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ADDRESSES

OF THE

Soldiers' and Sailors'

State Central Committee

TO THE

SOLDIERS AND SAILORS OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN FAVOR OF GRANT AND COLFAX.

HEADQUARTERS

Soldiers' and Sailors' State Central Committee,

PHILADELPHIA,

206 SOUTH SEVENTH STREET.

CHARLES H. T. COLLIS (Det. Maj. Gen. Vols.), *Chairman.*

A. L. RUSSELL (Late Adj. Gen. of Pennsylvania), *Secretary.*

PHILADELPHIA:

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TO THE

SOLDIERS AND SAILORS OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Soldiers' and Sailors' State Central Committee,

PHILADELPHIA, August 20, 1868.

The committee have thought it proper to lay before their constituents a brief but full statement of the reasons which should induce all loyal American citizens, at the coming Presidential election, to vote for Grant and Colfax; and, in doing so, they will proceed at once to a discussion of the grave questions to be settled by the decision of the American people, in November next, or by a new rebellion, to be headed by the Democratic nominee, with the advice and assistance of his co-nominee, General Blair.

These reasons will be published from day to day by the committee, in a series of addresses.

ADDRESS No. I.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE WAR?

Mr. Rhett, of South Carolina, a leading rebel, said, after the ordinance of secession was passed by the convention of that State: "*The secession of South Carolina is not an event of a day. It is not any thing produced by Mr. Lincoln's election, or by the non-execution of the fugitive slave law. It has been a matter which has been gathering head for thirty years.*"

General Andrew Jackson, our patriotic President, in 1833, said of the Nullifiers and Secessionists of his day: "*The tariff was only the pretext, and disunion and A SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY THE REAL OBJECT. The next pretext will be the negro or slavery question.*"

A prophecy fulfilled by Mr. Calhoun and his pupils and followers to the very letter.

By the resolve of the Cincinnati Convention, in 1856, the Democratic National Convention of 1860 assembled at Charleston on the 23d of April, and after a stormy session, and the secession of eleven Slave States, adjourned to meet at Baltimore on the 18th

of June. The seceders adjourned to meet at Richmond on the 11th of June. From the convention at Baltimore other secessions took place, and Stephen A. Douglas was nominated by the adhering members, and John C. Breckinridge by the seceders, as their respective candidates for President of the United States, in which last nomination the Richmond seceders acquiesced.

Mr. Bell was nominated by a body styled the Union Constitutional Convention, which met at Baltimore on the 9th of May; and Mr. Lincoln was nominated by the Republican National Convention, which met at Chicago on the 16th of May, 1860.

There were, therefore, four Presidential Candidates in the field, two of them belonging to the Democratic party, the pro-slavery wing of which would never coalesce with the supporters of Judge Douglas.

To the Democrats of the Slave States it therefore became clear that Mr. Lincoln must be elected in November, and Mr. Keitt, speaking for South Carolina, said: "In my judgment, if the Black Republican party succeeds in the coming election, the Governor should immediately assemble the Legislature, and that body should provide for a State convention, which should protect the State from the dishonor of submission to Black Republican rule."

The same sentiment was openly avowed by the leading Democrats in every Slave State, and the Democratic party was sedulously prepared for secession, and a forcible dissolution of the Union.

On Tuesday, the 6th of November the returns showed that Mr. Lincoln was the next President of the United States, Governor Gist having expressed in his message to the Legislature of South Carolina on that day, the opinion that in that event the only alternative left is the "secession of South Carolina from the Federal Union."

On the 7th (the next day) the United States officials resigned at Charleston, and on the 10th the U. S. Senators, Hammond and Chesnut, resigned their seats in the Senate. On the 17th December the ordinance of secession was unanimously adopted, and on the 21st commissioners were appointed to proceed to Washington to treat for the possession of United States Government property within the limits of South Carolina. On the 24th their representatives in Congress withdrew, and on the 3d of January, 1861, the South Carolina commissioners left Washington. On the 1st February seven States had passed ordinances of secession, and withdrawn from the Union.

On the 4th February the Confederate Congress met at Montgomery, and its president, Howell Cobb, announced that secession "is now a fixed and irrevocable fact, and the separation is perfect, complete, and perpetual." On the 8th the constitution of the provisional government was adopted, and on the 18th Jefferson Davis was inaugurated as President.

On the 11th March, 1861, the *permanent* slave constitution of

the Confederate States was signed, and Jefferson Davis and Alexander H. Stephens became the rebel President and Vice-President of a Southern Confederacy whose corner-stone was negro slavery.

During this whole period, up to the 4th of March, 1861, Mr. Buchanan, a *Democrat*, was President, with a Cabinet of whom, originally, only two were Union men.

The Democratic Secretary of the Treasury having injured, to the utmost of his power, the finances and credit of the nation, stole away on the 10th December and became President of the provisional rebel Congress. On the 29th the Democratic Secretary of War, who, at the instance of Jefferson Davis, filled the Southern arsenals with United States arms for rebel use, resigned, and was followed on the 8th January, 1861, by the Democratic Secretary of the Interior, whose department had been robbed by a subordinate, while the Democratic Secretary of the Navy, who must have known the intentions of his colleagues, had distributed our naval force on distant stations, from which it would take months to bring them home.

The Democratic Attorney-General advised the President that he had no power to coerce a State, in which opinion the Democratic Executive coincided, and of course took no measures to prevent the robbery of arsenals and mints, the seizure of public vessels, the capture of forts, and the firing on ships of the United States conveying provisions to United States troops in United States forts.

The President was an aged man, traitorously deserted by those men whom he had rewarded by the highest offices in his gift, and without a single honest adviser of his original Cabinet, General Cass having resigned as Secretary of State.

Southern emissaries swarmed at Washington, postponing, by every device, all measures of the Government tending to counteract the active and constant preparations for war by the rebel Slave States. Mr. Keitt, in November, 1860, said: "John Hickman said defiantly, that if we went out of the Union eighteen millions of Union men would bring us back. Let me tell you *there are a million of DEMOCRATS in the North, who, when the Black Republicans attempt to march upon the South, will be found a wall of fire to the front.*" [Cries of "That's so," and applause.] And Mr. Durgan said: "It is not true in point of fact, that all the Northern people are hostile to the rights of the South. *We have a Spartan band in every Northern State;*" and when we find an ex-President in a private confidential letter to the man who the next year was the rebel President, using the following language, it is not to be wondered at, that the Southern rebels relied on the active and efficient aid of Northern Democrats.

"I do not believe," writes ex-President Pierce from New York to Jefferson Davis at Washington, "that our friends in the South have any just idea of the state of feeling, hurrying at this moment to the pitch of intense exasperation, between those who re-

spect their political obligations and those who have apparently no impelling power but that which fanatical passion on the subject of domestic slavery imparts. Without discussing the question of right, of abstract power to secede, I have never believed that actual disruption of the Union can occur without bloodshed; and if, through the madness of Northern abolitionism, that dire calamity must come, it will not be along Mason and Dixon's line merely—it will be within our own borders, in our own streets, between the two classes of citizens to whom I have referred."

On the 8th of January, 1861, the Mayor of the City of New York, a sound Democrat, said: "It would seem that a dissolution of the Union is inevitable." He then propounds the question whether the city of New York, throwing off its allegiance to the General Government, may not become a free city. "If the Confederacy is broken up the Government is dissolved, and it behooves every distinct community, as well as every individual, to take care of themselves." But as these doctrines savored strongly of treason, the prudent municipal executive added: "But I am not prepared to recommend the violence implied in these views."

On the 31st of January, 1861, a great Democratic convention was held at Albany, composed of the most influential men of the party. On that day and on the next day seven Slave States had seceded, and four days afterwards the Confederate Congress met, and announced their separation from the Union to be "perfect, complete, and perpetual," and fourteen days afterwards Jefferson Davis was inaugurated as President, under the constitution of the provisional government, adopted on the 8th.

The President and both houses of Congress were Democratic, and so was the Supreme Court. The seceders, who had actually levied war, were Democrats, but traitors; while the meeting at Albany was composed of Democrats who in November had voted the Democratic ticket.

One of the speakers presented and approved the view of the election of Mr. Lincoln taken by the South Carolina rebels. "The Democratic and Union party at the North," said he, "made the issue at the last election, with the Republican party, that in the event of their success, and the establishment of their policy, the Southern States not only would go out of the Union, BUT WOULD HAVE ADEQUATE CAUSE FOR DOING SO." [Applause.] An acknowledgment which a true patriot and not a mere partisan would have been ashamed to have made. To think that a great party which had governed the country for eight years should consider its defeat, in the election of a President, a sufficient cause for the secession of all the Slave States and a permanent dissolution of the Union! The temper of this meeting may be safely estimated by this single miserable partisan avowal.

Governor Seymour said, "Revolution has already begun. We

are advised by the conservative States of Virginia and Kentucky that if force is to be used it must be exerted against the united South." "Let us also see if successful coercion by the North is LESS REVOLUTIONARY than successful secession by the South." After praising the valor and sagacity of the men of the South, he urged the necessity of compromise in language which he repeated even in the last month of the expiring rebellion.

"The question is simply this—shall we have compromise *after* war or compromise *without* war." Rejecting all idea of coercing the Southern traitors and assuming that their treason must be successful.

The milk and water resolutions of this and of similar Democratic meetings in other States, served only to inspirit the Southern rebels, one of whom said to a member of Congress from New York: "If your President should attempt coercion, he will have more opposition *at the North* than he can overcome."

No Democrat, certainly not Governor Seymour, ever urged President Buchanan to maintain the Constitution by force, if necessary, and in the words of the hero of New Orleans, "solemnly proclaim that the Constitution and the laws are supreme and the union INDISSOLUBLE."

At Philadelphia, the 22d February, 1861, on the solemn raising of the United States flag over Independence Hall, Mr. Lincoln, in reply to an address of welcome by the President of Select Council, used this remarkable language, in relation to the cardinal principle of our great Declaration: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." "This is a sentiment," said he, "embodied in the Declaration of Independence. Now, my friends, can the country be saved on this basis? If it can, I will consider myself one of the happiest men in the world if I can help to save it. If it cannot be saved on that basis, it will be truly awful. But if the country cannot be saved without giving up that principle, I was about to say, *I would rather be assassinated on this spot than surrender it.*"

The night before he had communicated to him a fully authenticated account of a conspiracy to assassinate him on the 23d, in Baltimore, on his passage from one railroad depot to the other. A private messenger from General Scott and Mr. Seward corroborated it. Mr. Lincoln was urged to anticipate the day, so as to avoid the danger, but he refused to break his morning engagement in Philadelphia, or his afternoon engagement at Harrisburg, and kept both, returned quietly to the city the same evening, took the Washington train, and was in the Capital the morning of the day of his intended assassination.

The full account of this atrocious and bloodthirsty conspiracy, disgraceful alike to the traitors in Washington and Baltimore, and their Southern coadjutors, is to be found in the June number of

this year, of *Harper's Monthly*, and should be read by every American citizen, that he may form a proper idea of the unparalleled wickedness of the authors of the rebellion. But this determination to slay was never relinquished, and the lamented Lincoln met his fate when he had crushed the rebellion, and the ingrate Davis was a fugitive from justice.

The London *Times* sent its correspondent, Mr. Russell, in March, 1861, to the United States, and in 1863 he published, what he styled, "My Diary North and South," being, for the most part, "extracts from the diaries and note books which he assiduously kept while he was in the United States, as records of the events and impressions of the hour."

Referring to a dinner party in New York a few days after his arrival, he says: "The Hon. Horatio Seymour, a former Governor of the State, was one of the guests;" and adds, "I do not think that any of the guests sought to turn the channel of talk upon politics, but the occasion offered itself to Mr. Horatio Seymour to give me his views of the Constitution of the United States, and by degrees the theme spread over the table. There was not a man who maintained the Government had any power to coerce the people of a State, or to force a State to remain in the Union, or under the action of the Federal Government; in other words, the symbol of power at Washington is not at all analogous to that which represents an established government in other countries. Although they admitted the Southern leaders had meditated the treason against the Union years ago, *they could not bring themselves to allow their old opponents, the Republicans now in power, TO DISPOSE OF THE ARMED FORCE OF THE UNION against their BROTHER DEMOCRATS IN THE SOUTHERN STATES.*

"Mr. Seymour is a man of compromise, but his views go farther than those which were entertained by his party ten years ago: although secession would produce revolution, it was nevertheless 'a right,' founded on abstract principles, which could scarcely be abrogated consistently with due regard to the original compact.

"The Democrats behold with SILENT SATISFACTION the troubles into which the Republican triumph has plunged the country, and are not at all disposed to extricate them. The most notable way of impeding their efforts is to knock them down with the 'Constitution' every time they rise to the surface and begin to swim out."

Treason was rife among the officers of the army and navy, who had been educated and supported by the United States, given high rank and large pay in both arms of the service; and one General in Texas disgracefully betrayed his trust, and turned over his army, with all the posts and fortifications, arms, munitions, horses, and equipments, to the rebel authorities; by which most base and treacherous acts the Union lost half its military

force, with the State of Texas and the control of the Mexican frontier.

In all this tumult of treason, the rank and file of both services—the soldiers and sailors—stood firm, resisting all the persuasions of their treacherous commanders to desert the time-honored flag of the Union, under which they had fought and bled, and were ready to meet the traitors whether on the land or the ocean.

Having failed to get Fort Sumter by negotiation, and Alabama being partly repentant, in a discussion at Montgomery, Mr. Gilchrist said to the rebel Secretary of War, in the presence of Jefferson Davis: "Sir, unless you sprinkle blood in the face of the people of Alabama, they will be back in the old Union in less than ten days." The next day Beauregard opened his batteries on Sumter, and Alabama was saved to the rebel Confederacy.

Major Anderson had moved his whole force of 80 men from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter, and after sustaining a bombardment of 34 hours capitulated and surrendered the fort on Sunday, April 14, 1861.

In the South the news was received with rapturous joy, and the Rebel Secretary of War predicted that the rebel secession flag would, before the first of May, float on the dome of the Capitol at Washington, and eventually over Faneuil Hall in Boston.

At the North the effect of this attack and surrender was electric. No sooner had the telegraph communicated the news to the excited citizens in Wall Street than there was but one sentiment, that the insult to our national flag could only be washed out with rebel blood. On Monday, journals that were half rebel became loyal, and in Philadelphia the sturdy mechanics and artisans forced the rebel sympathizers to protect themselves by the flag of the Union.

This loyal feeling spread like wildfire through the whole country. The Spartan bands prognosticated by Keitt, Durgan, and the ex-President, disappeared for the time, whilst armed aid was proffered from every quarter to President Lincoln.

Ten States went out of the Union, some of them by fraud and against the express will of the people, and three were kept in the Union, although large bodies of their citizens joined the rebel armies.

Mr. Russell went to South Carolina, and there, in familiar intercourse with their leading men, he remarks, "Again cropping out of the dead level of hate to the Yankee, grows its climax in the profession from nearly every one of the guests that he would prefer a return to British rule to any reunion with New England." "They affect the agricultural faith and the belief of a landed gentry. It is not only over the wine-glass—why call it cup?—that they ask for a prince to reign over them. I have heard the wish repeatedly expressed within the last two days, that we could spare them one of our young princes—but never in jest or in any frivo-

lous manner. 'Not a man, no not one, will ever join the Union again! Thank God,' they say, 'we are freed from that tyranny at last.'

"After dinner the conversation again turned on the resources and power of the South, and on the determination of the people never to go back into the Union. Then cropped out again the expression of regret for the rebellion of 1776, and the desire that if it came to the worst, England would receive back her erring children, or give them a prince under whom they could secure a monarchical form of government. *There is no doubt of the earnestness with which these things are said.*"

These were the Southern Democratic friends whom Governor Seymour so lauded but a few weeks before, and whom he would not see coerced into discharging their duties as citizens of the United States: theoretical democrats, but practical monarchists; and these are the men who would have you believe they were not responsible for the blood of your gallant comrades.

ADDRESS No. II.

Soldiers' and Sailors' State Central Committee,

PHILADELPHIA, August 25, 1868.

The committee have endeavored in a previous address to show "Who are responsible for the War." It may now be well for our comrades to consider

WHO PROLONGED THE WAR?

The reverses of our armies before Richmond, in the summer of 1862, gave new life to the Peace Democracy, who, in November of that year, elected Mr. Seymour Governor of New York. The victory at Antietam did not abate their ardor, followed as it was by the proclamation of the President on the 22d of September, announcing that on the 1st of January, 1863, he would proclaim freedom to all the slaves in the rebel States. Of the views of Mr. Seymour and his friends in New York, Lord Lyons, in an official despatch to Earl Russell, dated Washington, November 17, 1862, wrote as follows:

"On my arrival at New York on the 8th inst., I found the Conservative (Democratic) leaders exulting in the crowning success achieved by the party in that State. Several of the leaders of the Democratic party sought interviews with me, both before and after the arrival of the intelligence of General McClellan's dismissal. The subject uppermost in their minds, while they were speaking to me, *was naturally* THAT OF FOREIGN MEDIA-

TION BETWEEN THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH. Many of them seemed to think this mediation must come at last, but they appeared to be very much afraid of its coming too soon. It was evident that a premature proposal of foreign intervention would afford the Radical party a means of reviving the violent war spirit, and of thus defeating the peaceful plans of the Conservatives.

"At the bottom I thought I perceived a desire to put an end to the war even at the risk of losing the Southern States altogether; but it was plain it was not thought prudent to avow this desire. Indeed, some hints of it, dropped before the elections, were so ill-received that a strong declaration in the contrary sense was deemed necessary by the Democratic leaders.

"They maintain that the object of the military operations should be to place the North in a position to demand an armistice with honor and effect. The armistice should (they hold) be followed by a convention, in which such changes of the Constitution should be proposed as would give the South ample security on the subject of its slave property.

"The more sagacious members of the party must however look upon the proposal of a convention merely as a last experiment to test the possibility of reunion. They are no doubt well aware that the more probable consequence of such an armistice would be the establishment of Southern independence.

"It is with reference to such an armistice as they desire to attain that the leaders of the Conservative party regard the question of foreign mediation."

If the Democratic leaders had dared to declare these views, and this trafficking with the representative of Great Britain, they would have been branded as traitors to the Union. Lord Lyons does justice to President Lincoln and the Republican party although using strong language:

"The views of that party are clear and definite. They declare there is no hope of reconciliation with the Southern people—that the war must be pursued *per fas et nefas*, until the disloyal men of the South are ruined and subjugated, if not exterminated; that not an inch of the territory of the Republic must be given up; that foreign intervention in any shape must be rejected and resented."

A few weeks after the Albany Democratic Convention of January 31, 1861, Governor Seymour said to Judge Ruggles, "Have you read the Confederate constitution? I have, and it is better than ours. Then why not obviate all difficulty by simply *adopting* that constitution?"

And, after the issuing of President Lincoln's first emancipation proclamation, Mr. Seymour publicly said, "that if the Union could only be maintained by abolishing slavery, then the Union ought to be given up."

With these sentiments and these principles, Mr. Seymour en-

tered upon the important duties of Governor of the great State of New York.

Mr. Vallandigham, as a member of Congress, had opposed every measure proposed by loyal men to suppress the great rebellion, and President Lincoln, in his reply to the committee of the Ohio Convention, said of him, "At the same time, your nominee for Governor in whose behalf you appeal, is known to you and to the world to declare against the use of an army to suppress the rebellion. Your own attitude, therefore, encouraged desertion, resistance to the draft, and the like, because it teaches those inclined to desert and to escape the draft that it is your purpose to protect them, and to hope that you will become strong enough to do so."

On the 4th of May, 1863, Mr. Vallandigham was arrested by General Burnside for "declaring disloyal sentiments and opinions with the object of weakening the power of the Government in its efforts to suppress an unlawful rebellion." He was tried by a court martial and convicted and sentenced to be placed in close confinement in some fortress of the United States during the continuance of the war, which was changed by the President to sending him beyond our military lines. The national judiciary declined to interfere, and his cause was taken up by a Democratic convention at Albany on the 16th of May, by the Ohio Democratic Convention on the 11th of June, by a Democratic meeting in the State-house yard at Philadelphia, and by the Democratic Gubernatorial Convention held at Harrisburg in the month of June, at the moment the rebel army was marching into Pennsylvania.

The President's replies to the Albany and Ohio committees were conclusive and are models of Executive correspondence, courteous, dignified, and keeping strictly to the point. How far Mr. Vallandigham's patriotism justified the exertions of his political friends, to return him from banishment and to elect him Governor of Ohio, an anecdote chronicled in "The Rebel War Clerk's Diary" may illustrate: "June 22, 1863.—To-day I saw the memorandum of Mr. Ould of the conversation held with Mr. Vallandigham for file in the archives. *He (Mr. Vallandigham) says if we can only hold out this year, that the Peace party of the North would sweep the Lincoln dynasty out of existence.* He seemed to have thought that our cause was sinking and feared we would submit, which, of course, would be ruinous to his party. But he advises strongly against any invasion of Pennsylvania, for that would unite all parties at the North, and so strengthen Lincoln's hands that he would be able to crush all opposition, and trample upon the constitutional rights of the people." The President (Davis) indorsed on it his disagreement as to the invasion of Pennsylvania. "But," added Mr. Davis, "Mr. Vallandigham is for restoring the Union, amicably, of course; and if it cannot be so done, then possibly he is in favor of recognizing our independence."

Fellow-soldiers and sailors, peruse this carefully, and say whether this gentleman was a patriot or a traitor, and whether the people

of Ohio did not know him when they defeated him for Governor that fall by a majority of over *one hundred thousand*, the soldiers' vote being nearly solid against him.

We have been thus particular as to this gentleman because he was the active, real manager of the Chicago Democratic Convention of 1864, and the intimate personal and political friend of its president, Governor Seymour, and the real manager who made Mr. Seymour the nominee of the New York Convention. Pendleton and Thurman are but names, whilst Vallandigham, the master-spirit of the Peace Democracy, dictates the nominee and will PRESCRIBE HIS POLICY.

The rebel invasion of Pennsylvania took place contrary to the advice of Mr. Vallandigham, and the States of New Jersey and New York being called upon for militia by the General Government furnished the troops. Governor Seymour addressed a large meeting in the city of New York on the 4th of July, in a speech evidently carefully prepared some days before, for he said :

"When I accepted this invitation to speak with others at this meeting, we were promised the downfall of Vicksburg, the opening of the Mississippi, the probable capture of the Confederate capital, and the exhaustion of the rebellion. By common consent all parties had fixed upon this day when the results of the campaign should be known, to mark out that line of policy which they felt our country should pursue. But in the moment of expected victory came the midnight cry for help from Pennsylvania to save its despoiled fields from the invading foe ; and almost within sight of this great commercial metropolis the ships of your merchants were burned to the water's edge."

After exciting the passions of his audience by appeals to their feelings, he used the memorable words which nine days afterwards were recollected and put into practical operation by the infuriated ruffians, who for a short time governed New York, and made it the scene of murderous and unprovoked outrages, until quelled by the strong arm of the Federal Government :

"Remember this, that the bloody and treasonable and revolutionary doctrine of public necessity can be proclaimed by a mob as well as by a government." On the 11th of July he knew the draft which he had denounced as unconstitutional was to be commenced and he should have anticipated the application of his words by the mob to it. On the 13th the riots commenced ; the Governor was absent at Long Branch, and the Democratic journals used language treasonable in its tendency, and well calculated to inflame the worst passions of rude, unthinking, and unscrupulous men in opposing the laws of their country.

The tone and language of Governor Seymour, in his Fourth of July oration, like that of ex-President Pierce, was cold, vacillating, and discouraging, prognosticating defeat and ruin in the prosecution of this "fearful, *fruitless*, fatal civil war." "I speak of this war as fruitless," said the ex-President ; and after con-

demning emancipation in the strongest language, and alluding to his advice in 1861 not to resort to arms, he adds: "All that has occurred since then has strengthened and confirmed my convictions in this regard. I repeat, then, my judgment impels me to rely upon MORAL FORCE!!! and not upon any of the *coercive* instrumentalities of military power."

When such language is used by a gentleman who had filled the Executive chair for four years as the official head of a great nation, is it surprising that ignorant, misguided, and wicked partisans should have construed his teachings and those of Governor Seymour, accompanied by the treasonable outpourings of influential journals, into direct counsel to STOP a "fruitless" war by resort to riot and insurrection under the "revolutionary doctrine of public necessity"?

The riots came and drenched the streets of New York with blood, and were stimulated by Southern emissaries, whose declared object was to help Lee and the rebel arms, by withdrawing our veteran troops from the front to battle with Northern rebels in the rear.

Governor Seymour addressed the rioters, whose hands were red with innocent blood, with the endearing terms, "My friends," "let me assure you that I am *your* FRIEND." "*You have been my friends.*" [Cries of "Yes, that's so; we are and will be again."]

To these quiet, peaceable, orderly citizens, he said: "I wish you to take good care of all property as good citizens, and see that every person is safe. The safe-keeping of property rests with *you*; and I charge *you* to disturb neither. It is *your* duty to maintain the good order of the city, and I know you will do it."

This was a draft riot, gotten up as such, and made the City of New York responsible for property destroyed by the rioters valued at two millions of dollars.

It had been proposed to prominent Republicans the day before that if they would promise that the draft should be arrested the riots should thereupon be stopped.

Governor Seymour applied to President Lincoln to postpone the draft until after its constitutionality had been adjudged by the courts, asserting that "at least one-half of the people of the loyal States 'believed' that the conscription act, which they are called upon to obey, because it is on the statute-book, is in itself a violation of the supreme constitutional law."

"I do not object," replied the President, "to abide by the decision of the Supreme Court, or the judges thereof, on the constitutionality of the draft law. In fact, I should be willing to facilitate the obtaining of it; but I cannot consent to lose the time while it is being obtained. We are contending with an enemy, who, as I understand, drives every able-bodied man into his ranks, very much as a butcher drives bullocks into a slaughter-pen. No time is wasted, no argument is used. This produces an army

which will soon turn upon our *now victorious soldiers already in the field*, if they shall not be sustained by recruits as they should be." After further discussing the utter impossibility of postponing the draft, he said: "My purpose is to be, in my action, just and constitutional, and yet practical, in performing the important duty with which I am charged, *of maintaining the unity and the free principles of our common country.*"

The victory of Gettysburg and the surrender of Vicksburg on the 4th of July, falsified all the predictions of Pierce and Seymour, and demonstrated to these Peace Democrats that the American people were determined to subdue the Democratic rebels in the South by force of arms, and not by a timid attempt to use moral force only, which must have inevitably led, as those distinguished gentlemen must have known, to the establishment of a Southern Slave Confederacy.

The Democratic peace plan would have dissolved the Union, whilst the Republican plan saved and preserved it entire, not losing one single inch of our territory, or waiving one single constitutional power to put down treason and rebellion against the lawful Government of the United States.

It seems almost incredible that with such persistent and traitorous opposition, the loyal soldiers and sailors should have succeeded in saving the nation.

ADDRESS No. III.

Soldiers' and Sailors' State Central Committee.

PHILADELPHIA, September 1, 1864.

Lieutenant-General Grant, our Commander-in-Chief, took command of the Army of the Potomac in the spring of 1864. On the 5th of May he commenced his march to Richmond, and by a series of battles and successful movements, placed his forces, on the 14th of June, across the James River, and invested Petersburg and Richmond, places which he never left until they were captured, with General Lee and his whole army.

On the 16th of August, 1864, General Grant wrote to Mr. Washburne:

"I state to all citizens who visit me, that all we want now to insure an early restoration of the Union, is a determined sentiment of unity North. *The rebels have now in their ranks their last man.* The little boys and old men are guarding prisoners, guarding railroad bridges, and forming a good part of their garrisons for entrenched positions.

"A man lost by them cannot be replaced. *They have robbed alike the cradle and the grave to get their present force.*"

Mr. Vallandigham, after the advice given by him to Jefferson Davis not to invade Pennsylvania, ran the blockade and went to

Canada, and resided there until June, 1864, when he returned to Ohio. On the 15th of that month he addressed the Democratic Convention in Hamilton in a most violent harangue, and on the 17th, at Dayton, in answer to a serenade, announced his intention to keep his mouth shut until after the Democratic National Convention at Chicago. That body met on the 29th of August. Mr. Vallandigham was one of the Committee on Resolutions, and Governor Seymour was the permanent president of the Convention. Among the resolutions offered in open convention was one from New York in favor of an armistice, and President Seymour, in his address on taking the chair, uttered no words of patriotic encouragement to our brave soldiers in the field or sailors on the sea, but said to them, "This administration cannot now save this Union if it would." "But if the Administration cannot save this Union, *we can.*" "In the coming election men must decide with which of the two parties into which our people are divided they will act." "If they wish for peace they will act with those who sought to *avert the war* and who now seek to restore good will and harmony among all sections of our country." This was Peace Democracy as pictured by its present candidate. Now, what *was* his plan? We find it officially stated in the second resolution of the platform, as adopted by the Convention, in these memorable words, which stick like the shirt of Nessus to the unfortunate Democratic Peace Party:

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

We have the history of this resolution from its author, Mr. Vallandigham, who was really the hero of this Convention. In June, 1863, he said to Mr. Ould, the rebel commissioner, "he thought the rebel cause was sinking, and feared *they would submit, which would of course be ruinous to his party.*" Mr Vallandigham's intercourse with the rebel emissaries in Canada was kept up while in that province, and he was fully aware of the rapidly growing weakness of the rebel Confederacy, and that nothing but an immediate armistice which the Democratic leaders had broached to Lord Lyons in November, 1862, could save it from utter and entire ruin.

In his own words we have his direct avowal of the fact of authorship: "Mr. Vallandigham wrote the second, the material resolution of the Chicago platform, and carried it through the sub-committee and the general committee in spite of the most des-

perate and persistent opposition on the part of Cassidy and his friends—Mr. Cassidy himself in an adjoining room laboring to defeat it.”

Mr. Campbell, of the rebel War Department, in his letter of the 13th September, 1864, said: “Any peace on the terms of Union will have to be made on the terms of their present Union. No administration at the North can offer more, or could fulfil any agreement to do more; but events seem to be hastening onward towards a termination of the war;” and it is clear from the whole tone of his letter that he anticipated the worst results to the rebel Confederacy.

No dispassionate looker-on, and certainly not Mr. Vallandigham, who knew the approaching death of the Confederacy, could have truly asserted that the war was a failure, an assertion which a few months proved to be false, and without the slightest foundation in fact. Believing this to be so, then the proposition of an armistice was simply designed traitorously to prevent the certain triumph of the arms of the Union. That a body of American citizens should ever have adopted such a disgraceful resolution, shows the enormous power exercised over them by Mr. Vallandigham. In November, Mr. Lincoln was elected President, and Mr. Seymour was *defeated* as Governor of New York.

On the 9th of the next April, a little more than seven months after this resolution, framed by Mr. Vallandigham and applauded by Mr. Seymour, was passed by this peace convention, General Lee surrendered his whole army, and the rebel Cabinet was dispersed to the four winds of heaven. Jefferson Davis was in full flight, and the Southern Confederacy had collapsed, and on the 14th the great and good Lincoln fell by the hands of rebel assassins, a fate which had been planned for him from the first by the wicked authors of the rebellion.

The unfortunate differences of opinion between the President and Congress in relation to the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution and the reconstruction of the rebel States, led to the futile convention of August, 1866, in which the rebel leaders were permitted to be only *silent participants*.

The elections of 1866 gave the Republicans more than two-thirds of both houses, and the legislation of Congress presents the unprecedented fact of every important measure necessary to the peace of the country and the reconstruction of the rebel States being passed by two-thirds over the veto of the President and against the votes of the Peace Democracy in Congress.

General Grant during this period was universally looked to by men of all parties as the person whom the American people, grateful for his great services in suppressing the rebellion and preserving the Union, would desire to see placed in the Presidential chair. General Grant was not a politician, but a modest citizen, neither seeking any higher honors nor asking his fellow-citizens to confer them upon him.

The Peace Democracy sought him as their candidate, but failed, and, as his views were made known by his actions and necessary official correspondence, he became the acknowledged candidate of the loyal soldiers and sailors, and of the Republican party.

On the 19th and 20th of May last, he was *unanimously* nominated by both Conventions at Chicago, as President, and Schuyler Colfax was nominated as Vice-President.

Shall these patriots represent the loyal heart of the people, or shall Mr. Vallandigham and his favorites?

ADDRESS No. IV.

Soldiers' and Sailors' State Central Committee,

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 14, 1868.

THE NEW YORK CONVENTION.

On the Fourth of July last the Democratic National Convention met at New York, composed of the leaders of the Peace Democracy and of the unrepentant Southern rebels. The Convention effected a temporary organization on the 4th, and on the 6th was permanently organized by the selection of Horatio Seymour, of New York, for president, and adjourned finally on Thursday the 9th. The two-thirds rule was rigidly adhered to, until every prominent candidate was killed off; and on the last day's session, by what had been previously arranged by the managers of the Democracy, Mr. Vallandigham withdrew the name of Mr. Pendleton, and on the 21st ballot the Ohio delegation nominated and voted for Horatio Seymour, which honor that gentleman, as before, *declined*, saying: "Your candidate I cannot be." But Mr. Vallandigham, in a strain of fervid eloquence, addressing him, said:

"In times of great public exigency, and especially in times of great public calamity, every personal consideration must be yielded to the public good. The safety of the people is the supreme law, and the safety of the American Republic demands the nomination of Horatio Seymour, of New York. Ohio cannot, Ohio will not, accept his declination, and her twenty-one votes *shall* stand recorded in his name, and I now call upon the delegations from all the States represented on this floor, upon the delegations from all the States of this Union, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the great lakes to the Gulf, disregarding those minor considerations, which justly, it may be properly, I know, tend to sway them in casting their ballots to make this nomination unanimous; and, before God, I believe that in November the judgment of this Convention will be confirmed and ratified by the people of all the United States. Let the vote of Ohio stand recorded then—twenty-one votes for Horatio Seymour."

The command of the leader of the Peace Democracy, the author of the armistice resolution at Chicago in 1864, was implicitly obeyed, and Horatio Seymour was forthwith unanimously nominated, which nomination he finally accepted.

But this programme was not developed and executed until the Soldiers' Convention, sitting in the same city, had been induced to adjourn *sine die*.

General Francis P. Blair, in his letter of the 30th of June, 1868, which may be called his bid for the Presidency, speaking of the reconstruction acts of Congress, boldly proclaimed what would be *his policy* as President:

"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 at the South, disperse the carpet-bag State Governments, allow the white people to reorganize their own governments, and elect Senators and Representatives.

"I wish to stand before the Convention on this issue, but it is one which embraces everything else, that is of value, in its large and comprehensive results."

The Convention adopted the spirit of this letter, by introducing into its platform, at the request of Wade Hampton, these words: "We regard the reconstruction acts (so called) of Congress as usurpations, and unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void."

Wade Hampton, in his explanation of his action in procuring this declaration, said, "I said I would take the resolutions if they would allow me to add but three words, which you will find embodied in the platform. I added, 'and we declare that the reconstruction acts are revolutionary, unconstitutional, and void.' When I proposed that, every single member of the committee—and the warmest in it were the men of the North—came forward and said they would carry it out to the end."

Governor Perry, a delegate to the Convention, said that "*Wade Hampton was the Lion of the Convention*;" and, he added, "Hampton was courted by all parties North, South, East, and West, and when, as a member of the committee, 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 indorse it."

The conclusive proof of the Blair policy, as stated in the letter of the 30th of June, being adopted by the New York Convention and by the Democracy North and South, to its fullest extent, is to be found displayed at full length, in a most valuable paper, in the *Pittsburg Gazette*, of Tuesday, the 11th of August, entitled "The New Rebellion—The Record of the Democratic Party as made up by itself—Blair's Letter Dictating the Democratic Policy." We assume, therefore, that the settled, unchangeable determination of the Democratic party, if they succeed at the coming election, is to have a revolution, in which President Seymour is not only to declare the reconstruction acts unconstitutional, null and void (the sole power to do so, by the newly invented Democratic doctrine, being vested in him, a mere executive officer, and not in the Supreme Court or the representatives of the people), but to employ the army of the United States in upsetting and abolishing the legal recognized State governments of the late rebel

States, and restoring such unrepentant rebels as *HAMPTON and Perry, Toombs and Cobb, FORREST and Pike*, to the possession of all their former power.

It is not surprising that the South Carolinians, Hampton and Perry, should support this doctrine, for we have seen that these gentlemen and their compeers wished for a prince of the blood royal of England to reign over them, as they were monarchists and desired the formation of a landed aristocracy.

As it has been the constant practice from the beginning of the war, of the Peace Democracy not to aid the Government, but to consistently oppose every necessary measure to suppress the rebellion according to the mode sketched out by Mr. Russell, who says in his diary: "A most notable way of impeding their efforts is to knock them down with the 'Constitution' every time they rise to the surface and attempt to swim out." We should be glad to ask in what portion of the Constitution this more than kingly power to overthrow a legal government is vested in the President elect?

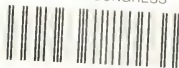
We do not believe that any loyal soldier or sailor, or any American citizen who loves his country, can ever vote for a party or its candidates who avow such *detestable, atrocious, and unprincipled doctrines*.

The next plank in the platform is *repudiation*, as openly avowed by the New York Convention, and so understood and bitterly denounced by the *Journal of Commerce*, the great Democratic financial organ, and this denunciation is responded to in every part of the civilized world.

The rebellion could not have been suppressed without the great financial and banking system instituted and perfected by the present Chief Justice of the United States, then at the head of the Treasury Department. It enabled the Government to borrow from all classes of citizens, including the honest farmer, the industrious mechanic, artisan, and operative, the necessary funds to raise, equip, support, and pay the largest army in the world; to build and man a navy fit to meet the combined navies of Europe, whilst it gave us a national currency of equal value in every part of the Union. It gave us credit abroad, and enabled us to borrow large sums in Europe, and particularly in honest Germany, whose people placed implicit reliance on the well-known public faith of a Government, which, in the time of our great President, Andrew Jackson, had paid off our revolutionary debt, and that of the war of 1812.

Of these bonds, four hundred millions are held abroad—largely in Germany—and twenty-one hundred millions are held in the United States, by persons in every walk of life. The saving funds which hold the savings of the poor have their principal investments in United States bonds. Trustees, minor children, widows, and single women, are in the same condition. Let any man look

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