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PLATFOMS

OF THE

Republican and Copperhead Parties.

GRANT AND COLFAX'S LETTERS OF ACCEPTANCE.

BLAIR'S THREAT OF CIVIL WAR.

WHAT THE COPPERHEAD PLATFORM MEANS.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM.

Adopted at Chicago, May 21, 1868.

The National Union Republican party of the United States, assembled in National Convention, in the city of Chicago, on the 20th day of May, 1868, make the following declaration of principles :

FIRST—We congratulate the country on the assured success of the reconstruction policy of Congress as evinced by the adoption, in a majority of the States lately in rebellion, of constitutions securing equal civil and political rights to all, and regard it as the duty of the Government to sustain these constitutions, and to prevent the people of such States from being remitted to a state of anarchy or military rule.

SECOND—The guarantee by Congress of equal suffrage to all loyal men at the South, was demanded by every consideration of public safety, of gratitude, and of justice, and must be maintained ; while the question of suffrage in all the loyal States properly belongs to the people of those States.

THIRD—We denounce all forms of repudiation as a national crime ; and national honor requires the payment of the public indebtedness in the utmost good faith to all creditors at home and abroad, not only according to the letter, but the spirit of the laws under which it was contracted.

FOURTH—It is due to the labor of the nation, that taxation should be equalized and reduced as rapidly as the national faith will permit.

FIFTH—The National Debt, contracted as it has been for the preservation of the Union for all time to come, should be extended over a fair period for redemption, and it is the duty of Congress to reduce the rate of interest thereon whenever it can honestly be done.

SIXTH—That the best policy to diminish our burden of debt, is to so improve our credit that capitalists will seek to loan us money at lower rates of interest than we now pay, and must continue to pay so long as repudiation, partial or total, open or covert, is threatened or suspected.

SEVENTH—The Government of the United States should be administered with the strictest economy; and the corruptions which have been so shamefully nursed and fostered by Andrew Johnson call loudly for radical reform.

EIGHTH—We profoundly deplore the untimely and tragic death of Abraham Lincoln, and regret the accession of Andrew Johnson to the Presidency, who has acted treacherously to the people who elected him and the cause he was pledged to support: he has usurped high legislative and judicial functions; has refused to execute the laws; has used his high office to induce other officers to ignore and violate the laws; has employed his executive powers to render insecure the property, peace, liberty, and life of the citizens; has abused the pardoning power; has denounced the National Legislature as unconstitutional; has persistently and corruptly resisted, by every means in his power, every proper attempt at the reconstruction of the States lately in rebellion; has perverted the public patronage into an engine of wholesale corruption; and has been justly impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, and properly pronounced guilty thereof by the votes of thirty-five Senators.

NINTH—The doctrine of Great Britain and other European Powers, that because a man is once a subject he is always so, must be resisted at every hazard by the United States as a relic of the feudal times, not authorized by the law of nations, and at war with our national honor and independence. Naturalized citizens are entitled to be protected in all their rights of citizenship, as though they were native born; and no citizen of the United States, native or naturalized, must be liable to arrest and imprisonment by any foreign Power for acts done or words spoken in this country; and, if so arrested and imprisoned, it is the duty of the Government to interfere in his behalf.

TENTH—Of all who were faithful in the trials of the late war, there were none entitled to more especial honor than the brave soldiers and seamen who endured the hardships of campaign and cruise, and imperiled their lives in the service of the country. The bounties and pensions provided by law for these brave defenders of the nation, are obligations never to be forgotten. The widows and orphans of the gallant dead are the wards of the people—a sacred legacy bequeathed to the nation's protecting care.

ELEVENTH—Foreign emigration, which, in the past, has added so much to the wealth, development of resources and increase of power to this nation—the asylum of the oppressed of all nations—should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

TWELFTH—This Convention declares its sympathy with all the oppressed people which are struggling for their rights.

ADDITIONAL RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED.

We highly commend the spirit of magnanimity and forgiveness with which the men who have served the rebellion, but now frankly and honestly co-operate with us in restoring the peace of the country, and reconstructing the Southern State governments upon the basis of impartial justice and equal rights, are received back into the communion of the loyal people; and we favor the removal of the disqualifications and restrictions imposed upon the late rebels, in the same measure as the spirit of disloyalty will die out, and as may be consistent with the safety of the loyal people.

We recognize the great principles laid down in the immortal Declaration of Independence as the true foundation of Democratic Government; and we hail with gladness every effort toward making these principles a living reality on every inch of American soil.

GENERAL GRANT'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

WASHINGTON, May 29, 1868.

To GENERAL J. R. HAWLEY, *President National Union Republican Convention* :

In formally accepting the nomination of the National Union Republican Convention of the 21st of May instant, it seems proper that some statement of views beyond the acceptance of the nomination should be expressed. These views express the feelings were marked with wisdom, moderation and the country through its recent trials.

I endorse the resolutions. If elected to the office of President of the United States it will be my endeavor to administer all the laws in good faith, with economy, and with the view of giving peace, quiet, and protection everywhere.

In times like the present it is impossible, or at least eminently improper, to lay down a policy to be adhered to, right or wrong, through an administration of four years. New political issues, not foreseen, are constantly arising, the views of the public on old ones are constantly changing, and a purely administrative officer should always be left free to execute the will of the people. I always have respected that will, and always shall.

Peace and universal prosperity, its sequence, with economy of administration, will lighten the burden of taxation, while it constantly reduces the national debt. Let us have peace.

With great respect, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT.

HON. SCHUYLER COLFAX'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 30, 1868.

HON. J. R. HAWLEY, *President of the National Union Republican Committee* :

DEAR SIR: The platform adopted by the patriotic Convention over which you presided, and the resolutions which so happily supplement it, so entirely agree with my views as to a just national policy, that my thanks are due to the delegates as much for this clear and auspicious declaration of principles, as for the nomination with which I have been honored, and which I gratefully accept.

When a great rebellion, which imperiled the national existence, was at last overthrown, the duty of all others, devolving upon those entrusted with the responsibilities of legislation, evidently was to require that the revolted States should be readmitted to participation in the Government against which they had erred only on such a basis as to increase and fortify, not to weaken or endanger, the strength and power of the nation. Certainly no one ought to have claimed that they should be readmitted under such rule that their organization as States could ever again be used, as at the opening of the war, to defy the national authority or to destroy the national unity. This principle has been the pole star of those who have inflexibly insisted on the Congressional policy your convention so cordially endorsed.

Baffled by executive opposition and persistent refusals to accept any plan of reconstruction proffered by Congress, justice and public safety at last combined to teach us that only by an enlargement of suffrage in those States could the desired end be attained, and that it was even more safe to give the ballot to those who loved the Union than to those who had sought ineffectually to destroy it. The assured success of this legislation is being written on the adamant of history, and will be our triumphant vindication. More clearly, too, than ever before does the nation now recognize that the greatest glory of a republic is that it throws the shield of its protection over the humblest and the weakest of its people, and vindicates the rights of the poor and the powerless as faithfully as those of the rich and the powerful.

I rejoice, too, in this connection, to find in your platform the frank and fearless avowal that naturalized citizens must be protected abroad "at every hazard, as though they were native born." Our whole people are foreigners or descendents of foreigners. Our fathers established by arms their right to be called a nation. It remains for us to establish the right to welcome to our shores all who are willing, by oaths of allegiance, to become American citizens. Perpetual allegiance, as claimed abroad, is only another name for national bondage, and would make all slaves to the soil where first they saw light. Our been sealed in the life-blood of faithfully these oaths of fidelity to their adopted land have the dead if we did not protect their living brethren and. Should we then be faithful to ity for which, side by side with the native born, our soldiers of foreign birth laid down their lives?

It was fitting, too, that the representatives of a party which had proved so true to national duty in time of war, should speak so clearly in time of peace for the maintenance untarnished of the national honor, national credit and good faith as regard its debt, the cost of our national existence.

I do not need to extend this reply by further comment on a platform which has elicited such hearty approval throughout the land. The debt of gratitude it acknowledges to the brave men who saved the Union from destruction, the frank approval of amnesty based on repentance and loyalty, the demand for the most thorough economy and honesty in the Government, the sympathy of the party of liberty with all throughout the world who long for the liberty we here enjoy, and the recognition of the sublime principles of the Declaration of Independence, are worthy of the organization on whose banners they are to be written in the coming contest. Its past record cannot be blotted out or forgotten. If there had been no Republican party, slavery would to-day cast its baneful shadow over the Republic. If there had been no Republican party, a free press and free speech would be as unknown from the Potomac to the Rio Grande as ten years ago. If the Republican party could have been stricken from existence when the banner of rebellion was unfurled, and when the response of "no coercion" was heard at the North, we would have had no nation to-day. But for the Republican party daring to risk the odium of tax and draft laws our flag could not have been kept flying in the field until the long-hoped-for victory came. Without a Republican party the Civil Rights bill—the guaranty of equality under the law to the humble and the defenseless, as well as the strong—would not be to-day upon our national statute book.

With such inspiration from the past, and following the example of the founders of the Republic, who called the victorious General of the Revolution to preside over the land his triumphs had saved from its enemies, I cannot doubt that our labors will be crowned with success. And it will be a success that will bring restored hope, confidence, prosperity and progress, South as well as North, West as well as East, and, above all, the blessings, under Providence, of national concord and peace.

Very truly yours,

SCHUYLER COLFAX.

COPPERHEAD AND REBEL NATIONAL PLATFORM,

Adopted at New York, July 7, 1868.

The Democratic party in National Convention assembled, reposing its trust in the intelligence, patriotism, and discriminating justice of the people, standing upon the Constitution as the foundation and limitation of the powers of the Government, and the guarantee of the liberties of the citizen, and recognizing the questions of Slavery and Secession as having been settled for all time to come by the war, or the voluntary action of the South-

ern States in constitutional conventions assembled, and never to be renewed or re-agitated, do with the return of peace demand:

FIRST—Immediate restoration of all the States to their rights in the Union, under the Constitution, and of civil government to the American people.

SECOND—Amnesty for all past political offenses and the regulation of the elective franchise in the States by their citizens.

THIRD—Payment of the public debt of the United States as rapidly as practicable; all moneys drawn from the people by taxation, except so much as is requisite for such necessities of the Government, economically administered, being ~~pressy~~ ^{pressary} state, upon their face, ment, and where the obligations of the Government provide that they shall be paid in coin, or the law under which the ~~right and in justice~~, to be paid in the lawful money of the United States.

FOURTH—Equal taxation of every species of property according to its real value, including Government bonds and other public securities.

FIFTH—One currency for the Government and the people, the laborer and the officeholder, the pensioner and the soldier, the producer and the bondholder."

SIXTH—Economy in the administration of the Government, the reduction of the standing army and navy, the abolition of the Freedmen's Bureau, and all political instrumentalities designed to secure negro supremacy; simplification of the system and discontinuance of inquisitorial modes of assessing and collecting Internal Revenue, so that the burden of taxation may be equalized and lessened, the credit of the Government, and the currency made good, the repeal of all enactments for enrolling the State Militia into National forces in time of peace, and a tariff for revenue upon foreign imports, and such equal taxation under the Internal Revenue laws as will afford incidental protection to domestic manufactures, and as will, without impairing the revenue, impose the least burden upon and best promote and encourage the great industrial interests of the country.

SEVENTH—Reform of abuses in the Administration, the expulsion of corrupt men from office, the abrogation of useless offices, the restoration of rightful authority to and the independence of the Executive and Judicial Departments of the Government, the subordination of the military to the civil power, to the end that the usurpations of Congress and the despotism of the sword may cease.

EIGHTH—Equal rights and protection for naturalized and native-born citizens at home and abroad, the assertion of American nationality which shall command the respect of foreign powers and furnish an example and encouragement to people struggling for national integrity, constitutional liberty, and industrial rights; and the maintenance of the rights of naturalized citizens against the absolute doctrine of immutable allegiance and the claims of foreign powers to punish them for alleged crime committed beyond their jurisdiction.

That we regard the Reconstruction acts (so called) of Congress, as usurpations and unconstitutional, revolutionary and void. That the President of the United States, Andrew Johnson, in exercising the power of his high office in resisting the aggressions of Congress upon the Constitutional rights of the States and the people, is entitled to the gratitude of the whole American people, and in behalf of the Democratic party we tender him our thanks for his patriotic efforts in that regard.

FRANK BLAIR'S REVOLUTIONRY LETTER.

WASHINGTON, June 30, 1868.

DEAR COLONEL: In reply to your inquiries I beg leave to say that I leave to you to determine, on consultation with my friends from Missouri, whether my name shall be presented to the Democratic convention, and to submit the following, as what I consider the real and only issue in this contest.

The reconstruction policy of the Radicals will be complete before the next election; the States so long excluded will have been admitted; negro suffrage established, and the carpet-baggers installed in their seats in both branches of Congress. There is no possibility of changing the political character of the Senate, even if the Democrats should elect their President and a majority of the popular branch of Congress. We cannot, therefore, undo the Radical plan of reconstruction by Congressional action; the Senate will continue a bar to its repeal. Must we submit to it? How can it be overthrown? It can only be overthrown by the authority of the Executive, who is sworn to maintain the Constitution, and who will fail to do his duty if he allows the Constitution to perish under a series of Congressional enactments which are in palpable violation of its fundamental principles.

If the President elected by the Democracy enforces or permits others to enforce these reconstruction acts, the Radicals by the accession of twenty spurious Senators and Representatives will control both branches of Congress, and his Administration will be as powerless as the present one of Mr. Johnson.

There is but one way to restore the Government and the Constitution, and that is for the President elect to declare these acts null and void, compel the army to undo its usurpations, reorganize the South, disperse the carpet-bag State governments, allow the white people to elect Representatives will containments, and elect Senators and Representatives. The House of Representatives elected by the white Democrats from the North, and they will admit of the President it will not be difficult to compel the Senate to submit ^{to the} ~~once more~~ ^{the} co-operation obligations of the Constitution. It will not be able to withstand the public judgment, if distinctly invoked and clearly expressed on this fundamental issue, and it is the sure way to avoid all future strife to put the issue plainly to the country.

I repeat that this is the real and only question which we should allow to control us: Shall we submit to the usurpations by which the Government has been overthrown, or shall we exert ourselves for its full and complete restoration? It is idle to talk of bonds, greenbacks, gold, the public faith, and the public credit. What can a Democratic President do in regard to any of these, with a Congress in both branches controlled by the carpet-baggers and their allies? He will be powerless to stop the supplies by which idle negroes are organized into political clubs—by which an army is maintained to protect these vagabonds in their outrages upon the ballot. These, and things like these, eat up the revenue and resources of the Government and destroy its credit—make the difference between gold and greenbacks. We must restore the Constitution before we can restore the finances, and to do this we must have a President who will execute the will of the people by tramping into dust the usurpation of Congress, known as the reconstruction acts. I wish to stand before the Convention upon this issue, but it is one which embraces everything else that is of value in its large and comprehensive results. It is the one thing that includes all that is worth a contest, and without it there is nothing that gives dignity, honor, or value to the struggle. Your friend,

Colonel JAMES O. BROADHEAD.

FRANK P. BLAIR.

THE COPPERHEAD PLATFORM MEANS WAR.

In commenting upon the national platform adopted by the Rebel and Copperhead Democracy in New York, in July, construed not only by their positive declarations, but by the character of their nominations, and especially by Blair's revolutionary letter, Senator Morton, of Indiana, said:

General Grant, in his letter of acceptance, said, "Let us have peace;" but the Democratic party by their Convention in New York have said, "Let us have war; there shall be no peace." They have declared in substance, I might say perhaps, in direct terms, that the reconstruction of these States under the several acts of Congress shall not be permitted to stand, but shall be overturned by military force if they get the power. They have announced that there shall be no peace in this country; that there shall be no settlement of our troubles except upon the condition of the triumph of those who have been in rebellion. This platform and these nominations are a declaration of renewal of the rebellion. Let me call your attention to a part of the eighth resolution in regard to this very question. In speaking of the reconstruction of the States, they go on to say that the power to regulate suffrage exists with "each State," making no difference between loyal States that have been at peace and States that have been in rebellion, putting them all upon the same footing:

"And that any attempt by Congress on any pretext whatever to deprive the State of this right, or interfere with its exercise, is a flagrant usurpation of power which can find no warrant in the Constitution; and, if sanctioned by the people, will subvert our form of Government. And can only end in a single centralized and consolidated Government, in which the separate existence of the States will be entirely absorbed, and an unqualified despotism be established in place of a Federal Union of coequal States, and that we regard the reconstruction acts (so-called) of Congress, as such usurpations, and unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void."

This convention has called upon the rebels of the South to regard these governments, organized by authority of acts of Congress by the people of those States as usurpations, unconstitutional, and void, and has thereby invited them again to insurrection and rebellion. That is what that resolution means. There is where the Democratic party has placed itself and its candidate, that there shall be no acquiescence in the action of Congress, but that continued resistance is and shall be their policy. They have replied to General

Grant by saying, "There shall be no peace, but the war shall be renewed." There can be no other policy for that party unless it acquiesces: If it does not accept these reconstruction acts there can be no policy but that of resistance and a renewal of the war.— They declare these reconstruction acts to be unconstitutional and void. Being void, nobody is bound to regard them; they have no authority over any one to coerce or to punish, and may be resisted by any one with impunity. That is not the language of this resolution, but it is the substance and the meaning of it; and in consequence of this it received the indorsement and the approbation of the hundreds of rebels who were in that Convention from the South, men who organized the rebel government and organized and led the rebel armies in battle. This, then, is the issue, a continuance of the war: a renewal of the rebellion; because it is either that, or it is submission and acquiescence to what has been done. But, we are not left to grope for the meaning of this convention: we are not left even to seek for it by inference. We have a letter of General Francis P. Blair, written less than one week ago, and this letter has been indorsed by that Convention by his nomination as their candidate for the Vice Presidency.

The treasonable letter of Blair, printed above, having been read Mr. Morton continued: That is the Democratic platform. General Blair, whatever you may say of him, is a bold, outspoken man, and he spoke the sentiment of that Convention. He says, "Upon these sentiments I want to stand before the Convention:" and upon those sentiments he was nominated. Therefore, I say that the language of the Democratic Convention at New York to the whole country is war; resistance by force of arms to Congressional legislation: the overthrow by force of arms of the governments that have been erected in the rebel States under the laws enacted by Congress; the continuance of this rebellion; continuance of this struggle in a somewhat different form, but still the same struggle, contending for the same principles. It is now announced formally, not at Montgomery, not at Richmond, but at New York. The country need not be at any loss to understand the character of the contest upon which we are entering. It is not one of peace and acquiescence, of consolidation whereby the ravages of war may be repaired; but it is a new declaration of war; a new announcement of the rebellion under somewhat different circumstances, but under circumstances formidable, dangerous, and solemn. Let the country look the struggle in the face.

General Blair has said truly that all that is said about greenbacks and bonds and questions of finance is mere nonsense. The great issue is the question of overturning the new State governments by force, the restoration of the power of the rebels, or as they call it the white men's government in those States, and all the rest is leather and prunnella. We owe a debt of gratitude to General Blair for his frankness. There need be no deception practiced now, and there can be none. If Seymour shall be elected upon that platform he stands pledged to use the army of the United States for the purpose of overturning the governments that have been established in the South by the voice of the whole people, and by that army to place the power back again into the hands of the rebels. They were there with him in that Convention. They have given to him their counsel. They have indorsed Mr. Seymour, and the Convention and all have indorsed General Francis P. Blair.

I know that we shall be told in the Northwest that they intend to have the same currency for the Government and the people, for the bondholder and the laborer. They will proclaim taxation of the bonds, as the great issue upon which they expect to get votes; but that will be a deception. The great issue underlying the whole contest—and we have the solemn declaration of their candidate for Vice President to that effect—will be the renewal of the war to overturn the State governments that have just been established under the acts of Congress. General Blair has relieved the Republican party of a great deal of labor. He has unmasked the enemy with whom we have to deal, and he has placed before the country the very issue, peace or war.

REBEL CONSTRUCTION OF THE PLATFORM.

The rebel supporters of Seymour and Blair, and especially those who procured their nomination, like Forrest, the hero of the Fort Pillow massacre, the rebel Generals Preston of Kentucky, and Hampton, of South Carolina, and Johnson's ex-Governor Perry of the latter State, all understand the platform exactly as Senator Morton and the Republicans do. The South Carolina rebels have held a meeting at Columbia to ratify the nomination of Seymour and Blair by the New York Democratic convention. Gov. Perry, just returned from New York, addressed the meeting, and was received with enthusiastic applause.

He spoke nearly an hour, giving a very interesting account of the way in which the dele-



gation from this State was received in New York, and detailed the manner and cause of the votes cast by our delegates. He said that Hampton was the lion of the convention. [Deafening cheers.] Hampton was courted by all parties, North, South, East, and West, and when, as a member of the Committee on Platform, he submitted that *section which declares the reconstruction acts void and revolutionary, the rest of the committee told him to make it as strong as he pleased, they would endorse it.*

Governor Perry paid the highest encomiums to Seymour and Blair. He said the former was the greatest statesman of the Democratic party, and the latter the gallant officer who had the manliness, after the fight was over, to hold out the hand of fellowship. Alluding to the late act of Congress respecting the electoral college, Perry said that it was the greatest fraud yet attempted, and meant that if the Southern States cast their votes for Grant they would be counted, if for Seymour they would be excluded. In this case, he said, General Blair's letter would have a practical illustration, and the Democrats North and South would rise up and drive the usurpers from the halls of legislation. [Immense applause.]

GENERAL SHERIDAN'S OPINION OF GENERAL GRANT.

"It is, perhaps, needless for me to tell you how light my heart is on account of the glorious record, in front of which Gen. Grant now stands before the country.

"The country now begins to appreciate that his was the only hand which patted me on the shoulder and gave me encouragement, when I, almost alone, stuck up my little battle-flag at New Orleans to assist a second time in saving the country and preserving the record of our soldiers.

"Two solutions were necessary for the settlement of the Rebellion. The first was to take away its military strength. That was done at Appotomax. The second, to take away its political strength. That will be done next November. It will be a short campaign, but as *Cæsar* as Appotomax."

GEN. M'PHERSON'S OPINION OF GEN. GRANT.

"General U. S. Grant I regard as one of the most remarkable men of our country. Without aspiring to be a genius, or possessing those characteristics which impress one forcibly at first sight, *his sterling good sense, calm judgment, and persistency of purpose* more than compensate for those dashing brilliant qualities which are apt to captivate at first glance. To know and appreciate General Grant fully, one ought to be a member of his military family. Though possessing a remarkable reticence as far as military operations are concerned, *he is frank and affable, converses well,* and has a peculiarly retentive memory. When not oppressed with the cares of his position, he is very fond of talking, telling anecdotes, &c. *His purity of character is unimpeachable, and his patriotism of the most exalted kind.* He is generous to a fault, humane and true, and a steadfast friend to those whom he deems worthy of his confidence. *He can be relied upon in case of emergency.*"

GEN. SHERMAN'S OPINION OF GEN. GRANT.

"You are now Washington's legitimate successor, and occupy a position of almost dangerous elevation; but if you can *continue, as heretofore, to be yourself, simple, honest, and unpretending,* you will enjoy through life the respect and love of friends, and *the homage of millions of human beings,* that will award you a large share in securing to them and their descendants a government of law and stability."

* * * * *

"Until you had won Donelson, I confess I was almost cowed by the terrible array of anarchical elements that presented themselves at every point; but that admitted a ray of light I have followed since.

"I believe you are as *brave, patriotic, and just as the great prototype, Washington; as unselfish, kind-hearted and honest a man as should be.* But the chief characteristic is the simple faith in success you have always manifested, which I can liken to nothing else than the faith a Christian has in his Saviour.

"This faith gave you victory at Shiloh and Vicksburg. Also, when you have completed your preparations, you go into battle without hesitation, as at Chattanooga—no doubts, no reserves; and I tell you it was this that made us act with confidence. I knew wherever I was that you thought of me, and if I got in a tight place, you would help me, if alive."

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