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# The Grant & Wilson Campaign

## SPEECH

— OF —  
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**Hon. Geo. C. Gorham**

SECRETARY OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE,

Delivered at Platt's Hall, San Francisco, Wednesday, Oct. 2d, under the auspices of the Republican State Central Committee.

(Reported phonographically by ANDREW J. MARSH.)

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I confess to a pleasurable surprise in so dull a campaign as this, to find an undiminished interest in the political movement of the country. I had supposed we should be much in the situation of a preacher who should attempt a revival of religion when the devil was dead. [Laughter.] It is very hard work to pull on the end of a rope when nothing is tied to the other end of it; and in this canvass, with our own party united and compact, not only confident but certain of a sweeping victory, it would not have been strange if our people should have been found lethargic. We look in various directions for an enemy and we hardly know whether we have found him or not. For we must recognize the fact that the old Democratic ship has foundered on the political sea. She is dismantled, and it becomes our humane duty to see how many lives can be saved. [Laughter and applause.] I am not here to-night to say one ill-natured word of any political opponent in the Democratic party. I have some feelings of sorrow and of sympathy for men who have maintained

an upright and a downright sincerity of conviction and earnestness of action for that which they deemed to be right. But I confess to some shame that a party composed of Americans, should be able in a moment, apparently for what they hope they might make by it, to give the lie to the whole of their political lives. Our audiences are mixed this year. To Republicans who are earnest supporters of the Administration, I need make no appeal. They need no word of encouragement. "All is well." The different sections of the Democratic party I desire to address myself to. What I say will not be confidential, and I shall be glad to have my Republican friends remain. [Laughter.] The Democrats who really meant what they said in the past, who had some views of the principles upon which the Government was founded, however erroneous may have been their opinions and their action to maintain them, to them I desire to address some reasons why they can well afford, maintaining still their self-respect, to support this Administration and favor the re-election of President Grant. [Applausé.]

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To those Democrats who are willing to sail before the mast in their own ship, after the cook has been taken out of the galley and put in command, I address no appeal. To the renegade Republicans what shall be said? I cannot appeal to their consciences, for it is evident they have none. [Laughter.] I cannot appeal to their intellect, for if any of them possess it, it is clouded over with the passions of envy and hatred. I cannot appeal to their shame, for even of that they seem to be destitute. And so we will on with our grand procession without them. It is an unweeded garden that grows to seed, but the Republican garden is the first that ever weeded itself. [Laughter and applause.]

Now, I used to be a Democrat myself, in good and regular standing. [Laughter.] I got a little fishy when I refused to bolt the party when Douglas was nominated, but I thought that was the regular nomination, and that is what the Democrats always stuck by in those days, you know. And I know our Democratic teachers had some views as to what the Constitution meant, what the nation had power to do through Congress and what the States had power to do through the State Governments. The Democrats differ themselves, as you know, upon some of these questions, and I want to address a few words right in this place, perhaps of dry argument, because, if you have come together for anything in the world, I will ask my clerical brother (turning to Mr. Benton) if it is not the case—we have come to preach to sinners and not to the righteous, for their souls can only be converted through exhortation. [Laughter.]

I want to ask you Democrats who are not willing to say you have always been Abolitionists; who are not willing to say you never meant what you said; who are not willing to follow the fortunes of the Liberal Republican managers, who seem to have taken possession of your ship—I want to ask you if you really believe that Democratic opinions can be enforced in this country?

I want to ask you candidly if you don't think a fair trial has been had; whether you have not made every appeal to the judgment of men; whether you do not think you have been honestly

and fairly defeated at the ballot box, and whether you don't know the American people to be opposed to your doctrines? If you so believe, let me ask you what iota of self-respect you forfeit by frankly and candidly saying so. It is not given to any man to change his opinions at will, and every man who has sense knows when the time arrives when it is folly for him to seek to impress his opinions upon others. I do not propose to criticise or deride a single Democratic dogma of the past. I only appeal to you now that your own party organization has made a profession of surrendering its ideas. I ask you, in the first place, whether you believe that organization can be sincere in its declarations; whether you believe that the delegates who assembled at Baltimore, on the 10th of July, meant what they said in their platform? I want to ask you, if they did mean it, why you should contend against the Republican party which inaugurated and carried out those doctrines successfully as the policy of this country? And if you do not believe the Democratic leaders at Baltimore honestly made those declarations, I want to ask you as fair men if you will be parties to a fraud before the American people, and go before them in the Presidential campaign to steal into power to violate the pledges made to obtain power. [Applause.] This is the view I am seeking to present to the Democratic partisans of this State. I say we do not believe that the Democratic party has changed its opinions, but we do know that a very large portion of the Democratic party refusing to follow the leadership of Horace Greeley, have decided that they will change their purposes; they will fritter away no more of their lives in vain efforts to force exploded and defeated dogmas upon the American people, of which they form so large a party, but nevertheless a hopeless minority. [Applause.] And then in our audience there is another large element.

There is a large element of men so busy in building up and promoting the great industrial interests of the nation that they do not give strict attention to party discussion, and have no strong political affiliations. Perhaps the work they are doing is better. I am almost certain that it is of equal importance with that of the Government itself. But



it is a double track we go on, my friends. There need be no collisions. Business cannot be transacted in any country where the public tranquility is not preserved and the laws faithfully executed. To those men we propose to show that this Administration has, by its prudence, economy and integrity, vindicated the claim of its friends, that the safest course to be pursued is to continue it in power. And so without more ado, if you will be patient with me, I will, as briefly as possible, state what I assume to be the claims fairly to be presented in behalf of the Administration. When General Grant was inaugurated in 1869, he promised the country economy in its administration, the preservation of tranquility at home and the preservation of peace with foreign nations. Has he redeemed these pledges?

And first as to the economy of the Administration. Every man in this room is an equal joint stock owner in the business of this Government. There is no man in America who has any more power within himself than any one man here, so far as voting is concerned. And every man here has the privilege of persuading as many as he can of his neighbors to join with him in political action. It is thus political power is made up and organized in this country. What has been done, then, with the money that the Tax Collector has taken from your pockets? Your public debt has been diminished up to the 1st of last July, a period of three years and four months, \$334,000,000, an average of \$100,000,000 a year. I confess I was one of those who believed the public debt was being diminished with too great rapidity; that this generation had borne more than its proportion of the heavy burden imposed on us by the great civil war. But I confess to a feeling of satisfaction when I realize the fact that none of this money was filched or stolen; that the bonds it represented have been paid to the national creditors; that they have been cancelled, and destroyed, and, furthermore, that from us the Government will hereafter demand \$22,000,000 less every year for interest alone than it did prior to the accession of this Administration to power. [Applause.] Is not that something worth while? But while all this has been done, and while the current business of the country has been growing more and

more expensive with the growth of the country, we find that the people have been called upon for less money than they were called upon for by the preceding Administration. Our books show that the taxes of the people in the United States were reduced \$78,000,000 a year, from 1870 to 1872. [Applause.] At the last session of Congress these taxes were further reduced more than \$51,000,000 a year, so that during the present year the American people will pay \$130,000,000 of money less, in the way of taxation than they paid in the year 1868. Upon every article of foreign importation, consumed by you, the duties have been reduced ten per cent., and it is not the fault of the Administration if those with whom you deal do not sell you every given article of merchandise, of foreign importation, at ninety cents where you paid \$1 for it last year. The duty is entirely removed from tea and coffee, as well as from many small articles entering into our manufacturing interests.

The Internal Revenue tax has been greatly abated, until now—changed from the complicated and cumbrous machine which annoyed and irritated the people for some years past—we shall find this year that nothing is taxed in that direction, except what we drink of liquors, those of us who are not teetotalers; what we smoke and what tobacco we chew and what checks we draw against our banking accounts, so that any man may entirely abolish the Internal Revenue tax, so far as he is concerned, if he only abstains from drinking, smoking, chewing and having a bank account. [Laughter and applause.]

Now if you have an agent engaged in transacting your business, and he calls upon you for a great deal less of money, and shows you that your business expenses, through an increase of business, have been larger than before, but nevertheless pays them, and pays off a greater amount of your indebtedness, calling upon you for much less money than his predecessor did—I ask you if he is not the better agent of the two? [Cries of "yes, yes," and applause.] Would you care to change it? I think not. I think the American people so far as we have heard from them in the elections of the last seven months, have decided

that they will make no change. But the duties of Government are not confined to the taking care of the pockets of the citizens. Economy is a duty, and men who transact the public business are in honor bound to transact it at the lowest possible cost. But there are higher duties than this, the duty of preserving the public peace and order, of protecting every citizen in life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. We maintain that this Administration has faithfully performed that duty. If any man doubts it, let him read the denunciations of this Administration because it has preserved order.

Now perhaps the people living in San Francisco, where the habit of order itself is so strong that it has been able to prevent any disturbance or anything of that kind, have not reflected in regard to the condition of things in those Southern States after the Rebellion, and on the great disorder prevailing among the people of the South, where the passions had been aroused by the war—have not been able to appreciate the great efforts that have been put forth by the United States Government to check those disorders, the great efforts required to be put forth by Congress in communities where they did not yet feel that there was an end of the war. There was another great party which claimed that the States alone had the power to check these disorders. Judge Trumbull, a man holding an honored position, and a great lawyer also, believed that Congress had the power, to protect the blacks of the South, against whom the passions of the people of the South were aroused by the disasters of the battle-field. Yet the power of Congress being disputed, the American people took the matter in charge—to determine where they would lodge the power to preserve the tranquility and protect citizens throughout the country. I know our Democratic friends fight zealously against innovation. I know they cry loudly that the State had always been allowed to maintain the power to enact all such laws. But the American people, acting through their representatives in Congress, proposed a new amendment to the Constitution which should change that instrument itself, and place that power in Congress which it was de-

nied Congress ever had possessed before. They proposed to the States the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment. But Congress could not pass an amendment to the Constitution. It could only propose it, and then the States—the States for which our Democratic friends have so much respect—they speak—three-fourths of them, as provided in the Constitution—and declare that this Fourteenth Amendment shall become a part and parcel of that instrument. [Applause.] Every man in the Union who voted for Members of Legislature of his State had a voice upon that Amendment.

Mr. Calhoun himself, were he alive, would never call in question, as a very distinguished Democrat of this State did, the power of three-fourths of the States to amend the Constitution in every particular, except to change the representation in the Senate. But when we thought we had peaceably settled this thing, when we thought that the strong arm of the National Government could constitutionally be put forward, then the Democratic party made a new complaint. Those gentlemen who had vociferated that the States could not go out of the Union after the war—they said they could before that, a good many of them—and who were very much distressed because the Republican party recognized the fact that those States were temporarily unorganized, unable to be represented in Congress, just so soon as Congress enabled those States to form Governments for themselves, to elect Senators and Representatives to Congress; when those States, by their newly-elected Legislatures, ratified this Fourteenth Amendment, the Democratic party declared that those reconstructed States were no States at all. [Applause.] That their votes should not be counted in determining whether or not three-fourths of the States had voted. And here was another muddle. It was not safe for the country to be standing upon the verge of civil war, to grow out of what was in and what was out of the Constitution itself. We cannot afford to have a quarrel over the text of the foundation of our governmental system, but the Democratic party about two years ago found out a cunning evasion of the question. They concluded that they could no

longer afford to go before the people in opposition to this new grant of power to Congress. They had denied that the amendment itself had been adopted; but they found a new dodge.

One of their ablest leaders, Mr. Vallandigham, of Ohio, now dead, incorporated in some resolutions in the State of Ohio the declaration that the amendments were adopted, but that when Congress should come to act under them, it must be governed by the old Calhoun construction of the Constitution, a strict construction. What they claimed was, that although the amendments had been adopted, Congress had no power to say a single word for their enforcement. They argued in Congress in both Houses against any legislation for the enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment. Now, I will ask any Democratic lawyer, and I will invite him here to discuss it at any time from this moment forward; I would like to ask him if Congress has any power whatever which it derives under any stronger language than is contained in this amendment; "Congress," says the amendment, "shall have power to enforce this amendment by appropriate legislation." I beg your pardon, my friends, for dwelling so long on this, but it is the only thing on which the American people to-day differ. It is the only struggle in this nation. A struggle for the mastery between two parties, the one boldly declaring its doctrines, claiming rightfully the power under this amended Constitution, to put out the national arm to protect every citizen within its borders; aye, and every human being within its borders; and the other party, evasively and fraudulently, in general terms, claiming that they accept the Amendment, while, by their act, by their language, their words, their every vote in Congress and in Convention, they declare that Congress derives no power from that Amendment; that the States alone can determine when and whether they will protect a citizen whose rights are violated. [Applause.] We have had some legislation under this Amendment to the Constitution. They call it the Ku-Klux Act. They say there are no Ku-Klux-Klans in the South, and that the enactment of this law was an insult to the Southern people, and intended as an electioneering trick. Now, my friends, I dare say this has been repeated so much

that a great many men honestly believe it; but if they would be careful to read the current history of the times, if they would trust their representatives in Congress, if they would believe the reports of Committees of Investigation, they would know that there has existed for several years past in the Southern States bands of violent men—whether calling themselves Ku-Klux-Klan or not—so designated, at least, in the country. The printed testimony on this subject includes the testimony of men who were high in authority in the Confederacy, both in civil and military stations. Some of the most distinguished Governors and Generals were examined as witnesses, and it was abundantly proven that in six States, in 100 counties of these States, 429 murders had been committed by these desperadoes, and nearly three thousand lesser outrages. Why should the Southern people feel outraged at investigations into this? Has any man accused the Southern people, as a people, of encouraging these things? I do not believe it is true that the Southern people desire any such condition of things, but it exists. When Mr. Reverdy Johnson and Mr. Henry Stanbury, the former Democratic ex-Senator from Maryland, and the latter Attorney General under Mr. Johnson, were called to the South to act as counsel for men indicted as being members of Ku-Klux organizations, indicted under Act of Congress and on trial in the Federal Courts, these gentlemen were so shocked with the testimony produced in the very trial in which they were engaged, that they took an especial care to deny what they thought had been intimated—that they had a disposition to screen such barbarities, or to deny that the existence of these organizations had been proven. Reverdy Johnson declared in his address to the Jury, as counsel for the defendants, that while he had been trying that case he had listened to a number of cases of barbarity that would have curdled the blood of a savage; that they must have been committed by men who were lost to all sense either of religion or humanity. It is not worth while then, to say that there is no crime, no wholesale crime in the South, growing out of hate, prejudice and party spirit. If the Congress of the United States, carefully keeping within the letter of the Consti-

tion, exercises only a newly-granted power, a power as fully granted by the people, the source of all power, as is the power to legislate under the *habeas corpus* clause itself, shall it be said that they are driving the country off into centralization. They may nickname it what they please, the law is written now in the Constitution itself, that whosoever is not protected by a State shall be protected by the nation. [Applause.] And if any State is weak enough to be unable, or wicked enough to be unwilling to extend the protecting power of the law to the humblest citizen within its limits, that citizen will be able to invoke the whole power of the American people for his protection.

If this is centralization it is the crowning glory of the political history of the land. [Applause.] And when the Republican party shall pass from power—as pass it will—when all is accomplished that as bold, as true and as patriotic a band of men as compose it can perform, when nothing else is left for them to do, the proudest page that will be written upon its annals will be, that while it had power, “the obscurest citizen, the meanest vassal, nay, the very leper, shrinking from the sun and loathed by charity, might ask for justice.” [Applause.] Now these same gentlemen who have so much to say about centralization are equally glib and flippant upon other topics. Their Christian spirits, their lamb-like hearts, are stirred to the innermost depths because vindictiveness prevails in the Republican composition, and there is no willingness to promote reconciliation. Well, now, who wants to be reconciled, and to whom do they want to be reconciled? We ask the question in vain. Do they want us to become Democrats? We cannot do that. There is no material in us to make an old-line Democrat of. They seem to find it difficult to maintain that position themselves. But they say we oppress the Southern people; that with the strong arm of power we have placed them under negro rule, and carpet-bag government. I am not here to bear testimony as to the State governments of the South. My opinion is that they will compare favorably with those that existed prior to the war; but if this be not so, where shall complaint be made, and by whom?

This noisy declamation on the subject was started by Horace Greeley eighteen months ago, in the *New York Tribune*, after he had returned from his perambulation through the South as far as Texas, to tell those people “what he knew about farming,” and to see what he could find out about his chances for the Presidency. [Laughter.] But now let me tell you a fact that has direct bearing upon the question of reconciliation, and I beg your attention to this statement, for I find a great many Republicans who have been mistaken on the subject.

I want to say to you that although sixty thousand more or less, were until lately disqualified from holding office because of participation in the Rebellion, the sixty thousand embracing only the old office-holding class of the South; in none of the States of the South since they were restored to representation in Congress, has the Federal Government deprived any single citizen of the right to vote, by which I mean that Jeff Davis was a legal voter in the State of Mississippi from the time the Representatives of that State were admitted to their seats. I want to say that Admiral Semmes, who commanded the *Alabama*, has been a legal voter ever since his State was restored to representation in Congress. And there never has been a member of the Legislature or State Government or county or city government elected in any Southern State at any time since they were represented in Congress after reconstruction; that any one of them ever was deprived of the ballot by Constitutional amendments, Act of Congress, other decree, or other action of the Federal Government. Well, then, isn't it very silly to complain to us as to who is elected? What business is it of ours who is elected to office in Alabama? What power has Congress to cause the election of better men to office in the State of Alabama? If those gentlemen choose to pout and sulk in order that uneducated, inexperienced and easily influenced negroes may vote for men who are incompetent to discharge the functions of public office, whose fault is it? Is it ours? Do they not refuse to vote, let the elections go by default in order that they may make complaints in the North, that they may go to these non-partisan men of whom I have

spoken; those men who respect good government, and who do not always stop to inquire the cause of bad government? These sullen men know full well the strong sense of fairness among the American people, and with humanity generally, and they rely upon that sensibility of the human heart. They say we have been whipped and humiliated, our property scattered to the winds, our brothers killed and maimed in battle, and still they are not content, they turn loose upon us a horde of uneducated voters to waste our substance. This is a heartrending story! if it was not an absolute falsehood. Why, those fellows who are unwilling to help themselves, and want sympathy because they get hurt by neglecting it, are very much in the situation that a little dog was, that I once saw, tied to a load of wood which was being hauled into the market by four large steady-going yoke of oxen. The little fellow was tied on behind by a rope, securely fastened at both ends, the one to the dog, and the other to the wood. But he did not want to go along and he rolled down on one side and allowed that team of oxen to draw him over the sharp stones until it had stripped all the skin off one side. Very distressing; just as those poor fellows did during the war, allowing the skin to be scraped off when they might have stopped it any moment. And then the little dog turned over to the other side, and was drawn along until the skin was all scraped off that side; just as these men are doing now by refusing to vote and have better governments, if they think they could elect better men by voting, and they are waiting for Grant to be beaten. Think of it. Think of the patience of these men waiting for such an event. [Great applause and laughter.]

They are waiting for him to be beaten, and for the Democratic party to be installed in power in Washington, and for the power of the Federal Government to be withdrawn, that they may have their own sway in the Southern States, with no restraint. But when they find, as they will after the 5th of November, that their hope is vain now, as it has been during the last twelve years, they will do just what that little dog did: he got right up and waddled along as pleasantly as any little dog

you ever saw in your life. [Applause and laughter.]

We shall have to continue this centralization until those mistaken friends of ours see where their interests lie, and if they go to voting and have got votes enough, they will overthrow the party in those States; but if they have not strength enough they will not overthrow those governments. Then it will be free and fair on all the States. I wish they would go to voting. I am reconciled; I hope every one of us is reconciled. The sooner these men go to work, and pursue the ordinary course of life, by participating in the Government, the sooner they will get over their pout, in my opinion.

But the Government had made another pledge, to which I have alluded. In passing from the subject of the preservation of tranquility at home, now being accomplished under the legislation and its faithful execution by the President, we look abroad and find that the only serious difference existing between this nation and any foreign power has been smoothly bridged over and healed, to the satisfaction certainly of every American.

#### THE ALABAMA QUESTION.

When the President came into power there had been bequeathed him from the preceding Administration an unsettled question of great magnitude with the British Government. I will not recite to you what is familiar to you, the steps by which was created a Board of Arbitration to sit at Geneva and determine the whole question. You have all seen the award made by this Board. You have seen not only the fifteen million and a half of money which our citizens lost by the deprivations of Confederate cruisers—paltry in comparison with the other questions involved, but sufficient to make redress to every American whose ship was lost through the bad action of the English Government, but we have seen five Arbitrators selected by the two powers, declaring that Great Britain had shamefully violated all obligations of honor and good neighborhood; that she had trampled international law under foot in her haste to assist in rending this nation in twain; that she had been in fault from beginning to end. They did not say

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that it had been willful, but their language is so explicit that I think it can leave no doubts in the mind of any man in Christendom that they meant to render a verdict which we demanded—that the proud neck of the governing classes of England who constitute the English Government should bend, and that the dignity and honor of the American nation should be vindicated. Has it not been done? [Applause.] It was not done by loss of blood nor by loss of treasure. It was not done by blustering or bullying. The quiet, self-possessed man who presides over the destinies of the nation, called his council together and suggested that the treaty negotiations should take place in Washington, where he might be made understand them as they progressed; and all this grand result has been attained with no disturbance to the country. The finances have not been shaken by any fear that there would be any failure to conquer a peace by argument, to conquer a peace by a Congress of Nations, to realize the dream of the philanthropist of finding a smoother remedy than war for adjusting differences, no matter how wide. And this was the President who was taken from the head of the army. This was the military usurper whose Liberal Republican enemies tell you that the clang of the sword resounds through the White House. Who does not know that twenty words from the President would have drawn out the latent war spirit which slumbered in every American heart and created a war party in this country upon which he could have ridden into power a second time almost by the unanimous wish of the American people, and even the doughty Mr. Sumner would not have dared to say nay. [Applause.]

Now, I have taken up enough of your time concerning the Administration. Now, let us look on the other side. Let us see if we can, what is the matter.

I call your attention to the dismantled condition of the Democratic ship. We must find out who dismantled it; what inducements are held out for this disbandment of the Democratic party; who the new leaders are of the Democratic party; what incentive they had for their action; when it commenced, and how; how far they have got, and how they like it as far as they have got. [Laughter]

In 1869, it so happened that Missouri had two Senators of not the most peaceable disposition—one, Mr. Carl Schurz, and the other, Mr. Charles Drake, and they quarrelled, and it became necessary when the term of Drake was expiring—and is it not strange this should have anything to do with it, but it has—that Drake should be beaten for the Senate, to please Schurz? Schurz is a great philosopher, and wanted to bind up the bleeding wounds of the two sections of the nation by universal amnesty. That was well. But Schurz, who is a very calm philosopher, and believes in the freedom of discussion, found the Republican party of Missouri agreeing with him on the question of submitting to the people an amendment to their State Constitution to enfranchise all the Rebels of Missouri. Now when Schurz found he could not get up a quarrel with his party, on that ground, although he knew that four to one of the voters of Missouri would vote to change the State Constitution of that State for the doing away of all disfranchisement so far as the State law was concerned — then Schurz concluded he would have to try the dodge of compelling every Republican to vote for that amendment. Because the Republican Convention would not three years ago aid this conspirator in a less palpable way, he adopted this palpable way of destroying the party in that State, and introduced a resolution in the State Convention declaring that every Republican was bound to vote on election day for this proposed amendment to the Constitution. He was defeated, and taking a minority of the Republican party long before General Grant had been wicked at all, marched out of the Republican camp. So much for Schurz and his disaffection. He is no more a disaffected Republican to-day than is the editor of the *Examiner*. [Laughter.] He has been fighting this party for three years, and long before there had been created any disaffection against it. But he comes forward now as a leader of the new Liberal movement. The President stood by our party in Missouri. In that election the Republican party went down, and as the result of the coalition between the Schurz Republican bolters

and the Democratic party, Mr. Gratz Brown was elected as Governor and General Frank P. Blair as Senator in Congress. This was very good leaven. Then came some real grounds for disaffection in the party. And let me tell you how serious they were; because I don't want any Republican to vote for General Grant under any misunderstanding. If the deeds I am about to relate seem to you sufficient to justify a great Senator, who has been honored, as has the Senator from Massachusetts—Mr. Sumner—if these deeds will justify him in his rebellion against the party—in his shaking hands with the ancient enemy—it is fair for all Republicans to have notice that they may also do as he does.

Well, Sumner was mistreated. The President met him on terms of exact equality, and that was offence enough for Sumner. What American citizen has a right to meet him on grounds of equality? Is he not the patentee of human liberty? Did he not originate human rights? Has he not pranced upon this hobby a quarter of a century, and has not everybody, including himself, greatly admired his horsemanship? Why should the President refuse to bow and cringe to the mightiness of such a man? But that was not all. Further cause for such irritation exists. Sumner wanted to send a friend of his as Minister to Greece, and under the Constitution the President has the power to appoint that Minister. He did not approve Sumner's friend—that was number two. Now, then, came the third. Sumner and the President had a great fight as to who should be appointed Marshal in the State of Massachusetts, and from the very habit of victory Grant won the fight. [Applause.] The last of all that ends this strange, eventful history, the great Senator called at the White House—so the papers tell me; and I think the papers generally mean to tell a thing about as it occurs; sometimes they may fall into a little error—they tell us that the Senator called at the White House and inquired, with his usual dignity of manner, of some messenger, whether the President was in, and the messenger said, "I will see, sir." What business had he to see? What right had any man to keep the Senator waiting? I submit it to you all, as candid men, was

it right? True, the President might have been shaving, and the sudden opening of the door might have caused him to cut his throat, but that would be a trifling circumstance compared with a few minutes detention of so august a personage as Charles Sumner!! And so he left the White House, as the paper tells us, in high dudgeon. It was his last call. Then the Senator drew his Damascus blade and undertook to run it into the President on the San Domingo business.

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#### SUMNER AND SAN DOMINGO.

The statements may seem of small moment, but they are a part of the history of this great Liberal Republican party. The President of the United States was visited by an Ambassador from San Domingo, who informed him that that little Republic was desirous of annexation to this country, and that if our Government turned a deaf ear to its overture it would be likely to place itself under the protection of an European power. General Grant thought such an acquisition would be of great value to this country, both for its productions and as a naval depot. He caused a Government vessel to visit the island, and sent by her an agent to make enquiries as to its productions and the temper of the people on the subject of annexation. A treaty was negotiated by the President and sent to the Senate for its ratification or rejection. There was nothing novel in this proceeding. It was in strict conformity with the Constitution. Well, the great Senator from Massachusetts took occasion to make a speech in the open Senate on the San Domingo question—(of course the consideration of the treaty was in secret Executive session)—in which he used most violent language concerning the President. He declared him to be a worse man than either Pierce or Buchanan, and even intimated that his conduct called for impeachment at the hands of the House of Representatives. Would you believe that before he made this speech, the President had been to his house, and that this great Senator from Massachusetts, as Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, had given the strongest assurances that he should sustain the treaty? [Applause.] The testimony of General Bab-

cock, who was present on the occasion, is, that Mr. Sumner said "he could not think of doing otherwise than supporting the Administration in the matter," and that "he could see no objection to the instrument as a whole." Colonel Forney, who was also present, says his recollection was that the Senator assured the President "he would cheerfully support the treaty." Senator Sumner is convicted out of his own mouth, in the very speech he made in the Senate to which I have alluded. I read from his remarks reported in the *Congressional Globe*. He said :

"He (the President) proceeded with an explanation which I very soon interrupted, saying, by the way, Mr. President, it is very hard to turn out Governor Ashley ; I have just received a letter from the Governor, and I hope I shall not take too great a liberty, Mr. President, if I read it. I find it excellent and eloquent, and written with a feeling which interests me much. I commenced the letter and read two pages or more, when I thought the President was uneasy, and I felt that I was taking too great a liberty with him in my own house, but I was irresistibly impelled by loyalty to an absent friend, while I was glad of this opportunity of diverting attention from the treaty. As conversation about Governor Ashley subsided, the President returned to the treaty, leaving on my mind no very strong idea of what they proposed, and nothing with regard to the character of the negotiations. My reply was precise. The language is fixed absolutely in my memory: 'Mr. President,' I said, 'I am an Administration man, and whatever you do will always find in me the most careful and candid consideration.' \* \* \* My language, I repeat, was precise, well considered, and chosen in advance: 'I am an Administration man, and whatever you do will always find in me the most careful and candid consideration.' "

This frank, generous, noble, dignified statesman — this very Liberal Republican — versed in all the arts of speech, able to say the thing he did not mean, and make it capable of double construction, said to the blunt, plain-spoken soldier, who was armed with no suspicion: "I am an Administration man, and whatever you do will always find in me the most careful and candid consid-

eration." This is Mr. Sumner's own statement, and he says he chose his words "in advance"—refreshing ingenuousness—honest simplicity!

Now what shall we conclude, admitting his story to be true, differing as it does from the testimony of two witnesses—why that he broke off a conversation, a consultation he was holding, as the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, with the President of the United States, concerning a treaty with a foreign nation, in order to bring in a paltry matter of an office for one of his friends? Was it a bargain he meant to suggest, namely: that San Domingo could be annexed if Ashley could be retained as Governor of Montana Territory? If this was not his intention, then his selection, both of occasion and language, was not made with his usual care. Did he not juggle in words with the President, and do it for the express purpose of creating an impression that he should support the treaty? Certainly the President left his house with no doubt of the Senator's friendly disposition towards the San Domingo treaty. What was his surprise at being denounced in the Senate as a usurper and a criminal, for negotiating the treaty, and this by the very man who had professed to agree with him? Why, Sumner said in the Senate, that on the shores of San Domingo boards were put up on which were printed the names of the owners of property acquired during the treaty negotiations, and that on one or more of these boards was the name of U. S. Grant. When he made this statement he said that which was utterly false, and never did he produce the slightest testimony to justify it. He does not allow us even to believe that he had been made to believe it. He degraded himself in an effort to degrade the President of the United States. An investigation was had and a report made by a Committee of the Senate, a report was made by three Commissioners sent to San Domingo—ex-Senator Wade, Prof. White, President of the Cornell University, and Dr. Samuel G. Howe of Boston. The result convicted Senator Sumner of having uttered as base and groundless a calumny against the President as had ever been directed at mortal man. There is not, and has never been, an iota of evidence to show the slightest irregularity in any



of the negotiations. The whole charge was the fabrication of some malicious brain. The President came out of the affair as pure as the driven snow.

"The man recovered from the bite,  
The dog it was that died."

#### THE FRENCH ARMS INVESTIGATION.

But cause must be found for a war upon the President by those who thought they had not been sufficiently considered in the distribution of patronage. Accordingly, Senator Schurz aired his refined patriotism in an effort to convince the world that the United States had violated international obligations during the war between Germany and France. He declared that the German Empire had as good ground for war or quarrel with this nation as had existed between Great Britain and the United States, on account of the conduct of the former during our civil war. And when the Senator was arraigned for his want of patriotism, he said he thought it was better the nation should be convicted of the wrong he alleged, and be elevated to a higher standard of morality, through the hallowing influences of repentance. The idea of a nation being self-convicted of a sin never committed, in order that regeneration might follow repentance, savors somewhat of the originality of the fellow who said he liked to turn a grindstone, because it always seemed so good when he left off turning. [Laughter.]

Senator Sumner introduced a resolution for a Committee of Investigation to be appointed to enquire if arms had been sold to the French Government. To this he prefixed a long preamble, alleging as true the very things to be enquired about, and which, if it had been signed by Emperor William would have been a sufficient declaration of war. But do not imagine that he desired any investigation. He and Mr. Schurz had already sat in judgment without hearing any proofs. They had but to pronounce sentence; and so, instead of allowing the committee to be appointed, they occupied a fortnight in making stump speeches in the Senate, for effect upon the spring elections — and upon the Republicans throughout the country. "To beat Grant" was the work in hand. If New Hampshire and Connecticut could be thrown to the Democracy, General Grant would seem to have lost his popularity, and might perhaps be beaten in the National

Convention. The public business was suspended, and the old rebel element of Washington City thronged the galleries of the Senate to hear the Government of the United States proven dishonorable by Charles Sumner and Carl Schurz. [Applause.] The Democratic State Central Committee of New Hampshire printed their speeches by the cartload, and scattered them broadcast over the old Granite State; and this is the reason why the Republican party came to have so large a majority in the March election. A similar result followed in Connecticut in April, although the *N. Y. Tribune* lent the Liberal schemers a helping hand. But when investigation could no longer be delayed by those who had accused the Administration of wrong doing, it resulted in a complete vindication of the Government, and the discomfiture of Liberalism. Laying aside the report of the Republican members of the Committee, we have the minority report made by Senator Stevenson — a Democratic Senator from Kentucky—declaring that the Secretary of War had been prompt and faithful to direct that, in the sale of our vast surplus supply of arms, none should be sold to either the French or German Government; and that, while errors might have been innocently fallen into by some lesser officials, it was clear that no officer or employee of the Government had been guilty of any corrupt practice, or been actuated by any sordid consideration. And thus ended the noisy humbug of sales of arms to the French!

#### "THE GERMAN VOTE."

Senator Schurz had taken the contract to transfer the German vote to the opposition if Grant was not defeated for a renomination. My friends, there is no "German vote" in this country — Germans there are by the hundreds of thousands, whose hearts beat as warmly as our own at the sight of our flag. [Applause.] They are men whom we knew during our great struggle with rebellion we might lean upon with the same confidence that we could upon the native born. There is no "Irish vote;" there is no "foreign vote." We are in America. [Applause.] I would not trust the man whose heart did not beat for his native land. Every true man loves his Fatherland. But I am not going to ad-

mit that the German-Americans, the Irish-Americans, or any other naturalized Americans are unable to read, think and act for themselves. [Applause.] If, from circumstances, sympathies, habits and associations, they may at times appear to show their nationalities at the polls, what I have said is none the less true. Neither Senator Schurz nor any other man, however eloquent or commanding in position, will transfer the German vote. [Applause.]

#### THE COLORED VOTE.

Senator Sumner had taken another big contract. He was to manage the colored vote. The Democrats thought the emancipated slaves of the South were in Sumner's pocket. Because he had been in the front when they were being led out of Egypt, through the parted waters of the Red Sea, he himself thought he could coax them back into Egypt and deliver them again into the hands of Pharaoh. [Applause.]

"But the Lord shut the waters up  
And he couldn't get across."

And the colored voters are all on the right side of Jordan. [Laughter and applause.]

But Liberalism must be busy or die. The cries of San Domingo and Arms-Sales to the French having failed of their purpose, they hunted farther.

#### THE NAVY DEPARTMENT INVESTIGATED.

They overhauled the Secretary of the Navy. He had paid a claim incurred by the Government during the war, to Secor & Co. A Committee of the House of Representatives, composed of two Republicans, two Democrats, and a Liberal what-is-it—sat in judgment, and the Democrats and the Republicans completely vindicated the Secretary of the Navy, and declared that he had been blameless in the whole matter. This, you see, was Democratic judgment again.

#### INVESTIGATION OF THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

The Postmaster General was next assailed. He had paid a claim, and done other dreadful things. A committee was raised of Democrats and Republicans, and that committee was unanimous in its verdict in favor of the Postmaster General. You see it was a hopeless task, this digging down for grounds of attack upon the President and his Cabinet.

#### NEW YORK CUSTOM-HOUSE INVESTIGATION.

Then they declared that some money was being improperly made by Generals Porter and Babcock, army officers, the former acting as Private Secretary to the President, without any extra pay, and the latter as Commissioner of Public Grounds in Washington. These gentlemen are known to enjoy General Grant's confidence and affection. They were with him in war times, and have ever since been near him. They are worthy of the relationship; and their devotion to their former Commander is the subject of admiration with all who are not mean enough to envy them. They were grossly assailed, as being in a sort of copartnership with a customs warehouse firm in New York City. The sole basis of the charge was, that one of that firm, who served in the army, was acquainted with them, and had been favored with a letter of introduction from the President to the Collector in New York. Upon this, an investigation was had. On the committee of investigation which sat in New York, was our Democratic Senator,—that industrious, painstaking, able and penetrating lawyer—Senator Casserly. The enemies of the Administration ploughed the gutters of New York and brought in expelled tide waiters and vagrants for witnesses. But there could not be found even among the "discarded and unjust serving men" of this Falstaffian army of "outs," any one who would swear to any knowledge of any connection whatever between anybody in Washington and the New York Custom-House, or warehousing system. [Applause.]

#### CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

This was the last effort made by these extremely liberal leaders to show any wrong-doing on the part of the Administration. Their calumnies had been scattered to the winds by fair-minded Democrats, sitting as investigators. But something must be done. Sumner, Schurz & Co. must have some pretext for joining the Democracy. And so despairing of convincing anybody that the President had done any thing wrong, they addressed themselves to the task of demonstrating [to the country that he had not done every thing that was right. [Laughter and applause.] They clam-

ored loudly for Civil Service Reform. Well, our party is for that, and so is the opposition. A most earnest and able man—George W. Curtis—known to be devoted to that cause, is, by the President's appointment, at the head of an Advisory Board, which is arduously laboring to apply a new system to the Civil Service. Every facility is given by the Administration for a fair trial of the theories of the Civil Service Reformers. We are yet to learn whether there is wisdom enough in the world to create moral steel-yards by which the character of men can be determined—whether a man can be plied with questions enough to enable a Board of Commissioners to decide correctly whether he is honest and fit for an office; whether he has energy, tact, application, and other qualifications desirable in a man who is to be entrusted with the discharge of official duties. By all means let us have the steel-yards, if they can be made, and nicely adjusted; and then let us see how many men among those who have clamored so loudly for them will be willing to be weighed by them. Well, the Administration having preceded its assailants in efforts at reforming the Civil Service, they fell back on

#### REVENUE REFORM.

What this is, nobody seems to know. No statesman has yet been wise enough to suggest a scheme for carrying on the Government without money. These Revenue Reformers assailed the Tariff and the Internal Revenue system with equal ferocity, although every dollar we raise must come from one source or the other. It is pretty clear that they did not mean any thing, then, but to make a party cry, and Reform is a good word for that purpose.

I have endeavored to show you the means resorted to by sore-headed Republicans to prejudice the people against the President, who had offended them. They thought to throw dust enough to make the Republican party distrust General Grant's availability for this campaign. If they could make it appear that the President was a load to carry, instead of a whole team to pull, they might influence the elections for delegates to the Republican National Convention, and with Grant thrown overboard, some man might be selected who

would be a more pliant instrument in the hands of these baffled politicians.

#### THE RISE OF LIBERAL REPUBLICANISM.

They kept at work until they found that every township in the United States by a vote of 99 out of 100 of the Republican masses had declared Ulysses S. Grant to be their choice for nominee of the Republican party, [great applause] and when they found that there were no longer any honest men in the Republican party, that no one would heed their clamorings, that State after State instructed its delegates to vote for the re-nomination of President Grant, these voluminous gentlemen took their satchels and portfolios and marched out of the Republican camp. The *Springfield Republican*, edited by little Sammy Bowles ground out its hurdy-gurdy music of reform and honesty. The *Chicago Tribune* told the Republicans of the Western prairies that they were being cheated and misused by the Administration. The Cincinnati *Commercial* flashed and crackled with opposition, and the New York *Tribune*, which a few weeks before had, by a circular, begged all the Republicans to renew their subscriptions, in order that it might go to every Republican fireside, and support and advocate the Republican nomination, joined in the clamor for the organization of an opposition. They organized an opposition, as they called it to meet at Cincinnati. It was a curious gathering.

Perhaps some of you have read the details of that Convention. It had a singular lack of constituencies. In only a few instances were there any elections of delegates. For the most part the delegates were self-chosen. Every anti-Grant Republican was invited: "Whosoever will, let him come and partake of the waters of Liberal Republicanism freely," at Cincinnati. [Laughter.] I guess they pretty nearly all went there from appearances, including Rackerby. [Applause.] A man needed no credentials for admission; he needed but to expose a sore and he was welcome. [Laughter.] If he would unwind the political forefinger of his right hand and show his sore as I have said, that was a sufficient credential. If any man lacked influence enough to persuade any human being to co-operate

with him, Cincinnati was the place for him. [Applause.] And thither he wended his way. If any man had been on a hunt for office, for a lifetime, and never had overtaken one, or if he had stolen the funds of an office, and had been expelled therefrom, his march was onward for Cincinnati. It was a hopeful band—an asylum for misdoers, and a political hospital for the bruised and wounded. If they had been left alone, what a wail of anguish they would have sent up at the corruption of the Republican party, in not feeding them with office. How gaunt their sides, how luxuriously they fed upon hunger itself! How delighted they were that that they had been mistreated, that they might grumble about it. They belonged to that school of philosophers who believes that whatever is, is wrong. [Applause.] And there was another motive to go there; it was the golden opportunity. Never again, perhaps, during their whole lifetime, would it occur that they could occupy as proud and notable a position before the country; at their own instigation; at no man's bidding but their own; every man his own constituent in a Republican body. But evil things, in robes of darkness, penetrated that house of mourning. The rogues of Tammany had no compassion. I hold it to be the stoutest and most convincing evidence of total depravity—far exceeding anything that they ever did in New York City—that these hungry souls were not allowed by them to unpack themselves with cursings unmolested. They were not. It was the only Convention that Tammany could go near this year; no other Convention would tolerate their approach. Of all those Liberal Republicans, the four or five managers really intended to put up a man of some stamina in the country, some man who could command the respect of the main body of quiet, thinking people. They had talked seriously of Judge Trumbull, of Illinois, a very distinguished statesman, as we all know, a man of unquestioned probity of character, great ability—a little impractical in party matters, but a most excellent legislator and highly respected. If they could have nominated him we should have felt some pull at the other end of that rope I spoke of at the outset. Charles Francis Adams was proposed by

others, a name honored throughout Christendom, but Tammany either thought him lacking ability, or thought he did not come from a family respectable enough, or from some other cause, they set him aside. And who, of all mankind, did they bring? That fond and foolish old man, that man in his dotage, who rides about the country in railroad cars asleep, who loses his memory, and makes misstatements freely in the *New York Tribune*, (and we all know it is the habit of very old men to lose their memory). He was the conquering hero of the hour. [Applause and laughter.] It looked to me as though those Liberal Republicans, as they were forced into companionship with the Democratic party, had determined, indeed, that they would put upon the head of their lifelong enemy the fool's cap and bells. They nominated Horace Greeley out of spite; or was it to conciliate the Democracy? Was it because in 1860 he had advocated the right of secession? For in the Georgia Convention, when Alexander H. Stephens made his never-to-be-forgotten appeal against secession, he was confronted by a copy of the *New York Tribune* held in the hand of Robert Toombs, as an argument, and against him. But the Democracy are also compelled to remember in the same connection, that when this syren song had been sung long enough by some of the people in the North to encourage secession, that Horace Greeley was among the first and most furious to cry "Havoc!" and urge the Government to "let slip the dogs of war" upon the South. Perhaps, however, the compliments that Horace Greeley had passed through the *New York Tribune* upon the Democratic party were remembered by the Liberal Republicans, and they were thought to be weighty considerations in this matter. You have all read them, but be it as it may, forth came Horace Greeley as the Liberal Republican nominee. But where was the Democratic party all this time? A clandestine courtship had been going on all those months to which I have called your attention, and the intended bride was doing the wooing. The nuptials were to be celebrated at Baltimore on the 10th of July. "Give us your blackest Republican, and then we will take burnt cork, if it is necessary to go through this campaign and win the offi-

ces and patronage of the Government." And so, on the 10th day of July, at precisely one o'clock P. M., the hitherto stubborn Democracy saw a great sight, to which that seen by St. Paul on his journey to Damascus, must have been but as a rush-light. [Applause.] "Right about face," was the word. They declared that they never had told a truth since they were born into the world; that they did not believe anything they had ever preached; that they were perfectly satisfied the Radical Republican party had been entirely right in everything they had done, that the policy of the Government against which they had contended in reason and out of reason, was the very policy of all policies to excite the admiration of the Democratic party. They set aside their Democratic creed; they adopted the Republican creed as their own; they declared that Democrats were no longer fit to be entrusted with the honors of office; and endorsed "Honest Horace Greeley"—and Gratz Brown (I had nearly forgotten him). [Laughter and applause.] Was ever such a masquerade as this? What is their own statement of it? See if I do not state it to you as they state it, and how does it sound from a Republican platform? They say they must have possession of the Government because they have been "in a moment—in the twinkling of an eye," convinced that they ought not to have sympathized with those who sought its destruction.

They claim that they should have possession of Congress in order that the Democratic party may in Congress carry out Republican policy, a Radical policy, a policy of centralization and oppression. They declare that General Grant must be beaten at all hazards, and by whatever means, because he has done the things which, with uplifted hands, they swear Horace Greeley will do if elected to supersede him. They demand, in short, that the Republican party shall be displaced from power because it has never done wrong, and that the Democratic party shall be installed in power because it has never done right. [Applause.] I do not pretend to say what they mean, but this is what they say.

Now, my friends, I do not propose to regale you with any quotations from

#### HORACE GREELEY'S RECORD.

I have not time, nor have you. Nor would it be interesting. I call your at-

tention to the fact that he has, during all his political lifetime, been an erratic, uncertain and unstable man. That he has been a most vigorous and powerful advocate of anti-slavery views, none will deny; that he offered to throw away all this labor in 1860, cannot be contradicted. "Take your slavery, and go out of the Union with it," said he, in substance, to the South. He was for war in time of peace, and he was for peace in time of war. He clamored "on to Richmond," when our troops were raw and undisciplined, and the corpses of our brave boys filled the trenches because *Horace Greeley*, as the editor of the great *Tribune* newspaper, had power enough in America to make an Administration unpopular unless it fought before it was ready; but when the Rebellion was crippled and broken, then he could hunt up fugitive Confederate non-combatants in Canada, without authority to speak for the Confederacy, and fret and annoy President Lincoln with his absurd negotiations. He wanted to buy slavery of the South, after it had ceased to exist. Now, in his old age, he comes forward as the nominee of a patch-work party—the high-protection candidate of the free-traders—the candidate of civil service reform, after having hunted office for thirty-five years. Why, in 1859, he published to the world a letter written by him to Gov. Seward, several years before, in which he proclaimed a dissolution of their previous political association, because he was not satisfied with the treatment he had received as to office. His thirst for office was unslaked and raging. He separated from the Administration of General Grant solely on the ground of patronage, and so declared in a letter to the Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee of New York. He said that if some of the appointments for New York had been different, harmony would have been possible, but it was then too late. He is the candidate of the Democracy, who declare that the party from which he has just deserted, have invaded the rights of the States, and torn the Constitution in pieces, after having himself insisted upon the legislation for the Ku Klux marauders; upon the adoption of the Constitutional Amendments, and of all the reconstruction measures. Nay, after finding fault with Congress, in the *Tribune*, because more stringent measures were not adop-

ted, he now, to tickle the ears of his new associates, tells them that the States ought to have sole control over all these affairs. The people will not see that this man has shown any thing through life which should encourage them to make a change from Grant to Greeley.

CHARLES CLAYTON FOR CONGRESS.

But you have another duty to perform besides selecting your Chief Magistrate. You have to elect a member of the Lower House of Congress. No man can be blind to the importance of harmony between the different branches of the Government. No man who saw the disturbances to which the country was subjected during the Administration of Andrew Johnson, when he was at war with Congress, will doubt for a moment that some very good reasons should be given for withholding support from a candidate for Congress of the same political views with the President. Happily in this district there is no such disposition. The Republican party of this district, when it came to select a candidate to be submitted to the people for their suffrages, selected one of its most popular and trusted members. The office sought Charles Clayton. [Applause.] The honorable business man, the faithful neighbor and friend, the upright official in all the public stations he has filled. The people of San Francisco may well be content with the prospect of being represented by him in Congress. [Applause.] He will receive the united vote of all who would vote for Grant, and I believe that that will give him eight thousand majority in San Francisco. [Great applause.]

And now, fellow-citizens, I am nearly done. I appeal not to Liberal Republicans; I hope we have done with them forever. [Applause and laughter.] They have followed the baggage-wagons of the Republican party, scenting out the Commissary Department, indignant, however well fed themselves, at seeing anybody else honored, like pigs at the trough, with snout and fore-feet in the whey, feeling hungry if other pigs are fed. [Laughter.] The Almighty made these Liberal Republicans to exhibit to mankind, here in this country, what envy and malice combined can do. They are useful as examples. I think there is no material in them to make better men of. But I believe in progress, and if during the next year, or in the next

age, or in the next world, generosity and decency should sprout in their hearts, then I should hope to see them encouraged. But to them, at this time, I make no appeal. To those Democrats who still are clinging to the old Democratic opinions, meanly pretending that they have given them up, hoping to obtain power through fraud, I make no appeal. But to the Democrat who has not changed his opinions, but who does not believe that Horace Greeley is an honest exponent of those opinions; to those Democrats who are not willing to try to sneak into power under false pretences, I say: We do not ask you to surrender your opinions, for you cannot; but at least wait until some more favorable opportunity to contend for them. Stand by the safe and prudent Administration of Gen. Grant, and continue it in power. [Applause.] Come in among us, and deliberate honestly and squarely with us as to what powers are given by the Constitution, and you will find thoughtful and honest Republicans meeting you, as desirous as you are that the action of Congress shall tally exactly with that instrument; and when we cannot agree we have a tribunal to which to submit any question of difference. The old Democratic party was never afraid to trust a Constitutional question with the Judiciary. Why attempt to regain power in a hopeless contest by pretending to have changed your views? Come among us, and if the war has made us extravagant in our ideas of Congressional power, if you think any clause in the Constitution has been strained by any act of Congress, show it to us; help us to send men to Congress; share with us the power of the Government and bring the ship of State to the even keel of Constitutional Republican Democracy. [Applause.] I believe, as I have said before, if we may judge from what has taken place in the country during the seven months past, that there are Democrats enough who take this view, and non-partisan men enough, attentive to their business interests, looking to the safe conduct of public affairs, united with the Republicans, to sweep this country by a victory such as has not been seen by any political party since '52. [Applause.] I believe that Grant saw his political Donelson in North Carolina, his Vicksburg in Maine, and that he will see his political Appomatox on the 5th of November. [Great, long and continued cheering.]













