength from trial, and with institutions vivified by freedom and free labor, this nation will come forth from the present contest grander than ever. The American Union, so

renovated and restored in all its proportions, will command the respect of the world, and those who thought it wise to be unfriendly to us in our days of distress will regret their error.

OUR FUTURE.

A word or two further. I have just spoken of renovation through the freedom of labor. Think a moment of its effects on us here in Ohio. Free labor is better than slave labor. Free laborers will buy more for themselves than masters will buy for slaves. Now, then, suppose free labor all through the South, would not the manufacturers and mechanics of Cincinnati find better markets and more employment than they have now? And would not this trouble about the negro question come to an end when the negro, going down towards the Gulf, would find himself not shut up in the calaboose, but welcomed as a free laborer to plenty of work and good wages? How many colored people, think you, would be left in Ohio a year after the complete re-establishment of Union with liberty, for politicians to quarrel over? How soon all those heart-burnings and contentions which have vexed us so long would disappear! And with the removal of this element of strife and contention; with free labor hard at work developing the resources of the South; with freedom everywhere—no man obliged to work unless his employer will give him honest wages, but every man wishing to work because he personally shares in the prosperity his labor produces—do you hesitate to believe that we will be economically and politically better off than ever we have been before?

I am firm in this faith. This rebellion will die and our country will live, and we shall have here a great nation, homogeneous in character, free indeed because free from slavery, and capable of playing a mighty part in the drama of human affairs.

When I consider all this, and remember

"There's a Divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough hew them how we will;"

when I reflect that there is a God who presides over the destinies of nations and shapes them according to His will, I cannot doubt, and I must own the belief, whoever may deem it superstitious, that God's hand is in all this business, and that it is His purpose that out of this fiery trial of ours shall come a great nation, free, intelligent, and prosperous, inspired by lofty ideas, just in all its intercourse, and worthy the admiration of the world.

Thinking thus, I have been doing something in my humble way to promote the welfare and secure the permanence of the reconstituted Republic. It seemed to me that if labor was henceforth to have fair wages, it was highly desirable to have a medium of payment, a substantial, permanent, and uniform medium, so that labor should not be cheated of its rewards. (Loud cheering.) So I set my poor wits to work to devise a uniform currency for the whole country. I should not care much for a uniform currency if we are not to have a united people. Unless we are to have one Republic, it is not worth while to have one currency. But if the Republic is

to remain undivided and indivisible, based on the right of honest work to honest wages, then I want one currency in which those wages shall be paid, and I want that currency as just and stable as the nation itself. (Cheers.) I think, my friends, I have done something towards creating such a currency; and it will be reward enough for me if, at the close of this great struggle, I can still believe that by constant labors I have contributed a little to the support and efficacy of our armies by prompt provision for their needs, or to the safety, honor, and welfare of the country. (Cheers.)

Now, my friends, I have not made you a speech, but I have given you a rough outline of my ideas on some important subjects, just as they have come into mind while talking. If I had time I could, perhaps, put them into better shape, but you will not scan my words or phrases over-nicely.

The plain questions for you to-night, then, are: Do you believe this country worth saving? Do you believe this Republic worth restoring? Do you believe that it is best for the world that America shall live? And then, believing this, will you do your part? How gloriously you have done it thus far! How readily you have come forward with your resources! How promptly you have sent your sons and brothers to battle! How nobly they have gone! How gloriously they have fought! What undying names they have inscribed on the records of their country's history! You have done your part well thus far. The army has done its part well. God bless the army! (Enthusiastic shouts and cheers.) And God bless the glorious people who have so nobly sustained it! And shame and dishonor to the man, whoever he be, who will refuse by voice and vote, to sustain it to-morrow! (Loud cheers.)

Friends and countrymen, the whole world is looking to your action. The London *Times* claims the success of Vallandigham, and assures its readers that this result will put an end to the war and fix the division of the Republic. Like expectations—hopes rather—are expressed in the Parisian journals, which are supposed to speak from official inspiration. Our Russian friends, whose ships are now gathered in our metropolitan harbor, are solicitous to know what you will do to-morrow. All, hostile or friendly, are eager to learn whether Ohio will stand by the Government; whether Ohio will give her voice for the Union; whether Ohio will sustain her troops in the field; whether Ohio will honorably remember her brave sons who have fallen for their country. I know that all you can do will be done. I will not insult you by an exhortation to do your duty. You know just as well as I do what mighty issues hang on to-morrow's vote. You will do what is right and fit for freemen to do; and when to-morrow's sun goes down the great work will have been accomplished. Ohio will have asserted her own loyalty and her fixed resolution to maintain the unity and freedom of the Republic. (Prolonged cheering.)

The next morning the Secretary proceeded to the polls in the Second ward to deposit

his ballot. His appearance was greeted with uproarious cheering. After the vote had been given, the Democratic challenger was asked why he didn't challenge that vote. "Oh, we never object to Greenbacks," was the reply.

Early in the afternoon it became known that the city and county, (usually Democratic,) were going strongly against Vallandigham. In the evening an immense crowd filling the whole space in both streets, collected at the Gazette office, (near Mr. Chase's Hotel,) to hear the returns from other parts of the State. By ten o'clock it was known that the Union majority would be over fifty thousand, and the enthusiasm of the multitude had risen to fever heat. Finally the crowd turned to the hotel, and demanded a speech from Mr. Chase. He at length appeared and said:

AT CINCINNATI, AFTER THE ELECTION.

MY FRIENDS: Some enthusiastic Union men have brought me here by almost main force to speak to you; but I don't believe you want to hear anybody speak. You are feeling much too good over your great victory. John Brough is Governor elect. (Cheers.) All the Union candidates are elected. (Cheers.) And it is said that a few votes have been cast for that ticket in this city and this county. (A voice: "tell us the truth.") I will. I don't circulate anything that is not *sound*. I say the truth when I say that the work of this day is about the most important ever performed in America. No election was ever held more pregnant with momentous results.

Who are encouraged by this victory at the ballot-box? In the first place our armies battling for their country; in the next place all friends of freedom all over the world; then all Unconditional Union men in Slave States and Free States; every liberty loving man to whom the lightning flashes the news of this day's work, feels that there is more hope for humanity to-night than yesternight. So too you have encouraged those who are striving to conduct the affairs of the Government in their several spheres of duty. I have sent the news to our good and honest President, and he will feel his hands strengthened by it. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) The noble men of Missouri who joined earnest hands with ours for the re-establishment of the Union on the basis of universal freedom; and the patriotic men of Maryland, who cherish the same aims and unite in the same work, will hear of it, and rejoice in new assurance of triumph.

Now, who are discouraged? Let me tell you. In the first place, Jefferson Davis, at Richmond. He will feel that there is less hope for him to-night than ever. In the next place the rebel army. Every man of them intelligent enough to read and allowed to know the truth, will realize that it is useless to wage treasonable war against a united people. Who next? (A voice, "the Enquirer.") My friend, I submit that it is not fair to anticipate me in that fashion; but doubtless all sympathizers with rebellion here in the loyal States will feel very much discouraged; and may begin to think that it is almost time to quit prostituting the sacred name of Democracy to the base purposes of aristocratic despotism. (Cheers.) Their friends who are waiting and watching on the southern border, will share their uneasiness and depression of spirits; and *their* friend who waits and watches over the northern border will dismiss his hope to be elected Governor of Ohio, and to be escorted to the State Capitol by two hundred thousand soldiers under the lead of his gallant Lieutenant. (Laughter and cheers.) And the aristocrats of Europe who sympathize so warmly with rebels and their friends—they will be troubled too. None will dare to intervene in our affairs when they see us united; and the vote of to-day has proclaimed to our ill-wishers every where, that their hopes of the disintegration of the Republic are doomed to disappointment.

Let me thank you—"Don't stop—go on Greenbacks." Why you seem to think that my speeches must be as long as the bills I pay. (Laughter and applause.) But let me end by thanking you warmly for your manifestations of personal good-will, and more warmly for the great work you have this day done for your country and mankind. Who in place of trust, can be faithless or laggard with such a people to serve? Good night. (Enthusiastic and prolonged applause.)

Gov. Morton, Congressman Porter, and a number of the most prominent citizens of Indianapolis, had come down, on Tuesday evening, to insist that Mr. Chase should visit their city before his return. He consented on arrangements being made for him to proceed from Indianapolis directly eastward, without returning to Cincinnati; and early next morning a special train was in readiness for the party. Crowds had gathered

at all the stations, and at a few of them, Mr. Chase was presented by Gov. Morton, in obedience to the calls of the assemblages, and made brief speeches:

SPEECH AT LAWRENCEBURG, INDIANA.

I am happy to inform you, fellow-citizens, that we did our duty in Ohio yesterday, and I am glad to hear that you did yours in Indiana. (Cheers.) Our majority for Brough will probably be from a hundred to a hundred and twenty thousand. (Cheers.) I wish I could say that not a man voted against patriots at home, or the soldiers in the field. There is not in truth, as a loyal friend remarked in my hearing last night, so much cause for exultation that the victory is with the Unconditional Union men, as there is cause for sadness that any considerable number of citizens could be so far misled as to vote against their country and for its enemies. But let that pass. Let us rejoice that the great heart of the country is sound. The tidings of yesterday's event will be heard by the rebels as the knell of their hopes. They will be received by our armies as the omens of triumph. They will go across the water as the authoritative announcement of the People's determination to permit no dismemberment of our country—to maintain its integrity against all antagonists. (Cheers.)

Take my grateful thanks for this welcome to Indiana. I have tried to do my duty in my assigned sphere; the results of yesterday and your kindness to-day, encourage me to fresh exertions of my utmost capacity in the service of the noblest people in the world. (Heartily cheering.)

AT GREENSBURG.

I am proud of the introduction which your excellent Governor has given me. We at Washington have come to regard him as one of the surest supports of the Government in its endeavors to crush the rebellion. The soundness of his judgment and the vigor of his actions, have won for him a most honorable place in the history of these times. He has raised so many soldiers and raised them so fast, that I have been sometimes afraid that I could not find money to pay for them. But somehow I have continued to do so. (Loud cheers and "bully for you.") His love for Indians never let me rest; he came down on me for greenbacks in a wonderful way; and he never stopped asking till they got all they were entitled to—in greenbacks I mean—for their great services can never be *paid* in money. (Cheers.)

What makes you feel so good to-day? [Shouts of "Vallandigham's left to watch over the border;" "Vallandigham's out in the cold;" "the election;" "because we've whipped the rebs at home as bad as our boys have whipped them in the front."] Well, it is here just as I find it everywhere. There is no need of speech-making. Our victories talk; and the people take one's speech right out of one's mouth, and speak it themselves. You may well feel good. The triumphs of yesterday in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Iowa, from the Delaware to the Missouri, will thrill the hearts of the soldiers like a great victory in the field; and as the news goes from camp to camp, there will be universal thanksgiving that their brethren at home have not deserted them. Every soldier will feel himself twice the man he was before—every rebel will feel himself but half the man he was before.

I firmly believe that yesterday's work will shorten the war one-half. Two days ago we were not sure of the union of the people in its support. We are sure of it to-day. (Cheers.) Two days ago the future of the Great Republic was darkened by doubt. To-day it shines in the clear sunlight of certainty. (Cheers.) But we must not rest while the work is not finished. Count nothing done while aught remains to do. There may be dark days yet, and we must prepare to meet them, if they come. Let stout hearts and earnest action make them as few and short as possible. No days can be so cloudy, so dark, as some which have overhung us; and behind all is the sun!

As the speaker was retiring amid loud applause, the crowd began calling cheers for the "father of all the greenbacks." Turning again for an instant, he said, "Gentlemen, if you insist on calling me the father of all the greenbacks, you must at least admit that the children, respectable as well as numerous, bear—a good many of them at least—quite fair paternal likenesses. I am happy to find that they are well liked and cordially received wherever they go." (Laughter and prolonged applause.)

AT SHELBYVILLE.

Railroads have little sympathy with speech-makers, my friends; but one cannot help trying to say a word to such an assemblage of earnest men and patriotic women, as this. You may well rejoice over the victory of yesterday. (Cheers.) It was the trial day of the Republic. The people of four great States were asked if they would sustain their

flag in the field; their credit in the market, and their national honor in the eyes of the world. (Hearty cheering.)

They have decided those questions; for the whole country, and for all time to come. The voters of Ohio have determined that the gentleman who is waiting and watching over the border under Queen Victoria's protection, (laughter) shall remain there waiting and watching, until it shall please the President to send for him. (Uproarious cheers.) When that will be the President may know. I don't. [Hearty cheering.]

At Indianapolis, the Secretary was received with the regulation salute for a member of the Cabinet. A long procession was formed, comprising an infantry and cavalry escort, under Gen. Carrington, commanding the District, followed by the Secretary and friends, accompanied by Gov. Morton and the Committee of Invitation, Judges, Mayor and Common Council and citizens. The procession moved through the principal streets to the State House yard, where an immense and enthusiastic audience had assembled. The platform was draped in battle-flags of Indiana regiments, and a scroll of evergreen above it bore the inscription, "Welcome to Indiana."

Gov. Morton briefly addressed the audience in reference to the great victory, passed a glowing eulogy upon the services of Mr. Chase, and presented him to the audience, who received him with prolonged cheering, waving of handkerchiefs, shouts of "Hurrah for old Greenbacks," etc., etc. He spoke as follows:

SPEECH AT INDIANAPOLIS.

FELLOW-CITIZENS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: On Friday last I was conferring with our excellent President upon some important matters, and at the close of our conversation I said to him, "I have a great mind to go to Ohio and vote the Union ticket; and if you have nothing in particular for me to do—as the wheels of my department are running very smoothly just now, and I have laid away twenty-five millions to pay the soldiers on the first of November—I believe I will go." He replied, "I wish you would." So I went; and yesterday I had the pleasure of contributing my vote to the immense majority for the Union in Ohio. (Cheers.)

And now I want you, boys and young men, who stand just before me to remember that two great duties of every citizen are to vote and to vote right. The Republic lives by honest voting. (Cheers.) My vote of yesterday made no great show in the work. It is only one one hundred thousandth part of the Ohio majority for Union and Freedom. But I would not exchange the satisfaction of having given it, and of having given it on the right side, for all the pleasure that all the compliments bestowed on my financial administration can afford.

Yesterday, my friends, as your excellent and accomplished Governor has remarked, was a great day in the annals of this nation. There has been hardly a greater day in our history; no greater, I think, will ever come. Yesterday, when the sun arose, thousands of hearts beat anxiously all over the land, some full of earnest prayer to God that the cause of the Union might prevail by the votes of the people: others, oh shame! full of eager hope that the flag which our soldiers bear so gallantly in the field might be stricken down by the suffrages of their own comrades and brethren at home. Rebels in the South were looking to the action of the peo-

ple of the loyal States, some with fearful apprehensions that their expectation of success through our dissensions might perish under the condemnation of the ballot-box; others with eager hopes that they might find in the votes of disloyal men that success which they could not secure on the battle-field. Those hopes, these anxieties, penetrated the breasts of all the people throughout the Republic. The sun went down, and the great issue had been decided in favor of freedom and Union. The people, with a unanimity hitherto unparalleled in our history, had proclaimed in thunder-tones through the ballot-box that the Republic which our fathers founded and cemented with their blood shall live. (Cheers.)

THE OCTOBER VICTORIES.

Consider the importance of the great event of yesterday. Suppose the result had been otherwise. Suppose that the gentleman who has by the kindness of the President, been allowed to find protection under the rule of Queen Victoria in Canada, had been elected Governor of Ohio. In that case it is hardly possible we could have escaped civil war in our own State. Suppose the so-called Peace party had succeeded in Pennsylvania. The recruiting of your armies would have been discouraged and hindered; supplies would have been withheld from your troops, and all measures for the suppression of the rebellion would have been embarrassed and paralyzed, so far as the action and influence of the Governor of Pennsylvania could have effected that object. Suppose that the heart of Indiana or of Iowa had proved unsound. How weak would have been the arm of the Government? How utterly impossible would it have been for the President to give to the soldiers in the field, any reasonable encouragement that their wants would be supplied or their services rewarded! But now the people have said to the President, "You shall have everything you need to crush the rebellion; only go to work and finish it as soon as possible!"

You want this rebellion to end to-morrow, if it can be ended to-morrow. If it cannot, you want it ended next week. If not then, the next week, or the next month, or next year. You are determined that, by the help of God, it must and shall end. The voice of the people, uttered yesterday, will greatly accelerate its ending. If it were safe to say a week ago that the rebellion could be ended in twelve months, it is safe to say to-day that it can be ended in six.

You see, then, how fit it is that we should come together and congratulate each other and congratulate the country that God has put it into the hearts of the people to stand as one man for the integrity of the Republic.

You have frequently heard all the objects of the war ably discussed. I will not go over them to-day. I will simply say that we are struggling for the integrity of the Republic, for the life of the greatest nation ever organized on the globe—a struggle on which depends the question whether the civilization which our forefathers

planted on this continent shall perish ignominiously or remain to all future generations an example and an appeal.

This is no war for conquest, fellow-citizens. It is a war to settle the question whether our dear country—the country of our fathers and the heritage of our children, the country that holds all that is dear and precious to us—shall live or perish. Why, it is exactly as if the children of a family should be asked whether the revered father or the beloved mother should live or die. It is because you see this is so that your hearts are so unanimous and so earnest. You love your country dearly; you love her institutions; you are proud of her traditionary and of her present glory, and you are zealous for her prosperity. And you not only love your country but you love mankind, and you feel for the welfare of your race, the hopes of which are so largely involved in American destinies.

These are your sentiments. Now, we in Washington, each in his sphere, have been doing what we could to give effect to your will. Our proper duty is to represent the people—the President in his sphere and the heads of the several Departments in their spheres. I do not pretend to say that we have not, all of us, made mistakes. It is next to impossible, in the very nature of things, that the immense machinery of Government should be so skillfully managed in times of such danger as to secure in all cases the best possible result. But this I can say for the President of the United States, as well as for those associated with him in conducting the affairs of Government, that they are sincerely and earnestly endeavoring to give effect to the people's will by defending the threatened life and maintaining unimpaired the integrity of the Republic.

FINANCIAL POLICY IN A NUTSHELL.

Your excellent Governor has been pleased to refer to my own services in terms of commendation. I sincerely wish that I could feel that they were entitled to any part of the eulogium pronounced upon them. I can pretend to nothing more than an honest endeavor to interpret the American heart, and to do what I believed the American people, if in my place, would do.

At the the outset of this struggle a great leader—or, if you please, a great follower—of public opinion in Europe—I mean the *London Times*—said in substance, “Mr. Chase will soon find himself in want of money, and will come to London to borrow, but he will find English capitalists little inclined to invest in the bonds of a broken Union. We shall see then what will become of the vaunted Republic.” What would you have had me do under the circumstances? Precisely what I did. I said, “Mr. Chase will never be seen in London asking for money. English capitalists must come to us. If the *Times* waits for America to borrow of England, it will wait till the little island is sunk in the sea.” (Cheers.) I see that you would have said just that.

Well, what was next to be done? What would you have told me to do had you been all gathered at Washington? You would have told me, “*Borrow at home.*” I did so. I borrowed pretty

much all the gold there was in the country. In eight months I obtained and paid out for the army and navy about one hundred and seventy-five millions of dollars in coin. But the gold did not come back quite so fast as it went, and so the banks and capitalists who had furnished it began to say to me, "We can supply you with coin no longer unless you will agree to pay us such prices as will enable us to buy the gold in Europe." It was clear enough that the taking of this course would result in so rapid an increase of debt and interest that it would soon become impossible to borrow at all, and I should justly have merited your condemnation had I adopted it.

The next question was, "Will you borrow the paper of the banks and give six per cent. interest for it, and then pay that to the soldiers in place of gold?" Don't you think that after awhile something would have happened if I had done this? Have you not heard somewhat of revulsions and panics and crashes? Well, what would you have had me do? Would you not have said to me: "Here am I, Smith, a farmer; here am I, Jones, a mechanic; here am I, Robinson, a merchant. Take our property and our credit and us, and make a currency for the country based on the country itself. In other words, go to work and make 'greenbacks.'" I know that is what you would have advised me to do; and therefore, as my business was to interpret your will—to know what you would have me do, and then do it—I went to work and made "greenbacks," and a good many of them. I had some handsome pictures put on them; and as I like to be among the people, and was kept too close to visit them in any other way, and as the engravers thought me rather good looking, I told them they might put me on the end of the one-dollar bills. [Cheers and laughter.]

Well, at first a great many people thought this a bold and hazardous experiment, and a good many banks said it was sure to fail. On the other hand, quite a respectable number approved what was done; and some banks also—to their honor be it recorded—said: "You are right; go ahead." I went ahead. Then there was a good deal of hard talk against the notes, and some disloyal persons thought they had a good opportunity of breaking down the Government by destroying confidence in the national currency. A few banks and a few persons refused to take the notes and demanded coin. What was now to be done? What would you have told me to do?

Would you not have said: "If anybody is not willing to receive this money which represents the faith and property of us all, he shall get nothing?" Certainly you would. So I conferred with our friends in Congress, and they made it a legal tender. The effect of this was curious, for instead of being tenderer it was a good deal stronger than before. [Laughter.]

The next thing was to give a definite value to this currency; and to this end Congress authorized me to issue bonds, with interest and principal payable in gold, and to receive the currency for these bonds from anybody who desired to take them, just as if it was gold. That

made the currency as sound as the Republic itself; in fact, it is nothing else than the credit of the country converted into cash. It is the love and honor and faith of the people put in the form of money.

But to perpetuate the national currency, and to avoid the disturbance of capital already invested in banks under State laws, another step was necessary. I therefore recommended, and Congress adopted, the National Banking system. I think the capital of the country employed in furnishing circulation will be organized under this system, and that, when in full operation, we shall have no note circulation in this country which does not bear the national imprint and guaranty, and is not thereby made current in all parts of the land. When this is done, and only when this is done, labor will be sure to have its just reward.

This is a brief account of what has been done. It is a very simple thing. It required no great wit to work it out. It required only an honest purpose to ascertain what was best and fittest to be done, and then the courage to do it. When a man seeks to do right without fear or favor, he will almost always find how; and then he has only to ask God for the courage to act. What is called statesmanship is nothing but the correct interpretation of the popular will and the fearless doing of it.

There, my friends, I have given you just about as much of a report on the finances as I expect to make to Congress. [Laughter and loud cheering.]

ISSUES OF THE WAR—THE END OF SLAVERY.

Let me now say a few words about the probable issues of the struggle in which we are engaged. If any event in this world's history was ever visibly marked by the tokens of Divine Providence it is this war.

There had grown up in this country an institution which served as the basis of an aristocracy hostile to free labor, popular government, and to all the interests which you most cherish. It was an aristocracy which crushed with equal weight the poor white man of the South and the slave who was driven like a brute to his daily toil. This aristocracy had seized upon the National Government, and was making it just what it pleased for the accomplishment of its own purposes. It was trying to force slavery into all free territory, and into all free States, and to re-open the slave trade in order by fresh importations of slaves from Africa to strengthen the political power of slavery, and to multiply slaves wherever that political power might enable them to plant the institution. To it the very idea of free thought, free speech, free worship, free labor, free schools, free institutions was abhorrent. To it the overthrow and ruin of the Republic was a less evil than the government of the Republic by the people. It was resolved to rule or to ruin. In 1860 the opponents of this aristocracy elected a President. It was still the controlling power in Congress and in the Supreme Court, but this was not sufficient. It would not consent that the Executive power should

pass out of its hands into the hands of a representative of the people, and so it undertook to break up the American Union in the insane hope of a new empire founded on the slavery of men. The chiefs of this aristocracy expected that New York would join them in the destruction of the Republic. They openly boasted that Indiana—yes, your Indiana—and Illinois also would form parts of the new Confederacy. They said that all the Northwestern States would join them rather than that the Mississippi should be closed to their commerce. Thus they hoped to found a mighty slave empire on the ruins of the great Democratic Republic.

They began their play by firing on Fort Sumter. The nation flew to arms. They listened for the acclaim of sympathy and support which they had been promised from New York and Indiana and Illinois. Instead of it they heard the tramp of hundreds of thousands of armed men marching southward to suppress the rebellion.

Was not God's hand in that? I think it was.

Even after the rebellion had become flagrant, you remember how forbearing the President was, and how forbearing everybody was. I used to be very impatient sometimes, and wanted this military thing done and that military thing done, and the rebellion crushed out at once. Why was it not crushed out at once? Why was it that everything moved so slowly? Why were results so disproportionate to means? Was not the providence of God teaching the nation, that slavery was at the bottom of the rebellion, and that there was no such thing as crushing the one without destroying the other? That lesson was learned slowly, but it was learned thoroughly. All over the country to-day slavery is recognized as the cause and the strength of the rebellion. The rebel leaders proclaim that the war was made for slavery. All loyal men understand that the war was made for slavery. All see and know that the rebels fight for slave empire; that the Unionists fight for the right of the people to govern themselves.

Now, observe the wonderful change wrought in public opinion on this subject. Look at what is doing in Missouri. Three or four weeks ago some seventy delegates from Missouri representing no less than fifty-seven counties, with some thirty delegates from Kansas, called on me at my house in Washington, and explained to me their ideas. Some were slaveholders, some were not; but all agreed that slavery was the cause of the rebellion, and the great enemy and the only formidable enemy of the loyal South. So long as slavery should exist, they said, peace and security were impossible. They were determined therefore to put an end to it as speedily as the votes of the people could do the work. Should we have dreamed of the like of that three years ago? Look now to Maryland, and you will find precisely the same state of things that exists in Missouri. In the beginning of the war almost all the loyal men in Maryland, like almost all loyal men elsewhere, believed that the war could be successfully prosecuted, and that the country and slavery could be saved

together. That delusion has vanished in Maryland. The unconditional Union men in Maryland, like the unconditional Union men of Missouri, take ground boldly as an Emancipation party; for emancipation with compensation, if it can be had; if not, for emancipation without compensation. Turn your eyes now to the little State of Delaware. The unconditional Union men have nominated an Emancipationist for Congress, and they mean to elect him. So throughout the country. Hardly anywhere can you find an unconditional Union man who is not an enemy of slavery. Take the case of Charles Anderson, just elected Lieutenant Governor of Ohio. He removed some years ago to Texas; he was a pro-slavery man. When the war broke out he adhered to the Union. That the rebellion would not allow. He must either go for the destruction of the Union as the means of protecting slavery, or he must be treated as an enemy. He was arrested, but succeeded, amid great perils, in effecting his escape. Take the case of Andrew Jackson Hamilton. He was a member of the last Congress before the Presidency of Mr. Lincoln—a slaveholder and a thoroughly pro-slavery man; but he was not for breaking up the Republic for the sake of slavery, and was driven from his home. Both these distinguished citizens see now clearly that the existence of the slave power and the continuance of slavery are incompatible with the restoration of the Republic—incompatible even with the personal safety of earnest and faithful friends of the Republic. So it is with Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, and with all that multitude of loyal men of the slave States whom the slaveholders have driven from their homes and compelled to take refuge in the mountains. All of them feel that this war was born of slavery, grew by slavery, lives by slavery, and that until slavery dies there can be no peace. All these men rejoice that in the rebel States when it became clearly evident that slavery stood in the way of a successful prosecution of the war, the President struck it down by his Proclamation.

Is there a man here to-day who wants it to live again? ["No! no!"] Is there a man here who would have the President shrink from maintaining that Proclamation? ["No! no!"] Is there anybody here who would consent to the re-enslavement of a single man, or woman, or child made free by that Proclamation? ["No! no!"] While in the rebel States slavery has been abolished by the Proclamation in every one of the States not affected by it, an Emancipation party has sprung up, as I have just said, under the name of the Unconditional Union party. Is there anybody here who does not wish success to those noble and patriotic men who are upholding the cause of Union in those States? ["Not one."] Does anybody wish them success less earnestly because they believe that the cause of Union is indissolubly linked with the cause of freedom? ["No! no!"] Why, my friends, throughout all the land the prayers of good men continually ascend for God's blessing on these true-hearted men. Morn, noon, and night these prayers reach the throne of the Majesty on High. Is not God's hand in all this?

Why, gentlemen, this nation had to be born again. Nothing seems clearer to me than that those of us who never desired to touch the institution of slavery in the slave States, but only to prevent its extension beyond State limits, were not moving in the path of God's providence, and that this war came upon us in order that the nation might be born again into a new life, ennobled and made glorious by justice and freedom. [Cheers.]

For what end? It is presumptuous to attempt to penetrate the counsels of Providence, and yet the future may sometimes be seen in the past and in the present; and I cannot help thinking that this country has a great work before it, which it cannot fulfill while it remains a slaveholding country. When the increase of population and the growth of commerce required better means of intercourse than common roads, Macadam was born and invented turnpikes. When the advance of civilization required steam engines, and steamboats, and locomotives, and railways, Fulton and Stevenson were called to the work of invention and construction. When the further progress of human society demanded means by which intelligence could be transmitted from continent to continent, and from ocean to ocean, scores of intellects were set to work to devise modes of instantly communicating thought by light and lightning, until at length Morse invented the magnetic telegraph. And now it seems no less necessary that there should be a great nation in the world, governing itself, loving justice, respecting all rights, prepared for all duties, and hating nothing but oppression and wrong. Is it a wild belief that now amid the fierce pangs of this war this nation is being regenerated for these great ends, and that the war will end and only end when the regeneration is complete? It was the reverent belief of Washington, that God was in the American Revolution bringing a mighty nation to birth. Am I wrong in the reverent belief that God is in this second revolution, bringing this same mighty nation to a second birth?

When I came to Cincinnati day before yesterday to vote the Union ticket, some one handed me a copy of the Cincinnati *Enquirer*. Some of you may have seen it. Its tone has been somewhat changed in forty-eight hours. But it then said: "Secretary Chase has come to Ohio to vote for Brough, but the man that carries a hod can kill Chase's vote." This, my countrymen, is the crowning glory of our institutions. [Cheers.] I am glad and proud to know that there is a country in which no man, however high in office or rich in possessions, or distinguished by talents, can give a vote which cannot be balanced by the vote of the poorest man in all the land. [Cheers.] It is to preserve the institutions which secure to the poor man this equal vote that we now wage war. The war will end when that sacred object is fully accomplished.

BENEFICENT CHARACTERISTICS OF THE WAR.

And now, fellow-citizens, let me ask your attention to some of the distinguishing characteristics of this war. Observe, in the first

place, the determination it produces in the hearts of the people throughout the land to be prepared for any future exigency. All the States are arming and assume a military footing. Your own Governor, with that wisdom and patriotism which have so greatly distinguished him, has organized the Indiana Legion, one of the regiments of which I have seen to-day. I am told there are twenty thousand of these men organized, armed, and equipped for the defence of your State, and who are they? Are they serfs driven to military service? Not one of them. They are freemen, all—noble young men—your own sons who have voluntarily come forward to be drilled in the military service in order that they may be the better able, when need shall be, to defend their homes and their country. Multiply this force now by the number of States, and what a formidable army with which to repel invasion and uphold the supremacy of the laws. Such a force as this will make the country invincible in any war with a foreign power.

Observe another thing. At the outbreak of this war we were almost wholly unprovided with means of relieving soldiers suffering from disease and wounds; and in any other country no means would have been provided except through the direct agency of the Government. But here enlightened men of various professions come forward at once and tender their services as a **SANITARY COMMISSION**, and are found in every camp, on every march, on every battlefield, and in every hospital, aiding the regular medical organization, and scattering everywhere blessings and benefits among our soldiers. All this is voluntary work. You find no parallel to it in any other country. In England, to be sure, there is a Florence Nightingale—God bless her!—who left her home and went under the patronage of the Government to care for the sick and wounded soldiers in the hospitals and on the battle-fields of the Crimea. But nowhere except in our country will you find a body of men like the Sanitary Commission, following armies wherever they march, and equally useful in the mitigation and relief of the miseries ever attendant upon war.

Notice another distinguishing characteristic of this war. Many of the young men who volunteered in the service of their country are the sons of religious parents. They go away from the restraints of home, from the blessings of the family and the influences of the sanctuary, and are exposed to the temptations of camp and field. The Government, to be sure, hires chaplains to preach to them, but while many of these adorn their profession by faithful labors, others yield to the temptations which beset them, and become worse than the worst of their military flock. To supply the almost inevitable defects of this governmental provision, there springs up by voluntary impulse a **CHRISTIAN COMMISSION**. Its members go abroad through the camps and on the battle-fields and in the hospitals, to visit the sick and the wounded, to minister to their wants, to relieve their distresses, to receive their last messages, and to console their last hours. It is difficult to estimate how much is done by the ex-

cellent men who have organized this noble charity to restrain the passions, to reform the morals, and raise the character of our soldiery. Where else but in our own country would or could this thing be done?

Then this war sets many bondmen free. These are almost always ignorant, and often persecuted. Well, what happens? The Government can only work clumsily in such matters, but to meet this special want the Society of Friends, always abounding in good works, comes forward to the relief of the poor freedmen. Other citizens, also, of all professions and parties and creeds, unite in voluntary associations for the promotion of education, industry and civilization among them. However they may differ in respect to other matters, they all say this people, freed by this war, must be cared for and taught. So everywhere somebody is doing something for the welfare of these poorest of God's poor. In what other country would these things have been thus done? Should we not be grateful for the institutions which make such a country and such a people as ours? May we not well believe that when we have succeeded in crushing the rebellion, and these great agencies shall have done their work, we shall all be re-united as one people, loving one another, and helping one another, and mightier than ever; bound together by common interests and common affections, and ready for whatever work Divine Providence may assign to us among the nations of the earth. This is my faith, and I have directed your attention to these things in order that you may appreciate the true significance of what was done yesterday. Yesterday's vote was a great event in the history of the world. It pledges us and it pledges the country to great undertakings and to great achievements. Let us be faithful to this pledge, and our children's children will rise up and call us blessed.

I did not expect to say all this; but I have been drawn on from point to point until I have made more of a speech than I intended. Let me close by saying how grateful I am for the greeting you have given me. I have no fit language in which to express my gratitude to the people for the kindness with which they have sustained me, and with which they now everywhere meet me. I can only promise in return that as in the past I have endeavored to serve them faithfully, so in the future I will dedicate to their service whatever energy, faculty or capacity of labor God has given me.

Earnest invitations had been sent the Secretary, to extend his visit to Illinois and Missouri, but he replied that he had only come West to do his share in the election, and could not think of remaining longer away from his work in Washington. In the evening he attended a levee given in his honor by Gov. Morton, and made a brief address from his hotel to the crowd, clamoring for a speech; and at daylight he was off for Columbus and the East.

At Richmond and other points along the route, he was greeted by large assemblages, eager to pay their respects and hear him speak; and as on his trip out, he responded in very brief remarks. At Columbus, where he stopped to spend the night, there had been

a grand celebration of the victory the previous evening, but on his arrival they at once improvised another. He spoke as follows:—

SPEECH AT COLUMBUS, AFTER THE ELECTION.

MY FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS: It is not an unusual thing for me to address a public meeting in front of this Capitol, but I never heretofore saw so large an assemblage gathered here as that before me to-night. When I look upon this multitude of people I cannot help recalling a story of that distinguished lawyer and early opponent of slavery, Alvan Stewart. He happened to be dining at a hotel in Albany, and, calling a waiter, sent him for a plate of beef. His appetite was somewhat keen, and the waiter was gone an unconscionably long time. When he returned, Stewart, whose gravity of countenance was only equalled by his humor, gazed steadily at the waiter, and at length said very slowly and very solemnly, "Are you the person I sent for that plate of beef?" The astonished waiter answered hesitatingly, "Yes." When Stewart, just as gravely and solemnly, added, "Why, how you have grown!" And so I may say of meetings in this State-House yard, How they have grown! (Laughter and cheers.)

Well, my friends, you come together to-night to congratulate each other upon the glorious victory you achieved on the 13th. You did some rejoicing last night, I am told. ("We did that.") You have already heard eloquent speeches on that victory, and I don't know that I can add anything new. I do not claim to be much of a speaker. I claim nothing, indeed, but willingness to do as much as I can of any hard work you may set me at. ("Bully for you; you suit us.") But whether I talk to you or not, I will rejoice with you and with the whole country over what has been done in Ohio. (Cheers.) Perhaps, indeed, my joy is even more intense than yours, because my post of duty is where want of these great successes would have been a crushing blow. A different result would have been almost equivalent to a disbanding of our armies, and a transfer of the rebel army to our own fields. ("That's so.") You have done more than could have been effected by a won battle. You have encouraged the President, strengthened his armies, and given him new power to carry on the war. You have given effective support to every Department of the Government and to every man charged with public duties. The value of that support to the Treasury is incalculable; for it would have been almost impossible to maintain the public credit had it not been for this grand expression of the patriotism and determination of the people.

More than all this, you have given heart and hope to the army in the field. Look at what Ohio has done by her brave sons. Her joy and pride in her soldiers and officers culminates in the glory of having given to the armies of the Union three of her bravest and ablest Generals. ("Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!") Imagine, if you can, how, as the news of this victory has gone from rank to rank of our regiments, the hearts of the soldiers have leaped for joy, while with

united voice they exclaimed, "God bless Ohio!" (Cheers.) And how has this result been received by the rebels? I have scarcely seen a Richmond paper lately without observing some significant allusions to the probable success of Vallandigham, and anticipations and predictions of great advantages to enure to their cause from his election. They felt sure of success if Vallandigham should be elected. His defeat is their defeat. (Cheers.) By your ballots you have declared to them and to the world that, cost what it may in blood and treasure, this war shall be prosecuted till every rebel shall lay down his arms and submit to the justice of the Republic. (Great and prolonged applause.) The rebels will now believe you are in earnest, and their courage will sink with their hopes.

There is one thought, my friends, connected with the determined prosecution of the war that has great interest for me. How many tender ties has this rebellion broken! The father has sent his noblest son to the field: the mother has given up her darling boy; the young wife has parted with the idol of her heart; the sister has put gun and sword into the hands of her beloved brother, and bade him save his country. How many of these noble hearts are now laid down forever beneath the rebel soil! How many rebel fields have been enriched with the blood of your bravest and best! Your dear, your kindred base died in defence of the old flag. Are you now willing to give up—will you ever be willing to give up—your right to that soil on which these heroes have died, and which is so consecrated to you as the great cemetery in which your friends lie buried? (Thundering cries of "No! No!") Last Tuesday you uttered this No with even more significant emphasis, and yesterday you made the welkin ring with your rejoicings over the unanimity of the people in that response. It seems most strange to me how any one could give a different vote—a vote, in effect, for the destruction of Republican institutions and the hopes of freemen all round the globe. (Prolonged cheers.)

I know how easy it is for men to be deluded, and that often under the influence of passion or party spirit things are done which are afterwards bitterly repented of. It was not, I am told, an uncommon thing during the recent canvass to hear men declare that they spoke and voted as party men, without regard to their personal convictions. How any man can justify himself in such action I do not understand. What right has anybody to do anything as a party man which he would not do as an individual? How can a man be honest personally who is not honest politically? You have heard the story of the Bishop who was also a Prince, and was guilty of shameful oppressions, which brought upon him the rebuke of an honest Monk. The Prince-Bishop answered: "I do these things as Prince, and not as Bishop." The Monk replied: "When the Devil gets the Prince, who will get the Bishop?" (Laughter.) How could any honest man vote against the life of the Republic?

But how grateful is the thought that the people of Ohio turned a deaf ear to all the specious arguments of opposition! How bright

will be the page in which the historian shall record the decisive judgment of the people against all complicity with treason! It was indeed the grandest spectacle ever offered to the nations. The people thereby proved their capacity for self-government. They quietly but earnestly talked the whole question over among themselves on their farms and in their shops, and have pronounced the result of their calm judgment by an unprecedented majority for the Union and for the Government. Nobody pretends that there has been the slightest interference with the freest exercise of the right of suffrage, or that the result does not express the true will of the people. No one can henceforth doubt that Democratic Republics contain within themselves higher elements of power than any other Governments. (Cheers.) Every man feels that the cause of the Republic is his cause; every woman feels that it is her cause. And thus, all over the land, heart beats with heart and resolve unites to resolve, until the whole people make a great plural unit, the like of which is found under no other political institutions. (Great cheering.) Of this plural unit in our country the old flag is the symbol. (Cheers.) Therefore it was, that when the rebels fired upon the flag which waved over Sumter, an electric shock flashed through the country, uniting the people in one fixed purpose to defend the Union and preserve the Republic. (Cheers.)

The war has lasted longer than some of us thought it would. Many, indeed, thought a speedy end of it essential to success; for they feared that the people, after the first enthusiasm was over, would grow cold in its support. I remember hearing Gen. Scott say, soon after the attack on Sumter, that the people would be for a time unanimous in supporting the war, but after awhile they would grow cold even to open opposition. He said it was so in the Revolution. The people were at first united and enthusiastic, but after a time they grew weary and discouraged, and a cold apathy almost arrested recruiting for the army. But what do we see to-day? After nearly three years of war, unparalleled in the magnitude of armies and in the vastness of expenditures, we still find the glow of patriotism warming every heart and strengthening every hand. The people to-day are as unanimous, as resolved and as assured as when the war first broke out. ("That's so.") They have thus given assurance to the whole world that they know how to direct, and that they will direct their own affairs in this struggle. Therefore it is, that not a struggler for freedom any where on the globe will fail to thank God and take courage from what you have done.

It is the greatness of your majority which makes the emphasis of your action. A majority of five or ten thousand would, indeed, have decided the contest, but it would not have deprived the opponents of the Government of hope. It is the grand One Hundred Thousand majority that does this work. (Prolonged cheering.) It leaves no room for doubt or cavil. I trust that the Government, if not heretofore fully alive to the exigencies, or fully sensible of its responsibilities, or quite energetic enough in its action, will now be inspired

by the spirit shown by the people. He must be a laggard indeed who would not be quickened to the highest efforts of which he is capable, by the confidence and trust so generously manifested. (Loud cheers.)

For my part, gentlemen, I will try to do my duty. You know me of old. ("That we do, Governor.") I can only promise you that I will carry to the service of the nation the same zeal with which I served you. ("We know you will. You've done it already.")

I am very glad to find that since I have left you, you have kept up the habit of electing good Governors. (Laughter and cheering.) The heavy responsibilities of the first year of the war fell upon my immediate successor. You know with what ability and fidelity he discharged his trust. I am glad of the opportunity of expressing here the confidence with which those entrusted with the administration at Washington regarded him, a confidence which has suffered no abatement. ("Three cheers for Dennison.") His mantle has been honorably worn by your present excellent Governor, whose name is pronounced with love and respect by every loyal man I meet. ("Three cheers for Tod.") And now you have called to your service a gentleman of equal ability and zeal. It will be hard, however, even for him to serve you with more ability or more zeal than either of his two immediate predecessors. ("Hurrah for Brough.")

And now, my friends and neighbors, I must leave you. I go back to my post of duty refreshed and invigorated by this brief visit, and shall carry with me a more earnest determination, if it be possible, than I have ever felt to devote all my energies and faculties to your service. (Tremendous and prolonged cheering.)

At four, the next morning the Secretary was again on his way. He returned direct to Washington, completing the trip, and being at work in his Department again within a few hours over a single week.

SPEECH AT MONUMENT SQUARE, BALTIMORE.

The great mass meeting of Unconditional Union men, held in Monument Square, at Baltimore, on the evening of Wednesday, 29th October, one week before the Maryland election, was one of the most remarkable events of the year. The mottoes on the platform, and on the numerous banners and transparencies, expressed that hostility to slavery which has been so wonderfully developed in Maryland within the last few months. The vast crowd which filled the square applauded nothing more enthusiastically than the boldest expressions of this sentiment.

The reception of Secretary CHASE was equally significant. The unconditional Union men had been exceedingly anxious for the moral support his presence would give them and so he left Washington on the evening of the meeting, in time to attend it. When he was introduced to the vast assemblage, by HENRY WINTER DAVIS, as one of the leaders of the Unconditional Union host, who had come in behalf of the President, to review the Baltimore division, the cheers which broke forth were almost deafening. It was some time before the tumult of applause so far subsided that Mr. Chase could make himself heard. He said:

I see, my countrymen, that you need no speech to night. I have not come here for the purpose of speaking. I have come simply to express the profound sympathy I feel with the unconditional Union

men of Maryland. To you the whole country looks for a ratification of what we did in Ohio on the 13th of this month. (Good.) Twenty thousand majority promised in Maryland cannot, indeed, by Ohio men at least, be regarded as quite equal to one hundred thousand majority given in Ohio for the same cause; but twenty thousand majority in Maryland tells the whole country that the Union is safe beyond peradventure. (Applause.) I read there to-night your triple motto—"The Union, Emancipation, Goldsborough,"—(Pointing to the motto on the rear of the platform.) The Union first; Emancipation as the sure means of perpetuating the Union and securing the triumph of the Union cause; and the election of your worthy candidate as the token and pledge which Maryland gives of her fidelity to the principles you avow. (Applause.)

I thank my honorable friend (Mr. Davis) for the kind terms of his introduction. I wish I were worthy to be counted a leader of such a host as this; but, my countrymen, the time has come when the people lead the leaders;—when the people, aroused to a consciousness of their own dignity, their own manhood, and their own interests, will trample under foot any leader who dares to desert the principles of freedom, justice, and Union. (Applause.)

You are about to show yourselves wise and patriotic men by returning to his seat in Congress—two years occupied by a man of widely different principles—the patriotic, gallant, eloquent, fearless man who has borne your standard in this State. (Applause.) He did not shrink from the hazards of the contest. Other men might hesitate, but Winter Davis went straight on. (Applause.) Other men might doubt, but Winter Davis never faltered, (applause,) and by him who has stood by you and your interests and your principles you are determined to stand. ("That's so.") We shall welcome him at Washington as a strong, solid support of the common cause. We shall know that when we look to him we shall not be disappointed. (Applause.)

Fellow-citizens, one word more. *The unconditional Union cause is one end the same throughout the land.* It is one and the same cause in Maryland, in Ohio, in Missouri, in every State. The hour has come when the unconditional Union men of the whole country must stand together and shrink from no responsibilities which the times may bring. You will shrink from none. You will do your whole duty. On the 4th of November you will proclaim your adherence to the cause of the Union and the cause of Emancipation—henceforth one cause with one party—in tones which cannot be misunderstood. I hail this grand meeting—this great outpouring of the people—as a sure symbol and pledge of coming triumphs.

I told you, fellow-citizens, that I did not come here to speak. [Loud cries of "Go on; go on."] You are very kind; but there are other gentlemen here who will address you much more acceptably than I can, for it is my business to work and not to talk; and I am now just going back to my work. I am paying off the army. [Great applause, in the midst of which Mr. Chase retired.]



