

E

458

.3

.L92.



Class E458

Book 192











THE SUMTER ANNIVERSARY, 1863.

---

OPINIONS OF LOYALISTS

CONCERNING

THE GREAT QUESTIONS OF THE TIMES;

EXPRESSED IN THE SPEECHES AND LETTERS FROM PROMINENT CITIZENS OF ALL SECTIONS AND PARTIES, ON OCCASION OF THE INAUGURATION OF

The Loyal National League,

IN MASS MEETING ON UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK,

ON THE 11th OF APRIL, 1863,

THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE ATTACK ON FORT SUMTER.

~~~~~  
PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE COUNCIL AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE.  
~~~~~

New York:

C. S. WESTCOTT & CO., PRINTERS,  
No. 79 JOHN STREET.

1863.

212  
458

.L 9/08

E 457  
.3  
.L 92

Exchange  
N. Y. Pub. Lib.  
JUL 12 1909

# THE GREAT SUMTER MEETING.

---

The matter contained in this volume—statements of the proceedings at the Mass Meeting of the Loyal National League, in Union Square, New York, on the “Anniversary of Sumter”—needs no preface beyond the accounts given by sundry newspapers, from which brief quotations are herewith given.

The meeting originated in the following

## CALL OF THE LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE.

The members of the Loyal National League, and all persons who unite with them in a determination to support the Government in its efforts to suppress the rebellion against its authority, are invited to assemble in Mass Meeting on Union Square, Saturday afternoon, 11th April, at four o'clock, the anniversary of the attack upon Fort Sumter, to renew to the Government their solemn pledge and fixed resolve to maintain unimpaired the national unity, both in principle and territorial boundary.

### COUNCIL OF TWENTY-FIVE.

GEORGE OPDYKE,  
CHARLES KING,  
JOHN A. STEVENS,  
WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT,  
JOHN C. GREEN,  
A. T. STEWART,  
FRANCIS LIEBER,  
WILLIAM E. DODGE,  
WILLIAM CURTIS NOYES,  
MORRIS KETCHUM,  
SETH B. HUNT,

E. CAYLUS,  
MOSES TAYLOR,  
CHARLES BUTLER,  
FRANCIS B. CUTTING,  
ROBERT BAYARD,  
JOHN J. CISCO,  
C. V. S. ROOSEVELT,  
FRANCIS G. SHAW,  
CHARLES A. HECKSCHER,  
W. H. WEBB,  
WILLIAM F. CARY,

JAMES MCKAYE.

### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF TWENTY-FIVE.

GEORGE GRISWOLD,  
JOHN COCHRANE,  
FRANKLIN H. DELANO,  
J. BUTLER WRIGHT,  
GEORGE CABOT WARD,  
JOHN JAY,  
ISAAC H. BAILEY,  
WILLIAM A. HALL,  
WILLIAM T. BLODGETT,  
PARKE GODWIN,  
ADRIAN ISELIN,  
SIDNEY HOWARD GAY,

ROBERT B. MINTURN, JR.,  
JAMES A. ROOSEVELT,  
CHARLES ASTOR BRISTED,  
ROBERT LENOX KENNEDY,  
THOMAS N. DALE,  
JOHN A. STEVENS, JR.,  
WILLIAM E. DODGE, JR.,  
WILLIAM ORTON,  
WOLCOTT GIBBS,  
C. E. DETMOLD,  
GEORGE P. PUTNAM.

JAMES A. ROOSEVELT, *Secretary.*

*From the New York Evening Post, April 11.*

### THE GREAT MEETING TO-DAY.

The great Sumter Meeting at Union Square to-day, which is in progress as we go to press, is an immense and most enthusiastic popular demonstration. About twenty delegations from Loyal Leagues in this and other states have arrived here to-day, to take part in the proceedings. Among these delegations are one from Philadelphia, another from Boston, and several from towns in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Jersey.

Six stands for speakers have been erected, the presiding officers of which, together with the names of the principal speakers, were given in our second edition.

The stands are tastefully decorated with American flags and banners, bearing appropriate inscriptions—among them the following:

“Loyal National League. [Pledged to maintain the national unity.]”

“A common Union to maintain the power, glory, and integrity of the nation.”  
[Figure of an eagle holding a writhing copperhead.]

“No compromise with traitors—No neutrals in this war—The flag of our Union shall float over Sumter.”

The statue of Washington is decked with the national colors, and the pedestal is hung with evergreens.

Flags are flying from almost every flagstaff, from windows and from roofs, and the city wears the appearance of a gala day.

A great number of letters have been received from distinguished men, in response to invitations to be present at the meeting. \* \* \*

---

*From the New York Daily Times, April 12.*

### LOYAL MASS MEETING.

#### THIRTY THOUSAND UNION MEN IN COUNCIL.

---

*Loyalty to the Government and Confidence in the Administration.—An Aggressive War Policy Urged—Secessionists Scourged and Copperheads Confounded.*

### GREAT ENTHUSIASM.

A grand mass meeting of the citizens of New York, regardless of party affiliation, was held yesterday afternoon at Union Square. The object of the meeting was to reiterate in the ears of Southern traitors, and before the eyes of Northern sympathizers, the loyalty of New York to the Union, its confidence in the administration, its desire for an aggressive war policy, its extreme abhorrence of all Confederates, and absolute detestation of all Copperheads. Six

stands were erected, from which sweet music was given and eloquent addresses delivered. Great enthusiasm pervaded the vast assemblage, which at one time must have numbered thirty thousand persons, among whom were many ladies. The hotels and private residences in and about the square were gayly decorated with flags; banners hung from many windows; all things wore the look of a holiday. Cannon were momentarily discharged, brass bands continually clamored forth airs of patriotism, and shouts of applause drowned them all. For the list of officers, the letters from distinguished men, the resolutions and the addresses, we have no space, and necessarily confine ourselves to an abstract of the proceedings, which, though in some instances comparatively brief, will serve as a sufficient exponent of the loyal tone which pervaded the addresses, and the loyal spirit which was evinced by the enthusiastic thousands who responded to the call. [Here follow six columns of particulars.]

---

*From the New York Herald, April 12.*

#### SUMTER ANNIVERSARY.

*Great National Demonstration on Union Square.—The Republic One and Indivisible.—Inauguration of the Loyal National League.*

The second anniversary of the rebel attack on Fort Sumter was made the occasion of another imposing Union demonstration in this city yesterday, under the auspices of the Loyal National League. As on the two former occasions when that first act in the rebellion summoned the citizens of New York to a manifestation of their loyalty, so on this occasion, Union Square was the place of meeting. At six points about the square platforms were erected, decorated with flags and banners, and furnished with bands of music, and all around was an immense assemblage of the people, exhibiting as much enthusiastic loyalty and devotion to the flag, and as much determination to put down the rebellion, as when they met at the same place two years ago. And above all towered, majestic and serene, the bronze equestrian figure of Washington, the pedestal garlanded with evergreens and the head decked with the national colors.

The public edifices generally, and most of the large buildings on Broadway, had the American flag flying throughout the day. Among the notable exceptions to this rule were the two headquarters of the democracy—Tammany Hall and Mozart Hall. The weather was superb, and that portion of the city presented a most animated spectacle. [Here follows four columns of particulars.]

The shades of evening were falling, and the gas-lamps had begun to brighten up before the last of the orators at some of the stands had finished their speeches.

\* \* \* The demonstration, on the whole, was a most successful one.



*From the New York Evening Post of April 13—(second article).*

#### THE MEETING OF SATURDAY.

The first open-air demonstration of the Loyal National League, on the anniversary of the original bombardment of Fort Sumter, was a great success. The spaces about Union Square were crowded all the latter part of the afternoon with patriotic citizens. It is needless to say that the proceedings were orderly and animated. In the midst of the vast throng there was but one feeling and one voice—that of irrepressible determination to conquer the rebellion. Resolutions, letters, addresses, and speeches, were all received with earnest enthusiasm.

Generals Fremont, Sigel, and Hamilton, perhaps attracted the most attention, but all the speakers were listened to with the deepest interest. Postmaster-General Blair, as a representative of the government, made an eloquent and forcible appeal to his audience; Henry Wilson justified the high position he holds in the United States Senate; Governor Morton spoke warmly for the patriotism of the Northwest; while D. S. Dickinson, Judge Kelley, of Philadelphia, Schuyler Colfax, G. W. Julian, Colonel Nugent, George W. Curtis, and others, made the welkin ring with cheers.

This meeting differed from other monster meetings which have been held in this city in one respect, and that is, the number of our prominent and wealthy citizens who took an active part in its proceedings. Our merchants usually content themselves, on such occasions, with allowing their names to be used officially and contributing money; but this time they took hold in person with a will. On each of the six different stands, around which the multitude were gathered, we saw many who have seldom before assumed such positions. They have labored throughout with great zeal, and will so continue to labor, we have no doubt, to the end.

---

*From the New York Tribune, April 13.*

#### THE SUMTER MEETING.

New York has spoken again for the war, with a voice whose tones shall be heard as words of cheer to every national army, and words of doom in every rebel camp. The meeting of the Loyal National League on Saturday was far more than ordinarily a spontaneous expression of popular enthusiasm, and its success is the more significant because many of the usual means by which numbers are attracted to a public assembly were omitted. There were delegations from abroad of considerable strength, but the mass of the meeting was of course from New York—a city which is supposed to contain at least as large a proportion of rebel sympathizers as any section of the country. Let this magnificent gathering witness how large a part of its best citizens are devotedly loyal. Not less than thirty thousand of them were present to declare it.

We give a great deal of space this morning [two entire pages, twelve columns, of small type] to a report of the speeches and resolutions, but they are such as

deserve public attention. The number of really eminent speakers was unusually great, and their addresses were in the main thoughtful discussions of principles and great measures of policy, and plain declarations of the duties of the hour. The administration was represented by Postmaster-General Blair; Gov. Morton of Indiana spoke eloquently for the West; Senator Wilson of Massachusetts for New England; and General Fremont, General Hamilton, and General Sigel, for the great army which the whole nation contributes to defend the Republic. The address of General Fremont will excite general admiration for its soldierly directness of speech, good sense, and complete devotion to the cause which the personal jealousies of others still prevent him from serving in the field.

The speeches reflect indeed the character of the meeting, which through all its proceedings preserved the earnestness of the convictions which brought it together. Its genuine enthusiasm had a deeper source than party politics or personal motives; it sprung from an unconquerable patriotism, which, having been tried by long endurance of war, having counted the cost of the tremendous struggle which two years ago it undertook, having taken to heart the lessons of austere experience, having been instructed by defeat and sobered by great sacrifices—nevertheless, with undiminished zeal, and with a courage which nothing has been able to dishearten, renews to the government and the nation the pledge of its unswerving devotion and support.



# OFFICERS.

---

## STAND No. 1.

Under charge of Committee of Arrangements,

GEORGE GRISWOLD,  
J. BUTLER WRIGHT,

JOHN COCHRANE,  
ADRIAN ISELIN.

### President.

HON. GEORGE OPDYKE,  
Mayor of the City.

---

### Vice-Presidents.

William B. Astor,  
John C. Green,  
Andrew Carrigan,  
William Cullen Bryant,  
John Mullan,  
Thomas Ewbank,  
Robert Bayard,  
Henry J. Raymond,  
James A. Hamilton,  
Edward Colgate,  
Richard M. Hoe,  
Henry O'Rielly;  
George T. Adee,  
Ferdinand Lawrence,  
F. Schroeder,  
Edwin J. Brown,  
Robert Thomas,  
William B. Rockwell,  
William A. Booth,  
Richard W. Weston,  
Elisha Seeley,  
John D. Wolfe,  
George Denison,  
Frederick Prime,  
John Hayward,  
R. S. Mount, jr.,  
Rufus F. Andrews,

William L. Wood,  
W. Scheppe,  
John E. Williams,  
Louis Burger,  
J. G. Pearson,  
Elias Howe, jr.,  
John M. Reid,  
Leonard D. White,  
Seth B. Hunt,  
Robert Murray,  
Joseph Lawrence,  
W. W. De Forest,  
William F. Barnes,  
Thomas Stevens,  
Howard Potter,  
Joseph Foulke,  
James Kelly,  
Herman Raster,  
Frank E. Howe,  
George T. Elliott,  
Francis B. Nichol,  
D. T. Valentine,  
Maunsell B. Field,  
William G. Lambert,  
B. W. Osborne,  
David R. Jaques,  
James W. Welsh,

Edmund Stephenson,  
 Rev. Rudolph Dulon,  
 Philip Hamilton,  
 Samuel D. Babcock,  
 Henry Bancker,  
 John H. Waydell,  
 Robert Cutting,  
 John L. Brown,  
 Oliver Holden,  
 Charles Samson,  
 Charles H. Macy.  
 William A. Darling,  
 John Ward,  
 G. W. Bliss,  
 John Cotton Smith,  
 Richard Hecksher,  
 Isaac Ferris,  
 D. Lichtenstein  
 Henry Kloppenburg,  
 J. E. Braunsdorf,  
 John W. Quincey,

Thomas Lawrence,  
 Francis Vinton,  
 D. N. Barney,  
 O. D. F. Grant,  
 Gulian C. Verplanck,  
 Joseph Samson,  
 Francis Hall,  
 David W. Christern,  
 Stewart L. Woodford,  
 Alexander H. Keech,  
 Cornelius Vanderbilt,  
 Marshall O. Roberts,  
 W. H. Bestling,  
 William Hegeman,  
 James B. Young,  
 M. Levin,  
 George T. Strong,  
 James Speyers,  
 Otto Lockersdorf,  
 H. Von Glahn.

---

**Secretaries.**

James W. Underhill,  
 Frank Otis,  
 William H. Grenelle,  
 Charles G. Clarke,  
 William Peet,  
 N. W. Howell,  
 Charles Nettleton,  
 R. H. Vaudenheuvel,  
 George McMillan,  
 D. S. Riddle,  
 Louis J. Belloni, jr.,  
 Charles H. Tyler,  
 Frederick G. Swan,

David W. Bishop,  
 B. J. Marten,  
 R. Fulton Crary,  
 Francis A. Stout,  
 Alexander Becker,  
 Andrew Warner,  
 George Griswold Haven,  
 James Couper Lord,  
 Samuel W. Tubbs,  
 George Wilson,  
 Joseph Howard, jr.,  
 William F. Smith,  
 William E. Everett.

# PROGRAMME OF PROCEEDINGS.

---

## STAND No. 1.

SOUTHEAST CORNER, FACING THE STATUE OF WASHINGTON.

*Salutes of Artillery by the Workmen employed by Henry Brewster & Co.*

1. Grand March, from "Le Prophète," of Meyerbeer, by Grafula's Grand Band.
2. Hon. George Opdyke, Mayor of the City, will call the meeting to order.
3. Prayer, by Rev. William Adams, D. D.
4. J. Butler Wright, of the Executive Committee, will read the call for the meeting, and the list of Vice-Presidents and Secretaries.
5. George Griswold will read the address adopted by the Council and Executive Committees on Lectures and Addresses.
6. John Cochrane will read the resolutions.
7. Music by the Band.
8. Hon. Montgomery Blair will address the meeting.
9. William Ross Wallace will read an "Ode" on the defence of Fort Sumter by General Anderson.
10. Music—singing: "The Army Hymn." By Oliver Wendell Holmes.
11. Judge William D. Kelley, delegate of the Union League of Philadelphia will address the meeting.
12. Music—singing: "The Star-Spangled Banner."
13. Benj. H. Brewster, delegate of the Union League of Philadelphia, will address the meeting.
14. Music—singing: "Song for the Loyal National League," written expressly for this occasion, by George H. Boker.
15. David S. Coddington will address the meeting.
16. George Griswold, will read a Poem, entitled "Those Seventy Men," written for this occasion, by Mrs. Sarah H. Bradford.
17. Music—singing: "Our Union," written expressly for this occasion, by Alfred B. Street.
18. Col. Stewart L. Woodford will address the meeting.



THIS stand was placed immediately in front of the statue of Washington. Long before the commencement, a great mass of people collected beneath the inspiration of the Father of their Country, and by 4 P. M. the auditors at this stand were numbered by thousands. A salute was fired by the workmen in the employ of Mr. Henry Brewster, from two six-pounders. This stand was provided with a paraboloid sound-reflector, which throws the voice of a speaker much further than it would otherwise go, and renders speaking in the open air comparatively easy. This is a contrivance of Colonel Grant, of calcium-light celebrity.

Two huge rolls of paper, so large that it was necessary to wind them on immense spools prepared for the purpose, stood on the table. They were the rolls of signers to the pledge of the Loyal National League.

After the grand march from "Le Prophète," by Grafulla's band, MR GEORGE GRISWOLD called the meeting to order, and nominated Mayor OPDYKE to preside. His nomination was received with enthusiasm.

On taking the chair, the Mayor said :

SPEECH OF MAYOR OPDYKE.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: For the third time since the outbreak of this wicked rebellion we have assembled at this spot, consecrated to civil liberty by the statue of Washington, to renew our pledges of patriotic devotion to our country. [Cheers.] On the first occasion we met to give our defiant response to the booming of rebel guns against Fort Sumter. To-day, the avenging arms of freemen are returning the blows then struck by traitors against that ill-fated fortress. [Applause.] We do not yet know the result; but let us hope and pray to God, that these blows may fall so quick and heavy that the enemy will be speedily driven from this stronghold, and that the starry emblem of our nationality may again wave in triumph over its ramparts. [Cheers.] Nor do I believe that we should shed many tears if the traitorous city in its rear, where this foul rebellion was hatched, should share the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah. [Great cheering.] My friends, I rejoice to see you here in such overwhelming numbers. It proves that in this metropolis of the Union, the call of unconditional loyalty is a bugle blast which reaches the public heart, and stirs it to its inmost centre. It proves that the people of New York do not underestimate the priceless value of that Union, which has made us a great, prosperous, and powerful nation. It proves their unalterable determination to maintain it at whatever cost. [Applause.] But why are we here to-day in such countless numbers? It is, in the first place, to remove all doubt in the public mind, here and elsewhere—nay, every where throughout the civilized world, that the people of this city are unconditionally and almost unanimously loyal to the government. [Applause.] The sentiments recently uttered by leaders of political factions, and the sad revelations of Lord Lyons [derisive laughter], may have created some doubts as to the unalterable determination of our people to stand by the government at all hazards, and under all possible circumstances. This magnifi-



cent meeting will dispel these doubts. [Cheers.] In the second place, we are here to declare our unalterable purpose, until this rebellion is suppressed, to hold all party interests and allegiance subordinate to patriotism. Until that great end is obtained, we will know no parties but one which is for the government, and another which is against it; that we will stand as a band of brothers in support of the cause which is as dear to us as life, and against all who would betray it, or strive to overthrow it, wherever they may be found, whether North or South, East or West, at home or abroad. [Applause.] Without detaining you longer, when we have so many eloquent gentlemen here, I wish to introduce to you first, before the regular proceedings of this meeting are opened, the hero of the Harriet Lane, when she was captured at Galveston. The boy, Robert Cummings, was the last to leave that ill-fated vessel. He seized a revolver in each hand, and in the midst of the rebels fired right and left, and, it is believed, killed a number of them, until he was finally wounded and carried below. [Loud applause. "Stand him up."]

Master Cummings, a sturdy little tar, mounted a chair, and was loudly cheered.

Mr. GEORGE GRISWOLD read the following address, prepared by Dr. Francis Lieber, it was received with great applause.

#### A D D R E S S .

It is just and wise that men engaged in a great and arduous cause should profess anew, from time to time, their faith, and pledge themselves to one another, to stand by their cause to the last extremity, even at the sacrifice of all they have and all that God has given them—their wealth, their blood, and their children's blood. We solemnly pledge all this to our cause, for it is the cause of our Country and her noble history, of freedom, and justice, and truth—it is the cause of all we hold dearest on this earth: we profess and pledge this—plainly, broadly, openly in the cheering time of success, and most fervently in the day of trial and reverses.

We recollect how, two years ago, when reckless arrogance attacked Fort Sumter, the response to that boom of treasonable cannon was read, in our city, in the flag of our country—waving from every steeple and school-house, from City Hall and Court House, from every shop window and market stall, and fluttering in the hand of every child, and on the head-gear of every horse in the busy street. Two years have passed; uncounted sacrifices have been made—sacrifices of wealth, of blood, and limb, and life—of friendship and brotherhood, of endeared and hallowed pursuits and sacred ties—and still the civil war is raging in bitterness and heart-burning—still we make the same profession, and still we pledge ourselves firmly to hold on to our cause, and persevere in the struggle into which unrighteous men, bewildered by pride, and stimulated by bitter hatred, have plunged us.

We profess ourselves to be loyal citizens of these United States; and by

loyalty we mean a candid and loving devotion to the object to which a loyal man—a loyal husband, a loyal friend, a loyal citizen—devotes himself. We eschew the attenuated arguments derived by trifling scholars from meagre etymology. We take the core and substance of this weighty word, and pledge ourselves that we will loyally—not merely outwardly and formally, according to the letter, but frankly, fervently and according to the spirit—adhere to our country, to her institutions, to freedom, and her power, and to that great institution called the government of our country, founded by our fathers, and loved by their sons, and by all right-minded men who have become citizens of this land by choice and not by birth—who have wedded this country in the maturity of their age as verily their own. We pledge ourselves as National men devoted to the Nationality of this great people. No government can wholly dispense with loyalty, except the fiercest despotism ruling by naked intimidation; but a republic stands in greater need of it than any other government, and most of all a republic beset by open rebellion and insidious treason. Loyalty is pre-eminently a civic virtue in a free country. It is patriotism cast in the graceful mould of candid devotion to the harmless government of an unshackled nation.

In pledging ourselves thus, we know of no party. Parties are unavoidable in free countries, and may be useful if they acknowledge the country far above themselves, and remain within the sanctity of the fundamental law which protects the enjoyment of liberty prepared for all within its sacred domain. But Party has no meaning in far the greater number of the highest and the common relations of human life. When we are ailing, we do not take medicine by party prescription. We do not build ships by party measurement; we do not pray for our daily bread by party distinctions; we do not take our chosen ones to our bosoms by party demarcations, nor do we eat or drink, sleep or wake, as partisans. We do not enjoy the flowers of spring, nor do we harvest the grain, by party lines. We do not incur punishments for infractions of the commandments according to party creeds. We do not pursue truth, or cultivate science, by party dogmas; and we do not, we must not, love and defend our country and our liberty, dear to us as part and portion of our very selves, according to party rules. Woe to him who does. When a house is on fire, and a mother with her child cries for help at the window above, shall the firemen at the engine be allowed to trifle away the precious time in party bickerings, or is then the only word—"Water! pump away; up with the ladder!"

Let us not be like the Byzantines, those wretches who quarrelled about contemptible party refinements, theological though they were, while the truculent Mussulman was steadily drawing nearer—nay, some of whom would even go to the lord of the crescent, and with a craven heart would beg for a pittance of the spoil, so that they would be spared, and could vent their party spleen against their kin in blood, and fellows in religion.

We know of no party in our present troubles; the word is here an empty word. The only line which divides the people of the North, runs between the mass of loyal men who stand by their country, no matter to what place of political meeting they were used to resort, or with what accent they utter the language of the land, or what religion they profess, or what sentiments they may have uttered in the excitement of former dis-

cussions, on the one hand, and those on the other hand, who keep outside of that line—traitors to their country in the hour of need—or those who allow themselves to be misled by shallow names, and by reminiscences which cling around those names from by-gone days, finding no application in a time which asks for things more sterling than names, theories, or platforms.

If an alien enemy were to land his hosts on your shores, would you fly to your arms and ring the tocsin because your country is in danger, or would you meditatively look at your sword and gun, and spend your time in pondering whether the administration in power, which must and can alone direct the defence of your hearths, has a right to be styled by this or that party name, or whether it came into power with your assistance, and will appoint some of your party to posts of honor or comfortable emoluments? And will any one now lose his time and fair name as an honest and brave citizen, when no foreigner, indeed, threatens your country, at least not directly, but far more, when a reckless host of law-defying men, heaping upon you the vilest vituperation that men who do not leave behind them the ingenuity of civilization when they relapse into barbarism, can invent—when this host threatens to sunder your country and cleave your very history in twain, to deprive you of your rivers which God has given you, to extinguish your nationality, to break down your liberty and to make that land, which the Distributor of our sphere's geography has placed between the old and older world as the greatest link of that civilization which is destined to encircle the globe—to make that land the hot-bed of angry petty powers, sinking deeper and deeper as they quarrel and fight, and quarreling and fighting more angrily as they sink deeper? It is the very thing your foreign enemies desire, and have long desired. When nullification threatened to bring about secession—and the term secession was used at that early period—foreign journals stated in distinct words that England was deeply interested in the contest; for nullification might bring on secession, and secession would cause a general disruption—an occurrence which would redound to the essential benefit of Great Britain.

But the traitors of the North, who have been so aptly called adders or copperheads—striking, as these reptiles do, more secretly and deadly even than the rattlesnake, which has some chivalry, at least in its tail—believe, or pretend to believe, that no fragmentary disruption would follow a division of our country into North and South, and advocate a compromise, by which they affect to believe that the two portions may possibly be reunited after a provisional division, as our peddlers putty a broken china cup.

As to the first, that we might pleasantly divide into two comfortable portions, we prefer being guided by the experience of all history, to following the traitors in their teachings. We will not hear of it. We live in an age when the word is Nationalization, not De-nationalization; when fair Italy has risen, like a new-born goddess, out of the foaming waves of the Mediterranean. All destruction is quick and easy; all growth and formation is slow and toilsome. Nations break up, like splendid mirrors dashed to the ground. They do not break into a number of well-shaped, neatly framed little looking-glasses. But a far more solemn truth even than this comes here into play. It is with nations as with families and



with individuals. Those destined by nature to live in the bonds of friendship and mutual kindness, become the bitterest and most irreconcilable enemies, when once fairly separated in angry enmity; in precisely the same degree in which affection and good-will were intended to subsist between them. We must have back the South, or else those who will not reunite with us must leave the country; we must have the country at any price. If, however, a plain division between the North and the South could take place, who will deny that those very traitors would instantly begin to manœuvre for a gradual annexation of the North to the South? It is known to be so. Some of them, void of all shame, have avowed it. They are ready to petition on their knees for annexation to the South, and to let the condescending grantor, "holding the while his nose," introduce slavery, that blessed "corner-stone of" the newest "civilization," into the North, which has been happily purged from this evil. Let us put the heel on this adder, and bruise all treason out of its head.

As to the compromise which they propose, we know of no compromise with crime that is not criminal itself, and senseless in addition to its being wicked. New guarantees, indeed, may be asked for at the proper time, but it is now our turn to ask for them. They will be guarantees of peace, of the undisturbed integrity of our country, of law, and liberty, and security, asked for and insisted upon by the Union men, who now pledge themselves not to listen to the words, compromise, new guarantees for the South, armistice, or convention of delegates from the South and North—as long as this war shall last, until the North is victorious, and shall have established again the national authority over the length and breadth of the country as it was; over the United States dominion as it was before the breaking out of the crime, which is now ruining our fair land—ruining it in point of wealth, but, with God's help, elevating it in character, strength, and dignity.

We believe that the question of the issue, which must attend the present contest, according to the character it has now acquired, is reduced to these simple words—Either the North conquers the South, or the South conquers the North. Make up your minds for this alternative. Either the North conquers the South and re-establishes law, freedom, and the integrity of our country, or the South conquers the North by arms, or by treason at home, and covers our portion of the country with disgrace and slavery.

Let us not shrink from facts or mince the truth, but rather plainly present to our minds the essential character of the struggle in which hundreds of thousands, that ought to be brothers, are now engaged. What has brought us to these grave straits?

Are we two different races, as the new ethnologists of the South, with profound knowledge of history and of their own skins, names, and language, proclaim? Have they produced the names which Europe mentions when American literature is spoken of? Have they produced our Crawfords? Have they advanced science? Have they the great schools of the age? Do they speak the choice idiom of the cultivated man? Have the thinkers and inventors of the age their homes in that region? Is their standard of comfort exalted above that of ours? What has this wondrous race produced? what new idea has it added to the great stock of civilization?

It has produced cotton, and added the idea that slavery is divine. Does this establish a superior race?

The French, ourselves, the English, the Germans, the Italians, none of whom are destitute of national self-gratulation, have ever made a preposterous claim of constituting a different race. Even the new idea of a Latin Race—a Bonaparte anachronism—is founded upon an error less revolting to common sense and common knowledge.

There is no fact or movement of greater significance in all history of the human race, than the settlement of this great continent by European people at a period when, in their portion of the globe, great nations had been formed, and the national polity had finally become the normal type of government; and it is a fact equally pregnant with momentous results, that the northern portion of this hemisphere came to be colonized chiefly by men who brought along with them the seeds of self-government, and a living common law, instinct with the principles of manly self-dependence and civil freedom.

The charters under which they settled, and which divided the American territory into colonies, were of little more importance than the vessels and their names in which the settlers crossed the Atlantic; nor had the origin of these charters a deep meaning, nor was their source always pure. The people in this country always felt themselves to be one people, and unitedly they proclaimed and achieved their independence. The country as a whole was called by Washington and his compeers America, for want of a more individual name. Still, there was no outward and legal bond between the colonies, except the crown of England; and when our people abjured their allegiance to that crown, each colony stood formally for itself. The Articles of Confederation were adopted, by which our forefathers attempted to establish a confederacy, uniting all that felt themselves to be of one nation, but were not one by outward legal form. It was the best united government our forefathers could think of, or of which, perhaps, the combination of circumstances admitted. Each colony came gradually to be called a State, and called itself sovereign, although none of them had ever exercised any of the highest attributes of sovereignty; nor did ever after the States do so.

Wherever political societies are leagued together, be it by the frail bonds of a pure confederacy, or by the consciousness of the people that they are intrinsically one people, and form one nation, without, however, a positive National Government, then the most powerful of these ill-united portions needs must rule; and, as always more than one portion wishes to be the leader, intestine struggles ensue in all such incoherent governments. It has been so in antiquity; it has been so in the middle ages; it has been so, and is so in modern times. Athens and Sparta, Castile and Aragon, Austria and Prussia, are always jealous companions, readily turned into bitter enemies. Those of our forefathers who later became the framers of our Constitution, saw this approaching evil, and they observed many other ills which had already overtaken the confederacy. Even Washington the strong and tenacious patriot, was brought to the brink of despondency. It was a dark period in our history; and it was then that our fathers most boldly, yet most considerately, performed the greatest act that our annals record—they engrafted a national, complete

and representative government on our halting confederacy; a government in which the Senate, though still representing the States as States, became Nationalized in a great measure, and in which the House of Representatives became exclusively National. Virginia, which, under the Articles of Confederation, was approaching the leadership over all (in the actual assumption of which she would have been resisted by other rapidly growing states, which would inevitably have led to our Peloponnesian war)—Virginia was now represented according to her population, like every other portion of the country; not as Virginia, not as a unit, but by a number of representatives who voted, and were bound to vote individually, according to their consciences and best light, as National men. The danger of internal struggle and provincial bitterness had passed, and our country now fairly entered as an equal among the leading nations in the course, where nations, like Olympic chariot-horses, draw abreast the car of civilization. We advanced rapidly; the task assigned to us by Providence was performed with a rapidity which had not been known before; for we had a National Government commensurate to our land and, it seemed, adequate to our destiny.

But while thus united and freed from provincial retardation and entanglements, a new portent appeared.

Slavery, which had been planted here in the colonial times, and which had been increased in this country, by the parent government, against the urgent protestations of the colonists, and especially of the Virginians, existed in all the colonies at the time when they declared themselves independent. It was felt by all to be an evil which must be dealt with as best it might be, and the gradual extinction of which must be wisely yet surely provided for. Even Mr. Calhoun, in his earlier days, called slavery a scaffolding erected to rear the mansion of civilization, which must be taken down when the fabric is finished.

This institution gave way gradually as civilization advanced. It has done so in all periods of history, and especially of Christian history. Slavery melts away like snow before the rays of rising civilization. The South envied the North for getting rid of slavery so easily, and often expressed her envy. But a combination of untoward circumstances led the South to change her mind. First, it was maintained that if slavery is an evil, it was their affair and no one else had a right to discuss it or to interfere with it; then it came to be maintained that it was no evil; then slavery came to be declared an important national element, which required its own distinct representation and especial protection; then it was said—we feel ashamed to mention it—that slavery is a divine institution. To use the words of the great South-Carolinian, whose death we deeply mourn—of James Louis Petigru—they placed, like the templars, Christ and Baphomet on the same altar, worshipping God and Satan simultaneously. But though slavery were divine, they choked the wells of common knowledge with sand and stones, and enacted perpetual ignorance for the slave. Then the renewal of that traffic, the records of which fills far the darkest pages of European history, and which the most strenuous and protracted efforts of civilized nations have not yet wholly succeeded in abolishing, was loudly called for; and our national laws, making that unhallowed trade piracy, were declared unconstitutional. Yet still another step was



to be taken. It was proclaimed that slavery is a necessary element of a new and glorious civilization; and those who call themselves conservatives plunged recklessly into a new-fangled theory of politics and civilization.

Some thirty years ago we first heard of Southern Rights. Some twenty years since we were first made familiar with the expression, Southern Principles. Within the present lustre, Southern Civilization has been proclaimed. What else remained but to invent Southern Mathematics and to decree a Southern God? And what does *Southern* mean in this connection? *South* is a word which indicates relative position in geography. Yet, in these combinations, it refers neither to geography, nor to climate, nor to product, but singly and exclusively to Slavery. Southern Rights, Southern Principles, Southern Civilization, and Southern Honor or "Chivalry," are novel phrases, to express the new idea of principles and civilization characterized and tested by the dependence of one class of people as chattel upon another. A more appalling confusion of ideas is not recorded in the history of any tribe or nation that has made any use of the terms—Rights, Principles, or Civilization.

Thus slavery came to group the different portions of our country; outside of, and indeed in hostility to, the National Government and National Constitution. The struggle for the leadership was upon us. The South declared openly that it must rule; we, in the meantime, declaring that the Nation must rule, and if an issue is forced upon us, between the South and the North, then, indeed, the North must rule and shall rule. *This* is the war in which we are now engaged—in which, at the moment this is read to you, the precious blood of your sons, and brothers, and fathers, is flowing.

Whenever men are led, in the downward course of error and passion, ultimately to declare themselves, with immoral courage, in favor of a thing or principle which for centuries and thousands of years their own race has declared, by a united voice, an evil or a crime, the mischief does not stop with this single declaration. It naturally, and by a well-established law, unhinges the whole morality of man; it warps his intellect, and inflames his soul, with bewildering passions, with defiance to the simplest truth and plainest fact, and with vindictive hatred toward those who cannot agree with him. It is a fearful thing to become the defiant idolater of wrong. Slavery, and the consequent separation from the rest of men, begot pride in the leading men of the South—absurdly even pretending to be of a different and better race. Pride begot bitter and venomous hatred, and this bitter hatred, coupled with the love of owning men as things, begot at last a hatred of that which distinguishes the whole race to which we belong, more than aught else—the striving for and love of liberty.

There is no room, then, for pacifying arguments with such men in arms against us, against their duty, their country, their civilization. All that remains for the present is the question, Who shall be the victor?

It is for all these reasons which have been stated, that we pledge ourselves anew, in unwavering loyalty, to stand by and support the Government in all its efforts to suppress the rebellion, and to spare no endeavor to maintain, unimpaired, the national unity, both in principle and territorial boundary.



We will support the Government, and call on it with a united voice to use greater and greater energy, as the contest may seem to draw to a close: so that whatever advantages we may gain, we may pursue them with increasing efficiency, and bring every one in the military or civil service, that may be slow in the performance of his duty, to a quick and efficient account.

We approve of the Conscription Act, and will give our loyal aid in its being carried out, whenever the Government shall consider the increase of our army necessary; and we believe that the energy of the Government should be plainly shown by retaliatory measures, in checking the savage brutalities committed by the enemy against our men in arms, or against unarmed citizens, when they fall into their hands.

We declare that slavery, the poisonous root of this war, ought to be compressed within its narrowest feasible limits, with a view to its speedy extinction.

We declare that this is no question of politics, but one of patriotism; and we hold every one to be a traitor to his country, that works or speaks in favor of our criminal enemies, directly or indirectly, whether his offence be such that the law can overtake him or not.

We declare our inmost abhorrence of the secret societies which exist among us in favor of the rebellious enemy, and that we will denounce every participator in these nefarious conventicles, whenever known to us. We believe publicity the very basis of liberty.

We pledge our fullest support of the Government in every measure which it shall deem fit to adopt against unfriendly and mischievous neutrality; and we call upon it, as citizens that have the right and duty to call for protection on their own Government, to adopt the speediest possible measure to that important end.

We loyally support our Government in its declarations and measures against all and every attempt of mediation, or armed or unarmed interference in our civil war.

We solemnly declare that we will resist every partition of any portion of our country, to the last extremity; whether this partition should be brought about by rebellious or treasonable citizens of our own, or by foreign powers, in the way that Poland was torn to pieces.

We pronounce every foreign minister accredited to our Government, who tampers with our enemies, and holds covert intercourse with disloyal men among us, as failing in his duty toward us, and toward his own people, and we await with attention the action of our Government regarding the recent and surprising breach of this duty.

And we call upon every American, be he such by birth or choice, to join the loyal movement of these National Leagues, which is naught else than to join and follow our beckoning flag, and to adopt for his device—

OUR COUNTRY.

The following resolutions were then read :

I. *Resolved*, That, assembled on the anniversary of the assault on Sumter, and reviewing the two years that have since elapsed, in the advance which our government has made from the position of unexampled weakness to which it had been then reduced by imbecility and treachery, we recognize the wondrous vitality and strength of our republican institutions, based upon the will of an intelligent and free people. At their voice a million of men have sprung to arms. An effective navy has been suddenly created, and the monstrous expenses of a mighty war have been promptly and cheerfully met without borrowing a dollar from the capitalists of Europe, or asking assistance from any nation upon earth.

That the feeling of loyal America, in view of all the difficulties of the case, has deepened into the firm and clear conviction that the rebellion can be crushed, ought to be crushed, and shall be crushed ; and that the last Congress, in placing at the disposal of the Executive without stint the men, money, and resources of the nation, was the true exponent of the devotion and loyalty of the American people, and of their unalterable determination to preserve unimpaired the national unity, both in principle and territory, against armed traitors in the South, their aiders and abettors in the North, and their piratical allies in Great Britain.

II. *Resolved*, That, apart from the treachery that has lurked, and which we fear still lurks, in the civil and military departments of the government, we believe that the errors and delays that have hitherto retarded the prosecution of the war, and the success of our arms, have arisen from the erroneous belief that the rebels have possessed certain constitutional rights which the National government was bound to respect.

That the recent decision of the Supreme Court of the Nation resolving, by the solemn adjudication of that high tribunal, to whose judgment the American people are accustomed to bow, all constitutional doubts as to the character of the war in which the nation is engaged, leaves no place hereafter for any such mistake on the part of any officer, civil, military, or naval, since the judicial declaration, that the territory occupied by the rebels is "enemy's territory ; and all persons residing within this territory, whose property may be used to increase the revenues of the hostile power, are in the condition to be treated as enemies, though not foreigners," has defined beyond all question the rights and duty of the government and the people.

That, in accordance with the principles of that decision, now to be recognized as the law of the land, the war should henceforth be waged with a single aim to the conquest of the rebellion, with the least delay and the smallest burden to the nation at large, by depriving the enemy of his strength and his resources in whatsoever they may consist, by appropriating his property wherever it may be convenient, and by withdrawing from his support, enrolling in our ranks, and treating as soldiers of the republic, all loyal men to be found in the South, without regard to race, creed, or complexion.

III. *Resolved*, That when on the day on whose solemn anniversary we are gathered together, the rebels of the South boasted that they had inaugurated war against the Republic, that they had humbled the stars and stripes, and that their confederate counterfeit of our flag would soon float even over Fanueil Hall, the American people rallied in defence of that national unity which had been their glory at home and their safeguard abroad ; and while they have maintained the ancient honor of their flag on many a well-contested field, and will maintain it, until it floats again over Sumter, and wherever it has floated in the past ; they, nevertheless, have recognized, and do now recognize, the fact that the rebellion was not organized by the people of the South, but by their bad and ambitious leaders, who, armed with the muniments of war filched from the national government, precipitated the revolution upon the Southern states.

That we also recognize the fact that the object of those leaders is to

establish a military or monarchical government, sustained by an organized and cemented aristocracy, in which the principles of democracy should be utterly ignored, its fundamental doctrine of "the greatest good of the greatest number," should be discarded as a pestilent and pernicious dogma, and the rights and happiness of the majority of the citizens be sacrificed to the interests of a few slaveholders.

That we further recognize the fact that, with this intent, Slavery was made the chief corner-stone of the Southern confederacy, and in the remorseless conscription for their army, persons holding twenty slaves are exempt, while the non-slaveholders are made to bear the burden of a war intended to impoverish and degrade them. And we gladly remember that in the overthrow of that bastard confederacy, and the uprooting of its corner-stone, will be concerned not simply the welfare of the nation at large, but the future peace, prosperity, and happiness of the South; that in its future results the war for the Union will be one, not of subjugation but of deliverance; and that as regards all classes in the rebel states, excepting only the leaders of the rebellion, our triumph will be their gain.

IV. *Resolved*, That in view of the recent conduct of the British government, in permitting a piratical vessel to be built, equipped, and manned in British ports, for the use of the Southern Confederates, and to go forth under the British flag, in disregard of the remonstrances of the American minister, accompanied by ample proof of the character of the vessel, to prey upon American commerce, and plunder and burn defenceless merchant ships, receiving the while the hospitalities of British colonial ports, it is proper for us to recall to the British government and the British people the contrast between such a violation of international neutrality, and the honorable fidelity and promptness which the American government, from its foundation, has uniformly observed toward the government of Great Britain.

The example set by Washington in observing, in regard to England, the strictest neutrality in her war with France: the peremptory instruction given by Hamilton, when Secretary of the Treasury, to the collectors of our ports to exercise "the greatest vigilance, care, activity, and impartiality, in searching for and discovering any attempt to fit out vessels or expeditions in aid of either party, the action of our government on the suggestion of Mr. Hammond, the British minister, in seizing a vessel that was being fitted out as a French privateer: the restoration to the British government of the British ship "Grange," taken by the French in American waters; the equipment by President Jefferson, in 1805, of a force to cruise within our own seas and arrest vessels embarking in a war in which the country had no part, and "bring in the offenders for trial as pirates;" and the prompt fidelity with which succeeding Presidents have performed their duty in this regard, especially toward Great Britain, down to its Canadian rebellion in 1838, and its war with Russia in 1854, the facts of which are fresh in their recollection—complete a record that entitles the American government to the fairest exercise on the part of England of the neutrality she professes in the pending war with the Southern Confederates. That, apart from the fact that the aid thus extended in England to the Confederate cause without interference by the government, in defiance of the sentiments of the civilized world, to a pretended government, which boasts as its corner-stone human slavery, it is the sentiment of this meeting that the government of the United States should make the most urgent appeal to the honor of the British government, to the justice of the British courts, and the moral sense of the British people, to provide a remedy for these outrages, and avert the possibility of a conflict between two nations who should be united by all the ties that spring from a common ancestry, and a common civilization.

V. *Resolved*, That we cannot separate on an occasion like the present, when we again catch the echoes of cannon thundering against Sumter, without recalling, with swelling pride and affectionate regard, our brave army and navy, wherever, gathered for the defence of the country, and especially those that



attract the gaze of the world on the Cooper, the Rappahannock, and the Mississippi.

That, to protect the rights of our gallant defenders, is the grateful duty of all true Americans; and that we heartily approve the judicious act of our legislature to secure them their privilege of a vote, while we leave to the scorn they deserve, those men, recreant to the first principles of democracy, who, ready to abet the enemies of their country, even by invoking intervention from a British minister, with a base consistency, would wrest from our citizen-soldiers the right to pass upon such disloyal conduct.

VI. *Resolved*, That, with the view of advising the national government of the earnest devotion of the loyal masses here assembled, and of their decided views in regard to the manner in which the war should be prosecuted, a copy of these resolutions be respectfully addressed to the President and each member of his cabinet, to whom, by acclamation, we wish God-speed in their glorious work of maintaining the unity, the freedom, and the supremacy of our common country.

---

The MAYOR then said :

I have now the honor of introducing to you a gentleman who is part and parcel of the government—a distinguished member of the administration—a gentleman of Southern birth and Southern associations, but whose heart beats as loyal as yours or mine. I have the pleasure of presenting to you the Hon. MONTGOMERY BLAIR, Postmaster-General of the United States. [Great applause, and “Three cheers for Blair.”]

SPEECH OF HON. MONTGOMERY BLAIR.

Mr. BLAIR said :

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF NEW YORK: I am gratified to meet so vast an assemblage, and to unite with you in doing honor to the glorious cause which we have met here to pledge ourselves to support. This, my friends, is a most appropriate occasion upon which to renew our pledges to that flag which has come down to us with so many hallowed memories associated with the founders of this government. The day upon which an attempt was made to subvert this government is a day to be remembered; it is a day to be remembered, and I hope, with the treatment which we are going to give the traitors, that we will make it to be remembered by them for eternity. [Cheers. “Good!”] The contest in which we are engaged is a struggle for the great idea underlying our political fabric, and as we live in an age when opinion is the great element of power, it is essential to our success that the true nature of the struggle should be comprehended by good men at home and abroad. Some reference to the parties to it may contribute to effect this object. From the outset the oligarchic interest everywhere has been at no loss on which side to range itself. Everywhere it has identified itself with the rebellion because it battled in the cause of privilege and against free government, and everywhere it has exerted itself promptly, yet skilfully, to support the rebel cause. Wielding vast power in all European governments, controlling the whole foreign press and some of our own, and assuming from the first mutterings of the

tempest that our ship of state was a wreck, as they had always predicted it would be, they have looked on only to find facts to sustain a foregone conclusion and otherwise to exert all the power they could wield to consummate their wishes. I do not in thus speaking of this class, and especially of the European branch of it, wish to be understood as impeaching their motives or questioning the sincerity of their conviction that, in the preservation of their own and kindred orders, they are doing the best for mankind. As individuals, and especially is this true of the British aristocracy, they are distinguished by a high sense of honor, by courage, truthfulness, and other manly qualities. But these personal characteristics only serve to give more effect to a mistaken policy in antagonism to freedom and free government, which results necessarily from the relation to society to which they are born and bred. They justly feel that the continuance of such a government as ours saps the foundation of their order day by day, and hence, though we meddle not in their affairs this class has warred upon us from the day we set up our democratic establishment in the wilds of America. For the most part this war has been carried on in the field of opinion by writers hired to combat the natural yearnings of the human heart for liberty. We have replied only by continuing to minister to human happiness, giving free homes to the oppressed, elevating the poor by instruction in free schools, and by having the gospel preached to all creeds. There was one point, however, upon which every letter-writer and book-making tourist who catered to the appetite of the established orders for American disparagement failed not to comment with the greatest harshness. That was, that we tolerated African slavery. So bitter have been these denunciations that many persons supposed, when the war broke out, that the English aristocrats for once would have to be on the side of those who were struggling for free government. Far from it. Like most of those among us who are now signaling themselves by denouncing the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, the conscription act, &c., their advocacy of freedom was, as we now see, only to serve the cause of slavery. It was for the freedom we cherished, not for the slavery we tolerated, they reviled us. See these proud aristocrats now, arming the slave-drivers at Richmond with iron-clad ships to strike down freedom, forgetting even the insults offered a few years since by their present allies—the Richmond snobbery—to the heir apparent of the English crown! But do not suppose that by pointing to the evidences of sympathy and alliance between these domestic and foreign foes of free government, I seek to stir you to wrath against England. Far from it; for while it is true that in all essentials the British peer and our vulgar Masons and Slidells, and the silly women who insult Union soldiers, are the same order of people, differing only in cultivation and external circumstances, but agreeing in the distinguishing characteristic of having no faith in humanity, yet you must remember that these worldlings do not rule either in England or America. Despite of their opposition, slavery was struck down in the British realm, and despite of them the great Republic will be saved, and the slave machinery applied to subvert it destroyed. I feel assured of this, because not only our own people, but the people of Europe, are beginning to understand, what I have said the aristocrats everywhere have understood from the first, that this is a battle for common people throughout the world, and that they now are, or soon will be, ready

to make common cause for freedom against the wide-spread conspiracy of aristocrats to destroy it. It is true that Lord Lyons tells his government that our "democratic leaders" came stealthily to him, and made known their wish and purpose "to put an end to the war, even at the risk of losing the Southern states altogether," but "that it was not thought prudent to avow this desire, and that some hints of it, dropped before the elections, were so ill received, that a strong declaration in a contrary sense was deemed necessary by the democratic leaders." Lord Lyons further states that these democratic "leaders" thought "that the offer of mediation, if made to a radical administration, would be rejected; that if made at an unpropitious moment, it might increase the virulence with which the war is prosecuted. If their own party were in power, or virtually controlled the administration, they would rather, if possible, obtain an armistice without the aid of foreign governments; but they would be disposed to accept an offer of mediation if it appeared to be the only means of putting a stop to hostilities. They would desire that the offer should come from the great powers of Europe conjointly; and in particular, that as little prominence as possible should be given to Great Britain." This is the sum of his lordship's revelations; and if it were not that he entirely mistakes the character and influence of his men, they might be ominous of the result which he and the British ministry so confidently predict and devoutly wish. If the "chiefs" whom he describes as "calling loudly for a more vigorous prosecution of the war, and reproaching the government with slackness as well as with want of success in its military measures," but telling him that it was their wish "to put an end to it at the risk of losing the Southern states altogether," were really as able as he supposes they are, to bring the true democracy of the North to adopt the plans of the secessionists for the extension of slavery, to make it the foundation of the political institutions of the country, or to assent to the division of the country—resigning one half of it to slavery—then, indeed, might the enemies of popular government indulge their fond hope that the bright prospects which opened on the birth-day of free institutions in the New World, and have attended its progress to this hour, would soon close. But it is apparent, even from the narrative of the worthy and truly honorable representative of England, that "the leaders" who conferred with him were conscious that they could not lead their party to sanction their purposes, that they were forced to disavow them, and advised postponement of the offer of mediation till *they* should come into power, which they only hoped to secure by "calling loudly for a more vigorous prosecution of the war, and reproaching the government with slackness as well as with want of success in its military measures"! But the immense popular assemblies which have everywhere denounced mediation of any sort, show that no such jugglery would avail. The most distinguished leaders of the democracy in this great commonwealth attended the vast meeting of the 6th of March. They are here again to-night. They unite in council with the members of the republican party, with the chiefs of the old whig party, with those of the original anti-slavery party, with the American party, peculiarly jealous of foreign influence, and with those of other strong classes, which embrace, with a sort of kindred sympathy, the naturalized citizens of all Europe, as brothers enfranchised from feudal fetters, and rising here to usefulness and influence as the equals of the native born free-



man. Every party and every class by whom free institutions are held dear in this country, merging all minor differences of opinion, are gathering in every quarter to devise measures to restore the nationality and secure the liberties of the country; and to give effect to these, the shouts of battle from a million of brave men are heard by land and sea. They see the feudal lords who hold the slaves in the South in bondage, to raise the commodities on which the laborers of the feudal lords in Europe are to exhaust their energies to exalt their privileged orders, are supported by such orders because of a common interest in the enslavement of mankind. And if the vassalage which holds the black race as mere animated machines, and is rapidly reducing the poor whites of the South to a dependence and suffering, rendering the fate of the slave of a kind master enviable—if such vassalage is to be upheld by the great modern dynasties abroad, combining their military power to give support to the despotic principle in a nation separated from them by the ocean, how long will it be before such armed usurpation here will, by its reactionary force, recover the arbitrary power that belonged to the age of the Bourbons, the Tudors, and of that horde of feudal proprietors who monopolized the soil, holding the people as serfs appurtenant to the domain of masters, rising as a superstructure of oppression through grades from barons, counts, dukes, princes, and emperors to autocrats! Our Southern chivalry, which but a generation back, signed our Magna Charta of liberty and equality, in the course of one lifetime, by the indoctrination of the slave system, working on one poor oppressed caste, are always prepared to join the Holy Alliance abroad in making a partition of this continent, and setting up dynasties deriving their type from the Congress of Vienna, and they have an improved feature on the old feudal system, tending to reinvigorate it. In that state which led off in the assault upon the Union, the ownership of ten slaves, or an equivalent, was an essential qualification for a legislator. Carrying out this principle, the Confederate Congress has decreed, that twenty slaves shall exempt the master from military service. This will operate as a premium for multiplying slaves, and divide the community into two great classes, the producers and the soldiery; creating a military government, one portion of the people to fight, the other to feed the fighters. The starveling whites not suited to war, and not subjected as soldiers, will become slaves to the owners of estates on whom they must depend. That the crowned heads of Europe, who are invited to make the political constitutions of this continent, as well as its cotton, their concern, should have a disposition to admit states into the Holy Alliance which give such earnest hostility to free government, is not unnatural. But what will the more enlightened portion of the European population think of this combination with slaveholders to extirpate liberty in America? The organs of the privileged orders in Great Britain, the *Quarterly Review*, *The Times*, &c., already congratulate their patrons on the fact that rebellion here has arrested Reform in England. They proclaim that Lords Palmerston and Russell reached their power in England by pledges of reform, and now they rejoice that the Rebellion has exonerated them from their obligation! They would now, for the third time, attempt to crush the free principles which, nurtured here beyond the reach of despotic coalitions, has attained a prosperity, spreading an influence back to the country of their origin, reforming their government and elevating their



people; and it is in the interest of the selfish few that the progress of nations in reform, in freedom and happiness, is to be arrested. Is it possible that a great war, waged by the potentates of Europe, in alliance with the slave system propagated in the South, against the free states of America, will be cordially supported by the substantial, intelligent body of the European populations? Can Lord Lyons persuade himself or them that there are democratic leaders in the free states, capable of drawing the democratic masses to join foreign powers in mediating a peace dividing the empire of free government on this continent with slavery, European sovereigns to hold the balance of the continent? No patriot, no honest man of any party, no democrat of influence with a party which has never been wanting to the country when its fortunes hung upon the scale of battle, could have made the questions which were submitted to Lord Lyons. Davis, Benjamin, Floyd, and Toombs, call themselves democrats. Their emissaries in Europe, Slidell, Sanders, and Mason, call themselves democrats. Their creatures in the free states, Buchanan, Toucey, and the subaltern traitors associated with them, spared by the clemency of the administration, call themselves democrats. But these men in the North are only so many men on gibbets. The real democrats everywhere are with the real republicans, in arms for their country and its Constitution. It is not the interest of nations to destroy each other, and I hope no nation will interpose in any way to countenance the treason which has no object but the overthrow of republican institutions. The only effect would be to embitter and prolong the strife. England, especially, which has some consciousness of the value of such institutions, and has evinced a full sense of the mischief of the slave power now seeking her help to sacrifice them here, will, I doubt not, recoil from the leprous touch. There was a time, indeed, when even that very class of Englishmen who would now see the Great Republic fall with so much satisfaction, looked toward it with very different feelings. It was when they apprehended invasion from France. Then the free states of this continent, proud of their race and of the inspiration, responded to the patriotic heart of Britain. They did not intend to be passive while "the Latin race" established their ascendancy in the fatherland. At that great crisis English statesmen recognized the value of this kindred sympathy, and honored the magnanimity which, forgetting the oppression dealt to us as an infant people aspiring to equality with their brethren beyond the Atlantic, remembering only the glory of a common lineage, language, and literature. They felt, and with reason, that the mutual abhorrence of slavery, in whatever form imposed, would induce the government of the United States to make common cause with England against any attempt to invade or enslave her. But now that their apprehensions of danger from across the channel are, for the time, allayed, and they feel no present need of help, the feeling for America, which for a moment expanded the hearts even of the English lordlings, has passed away. They have become as earnest as in '76 to overthrow our government, and are co-operating with the rebels, as with the tories, in every possible way, short of declared war, and have clearly evinced their disposition to take even that step whenever we will give them a pretext for it, which will carry the people of England with them. We cannot, therefore, be too careful not to furnish the desired pretext, especially when the people of Europe, as well as of America, are awakening to their interest in this struggle. We

had better suffer for a time from the pirates set afloat in England, and harbored and provisioned in their West India possessions, to devastate our commerce, to enable the English nation to put a stop to these outrages. I have confidence that they will do it, and I much prefer the mode adopted by the real noblemen of New York, to touch the hearts of the real nobility of England—the men who love truth and justice—to whom alone she owes her greatness among the nations of the earth—to that proposed by my friend, General Butler. To send the starving poor of England cargoes of food, while her aristocrats are turning loose upon us piratical vessels, tells more than words can express of the nature of this struggle, and who are allies in it. I will venture to affirm, that the mediating leaders who visited the British minister in November, are not among those who, while exhibiting such munificence toward his countrymen, were lavishing millions to sustain free government, although most of them are democrats. The rebellion here, this reactionary measure against free government, reacts across the water, stops all progress, all beneficence and reform for the people of Europe. That is the nature of this contest. You cannot, therefore, if you love yourselves, your rights, and the rights of those whom you are to leave behind you; if you love your brothers in fatherland, and wish to have an asylum for them, and to extend the principles of liberty in the old continent, you cannot but stand up for the government you have installed here, regardless for the moment of whom you have placed in power. I am a member, as my friend said, of the existing government, and I say to you here, although its measures may not meet the approval of some of you, yet, rely upon it, you have as honest a man as ever God made installed in the chair of the Chief Magistrate. [Loud applause.] We have a man from the people, like many of those I see before me, having a heart sympathetic for the masses; a man working his way from an humble and obscure position, up to the elevated position that he now fills; and, of course, he feels and feels deeply, as one of you, the nature of the struggle that I have been endeavoring to paint. You must support him, my friends. It is your cause; not his. [Three cheers for the President.] Thanking you again, my friends, for the cordiality and kindness with which you have been pleased to receive me, I give way to others who can add much to what I have said, and say it better. [Prolonged cheers.]

MAYOR OPDYKE: Gentlemen, we have just heard patriotic and spirit-stirring words, from one member of the administration. A letter will now be read to you from another, who is not able to be present. John Austin Stevens, Jr., will read a letter from the Hon. S. P. Chase.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS, Jr., then read a letter from Mr. Chase.

MR. STEVENS: In addition to what Mr. Chase has said, there are a few lines in a private letter. With your consent I will read them:

WASHINGTON, April 9, 1863.

MY DEAR SIR: \* \* \* \* \* You may think my letter rather too explicit and direct; but it seems to me the times require plainness of speech.

What said the Roman orator when Catilino armed against his country? "*Let what each man thinks concerning the Republic be inscribed on his forehead.*"

Sincerely your friend,

S. P. CHASE.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS, Jr.

Mayor OPDYKE: Gentlemen, I have now the pleasure of introducing to you a distinguished and eloquent representative in Congress from a sister state, a gentleman who has stood by the government manfully and fearlessly; I introduce to you Judge Kelley of Philadelphia, a delegate from the Loyal League of Philadelphia, which is represented here to-day by over one hundred members. (Loud applause.)

SPEECH OF HON. WM. D. KELLEY.

Judge KELLEY said: In the name of unconditional loyalty to the Constitution, Philadelphia greets New York. [Cheers.] In the name of the unity of the nation founded by the original of that grand monument—the statue of Washington was immediately in front of the stand—the Keystone sends greeting to the Empire State. [Applause.] And this after two years of war—two years of war! We of Pennsylvania have tears for the dead, sympathy for the mangled and bereaved, but this is for our individual hearts, our private circles; for our country we have but pride and devotion. [Cheering, “Good, good.”] Two years of war, in which the Ruler of Providence has more clearly than ever before in history demonstrated how from seeming evil He is still educing good, how within His purposes it is to make the folly and wrath of man to praise Him. [Cheers.] Two years in which the American people have made more of glorious history than ever was made before in the same brief period. O, my countrymen, look back over that little period of two years, and remember our condition when in the first wild outburst of wounded and indignant patriotism you gathered to this square. Your country was bankrupt; it could not borrow at one cent a month the little sum of \$5,000,000; your navy lay in Southern yards in ordinary, upon the distant coast of Africa, or in the far Pacific; your army was on the frontiers of Texas, in New Mexico, in the far Territory of Washington, everywhere but where your government could command it; your arsenals had been treacherously emptied alike of arms, ammunition, and accoutrements; an enemy, to whom had been transferred your navy and your military resources, had fired upon your flag and threatened to unfurl from the dome of your Capitol a foreign banner, but the heart of America did not tremble, and two years of war have not chilled or bated your patriotism. [Cheers, “No, no.”] We are here to-day to say that no star must be stricken from our flag—[“Never.”]; no acre of our country surrendered, if to prevent it takes from our coffers the last dollar and from our hearth-sides the last able-bodied boy. [Cheers, “Hurrah.”] These are the sentiments of Pennsylvania, and I am glad you respond to them with such fervor. We behold all the possible consequences of the war; in these two years we have created a navy; we have organized, armed, and equipped an army such as the eye of God never beheld before upon this planet; and we have conquered well-nigh 400,000 square miles of territory. [“Good, good!”] We have not borrowed of England or the Continent one picayune toward bearing the expense. [Applause.] O, my friends, this is a proud day. We had demonstrated before rebel hands desecrated our flag, the beneficence of republican institutions. In eighty short years we had conquered the breadth of a continent. Yes, our flag floated on yon Eastern promontories in



the broad blaze of the noon-day sun, while on our golden sands the morning dawn just tipped its stars, and all was ours, and civilization was blooming over all. We had demonstrated the capacity of man for self-government and of popular institutions, raising the poor emigrant and his children to the full stature of manhood and to all the powers and rights of citizenship, nay, to the capacity not only to enjoy, but to exercise them all. [Cheers.] The potentates of Europe had seen the peasant and the laborer, under our benign institutions, expand into the citizen and the capitalist; they had seen from the humblest walks of life the man of honor, wealth, and distinction, spring. Eighty years had served to demonstrate this. But, their sneer was—a good government for peace, but no government for war. Is it not a government for war? When Congress passed what the copperheads call the conscription bill, and thus served notice upon France and England that every man who had not depending upon him, and him alone, aged parents or tender children, should be called to the field, they concluded that all Europe in alliance would not do to meet the American people under that government which was not good for war. [Cheers.] So good is it for war that, while we go on to conquer those who are armed with our weapons, we hold the envious aristocracy of Europe in check, and dare them to do their worst [cheers], yes, dare them so defiantly, that I refer you to the New York papers of to-day for the revised opinion of Lord John Russell, as expressed in the House of Lords. [Cheers. “Give it to him!” “Bully!”] Bully for the American people. [Cheers.] Bully for those institutions that open the school-house to every child however poor it may be, and give a just return for all the labor that it or its parents perform. What is this war? What is it about? Between whom is it, men of New York? [“Three cheers for Kelley.”] No, do not cheer so insignificant a being; keep quiet, and hear him. Is it between political parties? No; here on this stand are men of all parties. I do not know what party I belong to—I was fool or sinner enough to hasten home in 1852 to vote for Frank Pierce, but since 1854 I have been fighting for freedom and civilization in the ranks of the Republican party. [Cheers; “Good.”] No, my friends, it is not between political parties; nor is it between contending states. The line between prevailing loyalty and treason seems to divide states, but take the exceptions. East Tennessee and West Virginia are loyal as New York or Pennsylvania, [“Good, good,”] though one of them lies south of Kentucky, and the other has been held by Eastern Virginia, as Russia holds Poland, or as England has held Ireland. [Cheers.] Yes, they are loyal. It is a war between two orders of civilization—the order of civilization which we enjoy, which opens a school-house to every child coming into the commonwealth by birth or emigration; which gives to the son of the poorest laborer, whether of native or foreign birth, the mastery of the English language, the art of writing and some knowledge of figures, and so enables him to go forth and arm himself with knowledge, and wisdom, and power to contend with the world and secure a fair day’s wages for a fair day’s work whether in humble or exalted sphere. The other order of civilization is one which holds that capital should own its labor; that laboring men and women should be held for sale and purchase like cattle in the stall or upon the shambles. And, my friends, do not let us blink the question. The taking of Fort Sumter, the taking of Vicksburg,

will not settle the war. One or the other of these orders of civilization must be victoriously triumphant over the whole land before you can have peace. [Cheers. "That's the talk."] You have heard from Secretary Chase. Like him, I am for letting the negro in. I do not think he is a bit better than I or you, and I do not see why he should not do picket duty in the swamps as well as my son or yours. I do not see why he should not work for us as ably as he has for our common enemy, and I am for letting him in, and letting him under the stars and stripes win his way to freedom by proving on the bloody field the power of his manhood. ["Bravo." Applause.] This we have to do. This we will do. And having sunk the traitors, from Fernando up or down—whichever it may be, to Jeff Davis—[laughter and applause]—deeper than ever plummet sounded—we will have so squelched treason that our children and our children's children to the latest generation will never fear another civil war. We will have peace then if it suits our pleasure, with England and with France, and we will have demonstrated to the world the power as well as the beneficence of republican institutions. Yes, when this war closes will we not have shown the world that that Constitution framed under his [pointing to the statue of Washington] wise auspices is not only beneficent over a young and peaceful people, but is a fit canopy for a continent? [Loud and prolonged applause, and three cheers for Kelley.]

MAYOR OPDYKE: Gentlemen, we have on the stand one of the heroic defenders of Fort Sumter when it was a citadel of the Union. He was then a subordinate in the United States army. He is now a brigadier-general in the service of the United States. I ask leave to introduce to you Brigadier-General CRAWFORD of the Pennsylvania volunteers.

Brigadier-Gen. CRAWFORD was introduced and received three cheers. Three more were given for the mayor.

MAYOR OPDYKE: You have been pleased with the eloquence of our sister city of Philadelphia. I am happy to say that it is not yet exhausted. We have another gentleman from that state present, a gentleman who left the democratic party, not in 1852, as did Judge Kelley, but a few months ago. He has been a democrat of the strictest sect. He will present to you his views of the contest. I beg leave to introduce Benjamin H. Brewster, Esq., a distinguished lawyer of Philadelphia.

SPEECH OF B. H. BREWSTER, ESQ.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: With some misgivings, I have consented to come here. It is my wish so to act in all my public demonstrations upon the important subject that has called you here, and which agitates the minds of all men in America, that I may not blunt the measure of my usefulness by over-action. For I have not come out from my privacy to make myself the advocate of a party, or by zealous declamation to urge the promotion of any one. Nothing but a sense of duty has stimulated me to come from the quiet of my study into such vast throngs of anxious and excited men. [Cheers.] From my earliest youth I have been connected

with the democratic party—identified with its principles, and associated with its public characters. From its first organization, kinsmen of mine have held its highest honors and been its firmest advocates. All this has bound me to it with hoops of steel. In the darkest hours of its adversity I have never lost my faith in it or in its leaders.

I have a right to speak for it and to speak to it. When I look round and see it commanded by runaway whigs, who have spent their time in systematic opposition to its measures and its men, and hear them lay down the law for the rank and file, and hear them declare the rule of faith, I am amazed at their audacity and ashamed of the submissive spirit of those they profess to lead and speak for. But more than that, and worse than that, I hear those men defile the sanctuaries of our political conventions by teachings that are heterodox, by statements that are untrue, and by policies of action that are treasonable, and so I have come here by the advice of judicious men to say away from home that which I have willingly said there, that democrats are not bound by any obligation of party allegiance to follow such "blind leaders of the blind." They are not to heed the teachings of men whose whole political, personal, and social natures are, in their very elements, hostile to their party and antagonistic to its principles. Their lives, their associations, and their proclaimed opinions, are all in open war with the democratic party as a party, and with democratic measures as a rule of government. At such a crisis as this how dare such men stand up and lay down the law of action for that political church, whose catechism they have not yet learned? I say how dare they strive to teach treason, and tell party men that such foul teachings are the logical results of their political faith. One might suppose that they had banded together to betray and calumniate the party they profess to lead. Democrats of New York, I say to you, as I have said to the democrats of Pennsylvania, that such men are not of you, and are not with you, and should be spurned by you. When we had a united and triumphant party we only knew them as our avowed enemies, and now we only know them as our corruptors and betrayers. [Applause.] Let us not now, with armed men in the field—with our banner soiled and trampled on, with the principles of our government in peril and our honor questioned—let us not follow such men into the gulf of faction, or hope to maintain party by sundering our country. Let us have a country first before we have a party! Let us have laws obeyed before we have organizations to elect officers to administer laws that are despised. [Cheering.] The men who broke down the democratic party by secession from its fold now demand its help and command obedience to its laws to secure them success in their open resistance to all public authority, and they have found those men in the North who are weak enough or base enough to help them in their treason. The last who should encourage this outrage and public sin are democrats. By the ballot were they beaten, and by its final decree are they bound. Suffrage and obedience to popular will are at the very foundation of all true democracy. How, then, can democrats stand by men as democrats who are disloyal to their own faith and resist the declared will of the people and refuse obedience to the letter and the duly appointed officers of the law. Those who would act otherwise, those who would teach otherwise, have no business here. Their place is with the enemy. Their home should be in the South. [Great applause.]



I do not complain that men speak out their ideas, but I do complain that when they speak they speak political blasphemy. The freedom of speech I would not abridge; but licentiousness of speech is not freedom. Scoffing, reviling, railing, and denouncing, is not freedom; it is crime—it is sin. What produced this war? Did the states that first rebelled lose their negroes? No, not one. Did those that lost their negroes willingly enter into this conflict? No! they were dragged into it. The cause of this war was that the far-off gulf states could not endure the freedom of speech and liberty of the press here, a thousand miles off—up, far up in the North. And now we are told that the democrats are to rally and overthrow the government, by fair or foul means, to vindicate the liberty of speech and the liberty of the press. Remember, gentlemen, we have the largest liberty. The government we obey is one of our own choice. The officers who strive to execute the laws, under difficulties such as never encompassed men in a free government before, are faithful, single-minded, honest men, and they merit your support, and it is your duty, freely and without grudge, to give it. [Applause.] Setting aside all other considerations, I am for this war as a duty to my section—first, to compel obedience to law; second, to reduce a rival and hostile section; third, to prevent foreign treaties with a new and feeble power within our territorial limits; fourth, to uphold the honor of our country before the world, and to prove the strength of democratic institutions to enforce obedience to law as absolutely as an imperial Cæsar.

This occasion will not permit many words. This is my testimony, and I trust others of my political persuasion will think with me, and act with me, for our country, our whole country, and nothing but our country. [Great applause.] And I say to you, that the Northern man who will give his sympathy to Southern men who call him a dog and a coward, is worse than a dog, and deserves to be spit upon. [Great applause.] And now, gentlemen, I go for prosecuting this war, nigger or no nigger. I go for it for the reasons I have stated; and if we do not succeed, I go for crippling the rebels so that if they come out of the — their devilish independence won't be worth a straw. [Great laughter and applause.]

A patriotic ode on the Defence of Fort Sumter by Major (now General) Anderson, was then read, and received with much applause (See Appendix.)

Mayor OPDYKE: We have with us here to-day one of our honored fellow-citizens, whose patriotism has carried him to the war, a gentleman who can use his tongue as well as his sword. I have the pleasure to introduce to you Col. Stewart L. Woodford. [Loud cheers.]

#### SPEECH OF COL. WOODFORD.

Col. S. L. WOODFORD said: Men of New York and brothers of the Loyal League; I call you thus, for though I have not signed your pledge, I come to you from that older Loyal League whose muster-roll is read where the reveille drum beats, and whose councils gather where the



camp-fires burn. [Cheers.] To-day the army and the navy sends you a greeting and a God-speed; and well may they bid you all-hail in your great work, for though to those gallant men in the ranks it is hard to face the pitiless storm and the more pitiless storm of battle, though it is hard to suffer absence from home and loved ones, hard to languish in the hospital or fall in the field, it is harder, far harder to know that there is something which strikes at them at home, to know that right here, under the shadow of the flag, the serpent hisses and rattles and strikes, and yet is unpunished. [Great cheers.] God bless you for these voices of your thousands gathered in your Loyal Leagues; God grant that by them you may speak silence to the traitor, and bid the copperhead writhe back smitten to his own death. [Cheers. "The eagle has him."] Men of New York, it is fitting that upon this anniversary day you should be gathered thus. Twice twelve months since and treason broke into open war; and then on the shattered ramparts of Fort Sumter, as upon an altar, the nation took its great oath of loyalty over burning casemates and bursting shell. You have come to renew that oath. You have come to speak to the rebels in arms and to the waiting nations beyond the sea, that the great metropolis has determined, come what may of peril, of loss, of war, come what may, this metropolis stands pledged to pursue this war to the bitter end. [Cheers.] You have come to testify that you will bear taxation, if need be; that you will endure conscription, if need be; that you will face foreign war, if that must come—[great applause]; that, God helping you, you will hand this land of our fathers down to our children's children, unbroken and forever. [Loud cheers.] Upon one thing you may rely, the national army is loyal to its very core—[cheers]; despite what intriguing politicians may assert, there is no officer nor true soldier in that army who will not sacrifice his dearest leader to the cause of his country—[applause]; there is no officer there who does not hold the great cause of the nation to be above all hero-worship, and who is not willing to follow the majesty of the law, wherever that law may bid him go. [Cheers.] And, gentlemen, I think that we want peace full as much as you stay-at-home gentlemen who are so afraid of us. There is a great deal of sympathy among some men at the North for the poor fellows who live on hard tack and under shelter-tents; God bless you, we don't want your sympathy. If you love us, come down and help us fight—[cheers]—and if you have not got the nerve to fight, at least have the decency to keep your mouth shut. [Loud cheers. "Good, good."] One word and I am done. ["Go on, go on."] I intend to go in about two days to the army. [Cheers.] The attack which has been made upon Fort Sumter may possibly fail; valor and courage have been stricken down before this; but of one thing be sure, the day shall come, whether it be now or twelve months hence, the day shall come when the old flag shall wave over Sumter again; the day shall come when this Union shall be restored, for God made this land for free government, and it is not in the power of any rebellion to reverse that heavenly decree. [Cheers.] And now, thanking you for your kind attention—["Go on, go on"]—I do not think that I could talk any more to-night unless you were willing to fill up my regiment for me. [Laughter. "How many are you short?"] We want about two hundred and fifty. ["I will go for one." Loud cheers.]

Mayor OPDYKE: I have now the pleasure of introducing H. N. WILD, Esq. [Three cheers for H. N. WILD.]

SPEECH OF HORATIO N. WILD.

HORATIO N. WILD, Esq., said: Mr. Chairman, for the first time since you have been chief magistrate of the city I take you by the hand, and greet you as one of the friends of the Union. [Cheers.] Fellow-citizens, I have and so have you, listened to statesmen, the judiciary, and the military; all that language could say or words convey, has been said. I wish now that I had the voice of Demosthenes in which to speak to you, or the eloquence of Clay or Webster or the great men who have gone before us, to convey to you to-day a living idea of the true condition of your country, and to clear up your minds from all doubts as to what your duty may be. Two years ago, a few rods from here, stood a gray-haired great man, Senator Baker from California. [Prolonged cheering.] I never shall forget the power of that man's presence or his words, as long as I live. I remember in his closing remarks he said this: "If I should fail, if I should fall upon the battle-field, let my countrymen drop one tear for my memory, for I go for the right." [Loud cheering.] Yes, nor the right, and since that day, two years ago, the startling events which have taken place in our Republic, have caused the world to stop and consider the condition of this great Republic. Oh! that we should be surrounded to-day by mothers clad in mourning, and old men sorrowing for their sons, that have fallen in the sacred cause of the Union! Oh! that you could see them here, the fathers, mothers, and brothers of 200,000 men that are now beneath the green sod! And I say now if there is one tribute of respect that we owe to their memory, it is to stand by that which they fought for, and not to let the green laurel of memory and revenge fade into the sere and yellow leaf in two short years. Who is there here in this vast assemblage to-day, who will not say that they went forth to do battle for a holy cause? [The artillery firing its closing salute interrupted the orator.] Let it echo; and as some people have asked why is the American flag floating from our lofty edifices to-day? I answer: it is because the rebels have not taken one single state from us, and we have surrounded them with a wall of fire which they can never penetrate. It is for this that we have a right to see the flag out. [Applause.] The line is drawn, it is completely drawn, gentlemen; it is this: either the Union or slavery must perish. Then I say, let slavery die and the Union live. [Loud cheers.] So says every true man. I am a man of the masses. I come from the shop; I manufacture, in common with many a one who has come to this meeting. This is the hour when the mechanics and workmen who are to fight our battles leave their labor. To them I say: accursed be the voice, palsied be the hand, that would interfere with the efforts of any man, or deny any man's right to contribute to the success of the nation in this struggle. I care not for parties; I care not for the man that has got "nigger" on the brain; I want to go for the man who has got Union on his brain. Let us fight for the common cause, and if the nigger is a part of it, for him; but for the Union intact and forever. [Loud applause.] Mr. Chairman, I may have fatigued you, but I think

the crowd have made up their minds to stand by the Union, one and inseparable, now and forever. [Prolonged applause.]

Mayor OPDYKE: Thanking you for your patient attention, as we are through with our speakers, I now propose three rousing cheers for the Union, after which the band will give the "Star Spangled Banner," and we will adjourn.

With many cheers, and the inspiring strains of that magnificent music which is identified with the glory of the nation, this portion of the vast multitude separated.

# OFFICERS.

---

## STAND No. 2.

Under charge of Committee of Arrangements,

JAMES A. ROOSEVELT,      GEORGE CABOT WARD.  
ISAAC H. BAILEY,      WILLIAM E. DODGE, JR.

### President.

ROBERT B. MINTURN.

### Vice-Presidents.

|                       |                       |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| John A. Stevens,      | James W. Newton,      |
| Moses Taylor,         | Carl Schulk,          |
| A. T. Stewart,        | John F. Trow,         |
| James T. Brady,       | Horace Greeley,       |
| Peter Cooper,         | Joseph W. Alsop,      |
| James Lenox,          | Benjamin D. Silliman, |
| Lorenzo Sherwood,     | William Bartou,       |
| Cambridge Livingston, | Clarkson N. Potter,   |
| E. Caylus,            | John W. Avery,        |
| A. Michelbacher,      | Henry B. Hyde,        |
| William M. Evarts,    | Cyrus W. Field,       |
| Benjamin F. Butler,   | Wickham Hoffman,      |
| A. Thorp,             | William Radde,        |
| David S. Coddington,  | Charles W. Sandford,  |
| William Wadsworth,    | William H. Wickham,   |
| M. S. Dunham,         | Henry Bruggman,       |
| Samuel R. Betts,      | George A. Robbins,    |
| David Miller,         | Mark Hoyt,            |
| Otis D. Swan,         | Valentine Mott,       |
| James H. Welch,       | Oliver S. Stagg,      |
| W. Ashton,            | James W. White,       |
| George T. Hope,       | Jeremiah Burns,       |
| Benjamin Floyd,       | Dexter A. Hawkins,    |
| Robert Ray,           | Henry Clausen,        |
| James G. Watson,      | James C. Holden,      |
| J. P. Morgan,         | Alexander H. Leonard, |
| W. V. Brady,          | Frederick Olmstead,   |
| Isaac Dayton,         | P. H. Holt,           |
| S. H. Gay,            | George B. Butler,     |

C. R. Robert,  
 J. P. Wallace,  
 Merritt Trimble,  
 Israel Corse,  
 Lorillard Spencer,  
 Stephen Philbin,  
 George W. Brown,  
 Charles Burkhalter,  
 N. Worrall,  
 William B. Shipman,  
 James M. Cross,  
 Willard Harvey,  
 A. Menzesheimer,  
 Paul Spofford,  
 George C. Wood,  
 Alexander Proudfoot,  
 A. Fred. Sueltzer,  
 John A. Foersch,

Anthony S. Hope,  
 Jacob Hayes,  
 Robert J. Livingston,  
 Murray Hoffman,  
 Gustav. Kutter,  
 Isaac Sherman,  
 Harvey H. Woods,  
 Elijah Fisher,  
 William Hague,  
 Robert G. Remsen,  
 Henry Hill,  
 John B. Dingledein,  
 Thaddeus B. Wakeman,  
 Theodore Polhemus, jr.  
 John Bailey,  
 — Morris Ketcham,  
 R. Von Der Heydt.

---

**Secretaries,**

Veranus Morse,  
 William S. Chamberlain,  
 George Bruce, jr.,  
 Charles E. Stevens,  
 Richard Vallant,  
 Edward B. Morris,  
 Charles C. Nott,  
 William Bond,  
 John H. White,  
 Clinton Rice,  
 Samuel Curtis,

Edward A. Mann,  
 Cephas Brainerd,  
 William W. Hague,  
 Stuyvesant Le Roy,  
 Charles E. Wilbour,  
 James Lenox Kennedy,  
 T. G. Sherman,  
 George B. Waldron,  
 J. Howard,  
 Elliott F. Shepard,  
 William D. Jones.



# PROGRAMME OF PROCEEDINGS.

---

## STAND No. 2.

SOUTHWEST CORNER OF UNION SQUARE.

*Salutes of Artillery by the workmen employed by Henry Brewster & Co.*

1. Grand March from "Le Prophète," of Meyerbeer, by Dodworth's Grand Band.
2. Robert B. Minturn, Esq., of the Council of the Loyal National League, will call the meeting to order.
3. Prayer by Rev. J. T. Duryea.
4. James A. Roosevelt, of the Executive Committee, will read the call for the meeting, and the list of Vice-Presidents and Secretaries.
5. Isaac H. Bailey will read the address adopted by the Council and Executive Committees on Lectures and Addresses.
6. George Cabot Ward will read the resolutions.
7. Music by the Band.
8. Gov. O. P. Morton of Indiana will address the meeting.
9. Music—singing: "The Army Hymn." By Oliver Wendell Holmes.
10. Gen. A. J. Hamilton will address the meeting.
11. Music—singing: "The Star-Spangled Banner."
12. Mr. Scoville, delegate from New Jersey, will address the meeting.
13. Music—singing: "Song for the Loyal National League." Written expressly for this occasion, by George H. Boker.
14. Rev. J. T. Duryea will address the meeting.
15. Jas. A. Roosevelt will read a poem, entitled, "Those Seventy Men." Written expressly for this occasion, by Mrs. Sarah H. Bradford.
16. Music—singing: "Our Union." Written expressly for this occasion, by Alfred B. Street.

This stand was erected on the southwest side of the Park, and was decorated with banners bearing appropriate inscriptions.

At about half-past four o'clock, after salutes of artillery and martial music, the meeting was called to order by R. B. MINTURN, Esq., and prayer was offered by the Rev. J. T. DURVEA.

Mr. JAMES A. ROOSEVELT read the call for the meeting, and the list of Vice-Presidents and Secretaries.

Mr. ISAAC H. BAILEY was called upon to read the Address, but would not detain the meeting by reading it, on account of its length, saying that it was in accordance with the spirit which had called this meeting together; that it would be published by the press, and that the time would be fully occupied by able and interesting speakers.

The resolutions were read by JOHN JAY, and were adopted by acclamation.

The Chairman introduced to the meeting ROBERT CUMMINGS, 14 years of age, cabin-boy on board the Harriet Lane, and one of the few survivors of her last engagement. He was greeted with loud applause, and modestly bowing, retired.

Governor MORTON, of Indiana, was introduced by the President, and said :

SPEECH OF GOV. O. P. MORTON, OF INDIANA.

MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW-CITIZENS : As you have learned by the call, this meeting is assembled for the purpose of commemorating the attack upon Fort Sumter. The inquiry may present itself to your minds, For what are we commemorating the attack upon Fort Sumter? Before that time the American people had been paralyzed by divisions into parties. The organization throughout the Southern states of a powerful rebel army; the seizure of forts, dockyards, arsenals, mints, ships-of-war, and every species of public property, had proved unavailing to arouse the nation, which was, like a man with a dreadful nightmare, struggling to awake, but yet unable to do so. But when the echo of the first gun was heard in the night, coming like an earthquake, the nation arose from its bed, and every man rushed into the open air to inquire what was the cause of the alarm, ready to go to the rescue if necessary. The firing upon Fort Sumter was an evil hour for the rebellion; for it had the effect, for the time, to close up the ranks among the people, to heal up the dissensions, and to bring us together as with a mighty compression. The attack upon Fort Sumter had its effect to unite the American people. May its speedy recapture and restoration again draw us together by the strong bonds of patriotic fraternity. [Applause.] Time passed on, and the patriotism and self-sacrificing devotion of many of our people, stimulated by the great Union meetings after the fall of Sumter, wore out; and the demagogues who had been driven into their kennels by the universal outburst of patriotism, came forth and began to do the devilish work of attempting to produce divisions at the North, so as to paralyze the arm of



the government. I believe that we shall come together again. I believe that the work of the demagogues will be short-lived. I believe that the good sense and the ardent affection which must still be found in the hearts of an overwhelming majority of our people, will again rally us all around the standard of our country, and uphold it until it shall be borne in triumph to final victory. We are engaged in a war the most terrible in history—a civil war. The first question which I shall ask to-day, and it may seem somewhat elementary to you, for your minds are doubtless made up upon the subject, is this: What brought this war upon the country? who are its authors? My excuse for asking this question and answering it, is based upon the fact that there are men in the city of New York, and all over the loyal North, who are attempting to persuade the people that this war was made by Mr. Lincoln's administration; that it is an abolition war, gotten up for the purpose of effecting the emancipation of the slaves, and to promote negro equality. The foundations of the Rebellion were laid more than thirty years ago. The first development of it was in the nullification movement of South Carolina upon the pretence of a tariff which they declared to be unconstitutional and oppressive. That Rebellion was promptly suppressed by the iron will and strong hand of Gen. Jackson. And the prediction was then made by Gen. Jackson himself, that the next development would be upon the pretence of the slavery question. From that time until the breaking out of this rebellion, preparations were constantly made. Men of the Calhoun school of politics, at first almost wholly confined to the state of South Carolina, but afterward spreading through most of the Southern states, and afterward extending the poison even into the Northern states, were laboring to lay the foundations for the great rebellion with which we are now struggling. They were willing to postpone the revolt so long as they could control the government through the instrumentality of party. But when, shortly after the administration of President Buchanan commenced, it became apparent that the South could not longer control the government as before, preparations were systematically and industriously made throughout that entire administration to bring the rebellion on. It was the business of Mr. Floyd, from the very first, so to dispose of all the arms and munitions of war, that when the hour came the rebels could place their hands upon them; and we know they did, the greater portion of them. Mr. Toucey, the Secretary of the Navy, allowed the navy to become dilapidated and dismantled; and when the hour for action came, it was dispersed upon all the oceans, and was of no value to us. It was the business of Mr. Cobb, the Secretary of the Treasury, to impoverish the treasury of the Union, and to bring dishonor upon its credit. I have been informed since I have been in this city, of a fact which I believe is not generally known. Mr. Cobb deliberately made arrangements to allow the interest on the public debt to go unpaid, so that the coupons should be protested for non-payment, in order to affect our credit abroad; and this dishonor to the national credit was only avoided by some banks of the city of New York coming forward and voluntarily paying the interest upon the national debt to preserve the national credit. [Applause] Immediately after the election of Mr. Lincoln, South Carolina made her arrangements to go out of the Union. She was followed by one state after another, until eight or nine had gone through the forms of secession, before Mr. Lincoln's inauguration. At the time of his inaugu-

ration the rebels had an army of more than 30,000 men in the field, trained, armed, and ready for battle. Up to that time we had done nothing. Mr. Buchanan had proclaimed to the world that the government had no power for self-preservation. He had declared that the government could not take a single military step to preserve its life from the robbers that had taken it by the throat. Their arrangements had been made under his eye, throughout his entire administration; and we can only exonerate him from the charge of a knowledge of the plans of the rebels, and complicity with them, by making the most liberal concessions in favor of his imbecility. [Laughter.] Our little army of 15,000 men had been scattered to the four winds. There were not two hundred men together in any one place, except the army of General Twiggs in Texas, which was most disgracefully surrendered, as you know it was intended it should be, when it was placed there. Preparations were made for the reduction of Fort Sumter. They had been going on for many weeks. They were made deliberately, openly, under the guns of that fortress. Those guns remained silent; and after all the land batteries and floating batteries had been prepared, and the hour was ripe, then the fire was opened upon Sumter, and our glorious flag was hauled down, and our gallant garrison was compelled to surrender to the enemy; and thus the war was begun. Need I ask you the question, then, who made the war? It was made by the rebels; it was made by the South. Our government is standing on the defensive. It is defending its life; it is defending itself against the dismemberment of its territory; it is struggling and fighting to prevent the dissolution of the Union. It is not a war which the government has made, but a war forced upon the government—a war which the government could not refuse to accept. The next question, then, for our consideration is, for what purpose did the South make this war? For what purpose was this rebellion brought upon the country, with all its train of disasters? What object had they in view? What had they to gain by it? One party to this war contends that there is no such thing as an American people, an American nation; that we are but an aggregation of some thirty-four petty nationalities, united together in a partnership of interest and convenience, from which any one is at liberty to withdraw at pleasure. The other party to this war, to which I trust we all belong, contends that there is such a thing as an American people, that there is a national unity. [Applause.] That while we are divided into states for local and domestic government, while the states are divided into counties, each having a government of its own, and while the counties are again divided into townships, each having a township government of its own, yet the township belongs to the county, the county to the state, and the state to one mighty indissoluble nation. [Applause.] The question recurs, Why did the South make this war, and seek to destroy this government? You will be told, perhaps, by such a man as Fernando Wood [groans]—I beg your pardon for alluding to a subject which seems to be so repulsive to your feelings—but we are told by many men, North and South, that the war was forced upon the South to protect their rights under the Constitution; that it was the intention of Mr. Lincoln's administration to aggress upon those rights, and to secure those constitutional rights she commenced the war to destroy the Constitution itself. The first official declaration which the rebel government ever made to the courts of Europe, given by their first am-

bassador to Lord John Russell, was the statement that the war was not made by the South for any such purpose; that the South did not fear that the administration of Mr. Lincoln would trample upon their constitutional rights. I need then give no further answer to this pretence upon the part of Northern sympathizers. Then what was the war made for by them? It was to establish a government in which the institution of slavery should not be simply recognized or tolerated, but should be the great, paramount, controlling interest, in which the slaveholding aristocracy should be the dominant or the governing class. The war was made for the purpose of overturning and uprooting the democratic principle and establishing the aristocratic principle. Mr. Stephens, the Vice-President of the Confederacy, who has given us the only commentary upon their new constitution, declares, in his speech at Milledgeville, that the South, for the first time in the history of the world, had established a government whose chief cornerstone was the institution of slavery. It was a matter of boasting that this had occurred for the first time in the history of civilization. [A voice, "For the last time, too."] It was brought forth as an evidence of remarkable progress. He boasted that they had overturned the principles upon which this government had been founded; that they had established a government upon principles directly the reverse of those which were set forth in the Declaration of Independence, and upon which this government was established. The great question present in all our minds, and one which we are all trying to answer to ourselves, is the great question, How shall we procure peace? How shall this war be ended? It is said that there are three ways in which peace can be attained. The first is by conceding the independence of the rebel states, conceding the dissolution of the Union, conceding the dismemberment of our territory. [Voices, "Never."] The second is by procuring an armistice, then calling a National Convention, having the rebel states represented in that convention, and then propose to amend the Constitution, to make it satisfactory to the rebels, and reconstruct the Union by turning out the six New England states. ["Never."] The third is by suppressing the rebellion and conquering a peace. [Applause, and cries of "That's the way."] Let me consider very briefly the merits of these different modes of obtaining peace.

1. If you obtain peace by conceding the independence of the rebel states, then you must make up your minds to give up Kentucky, Missouri, Maryland, and Delaware. ["Never."] We have been told by the rebels, first and last, that they never would consent to a peace, except upon terms giving to them all the slave states represented in the rebel Congress. Each of these states has members in that body; and each is represented by a star upon the rebel flag. If you would, therefore, obtain peace by abandoning this war, and conceding their independence, you must make up your minds to give them those four states. If you do that, you must also give them up your national capitol, which is between Maryland and Virginia, both of which would go with the South. That is the first consequence. I do not say it would be the worst, by any means, for we could build a new capitol upon better ground, and, I believe, in a better neighborhood. [Laughter.] The next consequence to flow from peace upon those terms, is the surrender of the mouth of the Mississippi river, and the control of that stream, thus making the Northwestern States tributary to the rebel confederacy. The next consequence, flowing directly



from that, would be to raise up in all the Northwestern states, a powerful party in favor of immediate annexation to the Southern Confederacy. They would feel at once that the Northwestern states, lying in the Mississippi valley and upon the Ohio, are bound geographically, commercially, and socially, with the people of the South and Southwest; and they would never consent to be separated from that political community that controls the mouth of the Mississippi river. This party would be powerful from the first. It could not at once carry this measure of annexation to the Southern Confederacy, and would then resort to a claim for a Northwestern Confederacy, which would be but a preparatory and incipient measure; because after we shall have cut ourselves loose from the Atlantic states, we must have an outlet, and we should be driven to throw ourselves into the arms of the Southern Confederacy to enable us to get out through the Gulf of Mexico. Another consequence to flow from peace upon these terms, would be the immediate establishment of a Pacific Republic. California, Oregon, the territory of Washington and all those territories separated from the Atlantic states by the range of the Rocky Mountains, would at once set up for themselves, and with a much better show of reason than any other portion of the Republic. They are upon the Pacific slope. Their commerce is upon the Pacific ocean. Their commerce is separated from ours by the Rocky Mountains. And they would at once separate from us and set up a great Pacific Republic. No sensible man can believe that if the work of secession and disintegration shall be consummated by the establishment of the independence of the present rebel states, it will stop there. No, it will go on until our country, once powerful, prosperous and glorious, will have become an utter wreck and ruin.

2. Let me now consider briefly this second mode of obtaining power, by procuring an armistice, calling a national convention, amending the Constitution, so as to make it satisfactory to the rebels, and reconstructing the Union by turning out the six New England states. We know very well that the rebels will not come back with all the free states in the Union. It would still be in the minority in the government, as they are the minority in the populations. To remove this difficulty, it is proposed to turn New England out, so as to get South Carolina and the other Southern states in. We would then live in a confederacy of twenty-eight states, of which fifteen would be slave states and thirteen would be free states. That would give the South a permanent majority in the Senate of the United States; for they would take care never again to admit another free state into the Union. What, then, would be our condition? What is the condition of Ireland to England, of Poland to Russia, of Hungary to Austria? Such would be our condition were we to consent to a new confederacy constructed upon these principles. Why is New England to be turned out? What is her offence for which she is to be expelled from the Union? It is that she has loved liberty too well, and slavery too little. [Applause.] To New England, more than to all other parts of the country together, do we owe this revolutionary war, and all the mighty train of consequences that have followed it, so important to ourselves and to the world. The Revolution had its origin in New England; and New England gave more soldiers than all the other states together, for the purpose of carrying it on to a successful issue. Massachusetts gave over 75,000 men, while South

Carolina gave a few hundred over 5,000. Yet the proposition is made to kick Massachusetts out, to coax South Carolina to come in. We are to turn out loyal states in order to induce this viper to return to nestle in our bosom. We will bring the viper back; but it will not be until after its fangs are extracted. This scheme is too dishonorable to be pursued; and yet this scheme is older than the war. It has its advocates in your city, and in all the Northern states. I dismiss it as a subject too repugnant to our feelings to be longer presented to you.

3. I come, then, to the last method of obtaining peace—by suppressing the rebellion and conquering a peace. [Applause.] In the first place, allow me to consider very briefly the progress of the war. What progress have we made? I know we are an impatient people. We want great things accomplished in a very short period. We have failed properly to consider the magnitude of the rebellion and the difficulties of the undertaking. When we shall have looked over the ground, we shall find that our progress, after all, has been highly satisfactory, and such as to give us the most confident hopes of success in the future. We have secured Kentucky; we have secured Missouri; we have a great part of Arkansas; we have a great part of Louisiana; we have Maryland; we have Delaware; we have a considerable part of old Virginia; a considerable part of North Carolina, and a large part of Tennessee. We have at this time more than half the rebel territory and more than a third of all its population. The right to grumble is one of our prerogatives. We are a grumbling people. We grumble at the President. I have no doubt that the President has committed faults. He has been placed in a more trying and difficult position than any Executive the nation ever had. The position of Gen. Washington was never more difficult or more important than that of Abraham Lincoln. If the President had not erred, under all these trying circumstances, it would have been more than human. You who are familiar with the history of our Revolution remember what bitter opposition was waged against Gen. Washington, almost throughout the war. You remember the complaints they made of want of success—complaints of his tardiness—and how, from time to time, the hearts of the people sank within them. But still they held on, and victory finally crowned our arms and blessed our cause. There was still a confidence that took fast hold of the hearts of the people at the time, of the integrity, the purity, the sound judgment of Gen. Washington. And I tell you to-day that the great overshadowing element in the character of Abraham Lincoln is his unimpeachable integrity. [Applause.] It is the confidence that this nation has that he is an honest man, that he loves his country, and that whatever he does he intends for the welfare of the country; that if he errs it is the error of the head and not of the heart; and I congratulate the nation that in this great hour of trial we have for our President so honest and upright a man as Abraham Lincoln. [Applause.]

They complain of the Secretary of War. It is said that he is not doing his part well, and that many of the misfortunes of the war are to be attributed to him. I doubt not he, too, has committed errors; but I have watched his course narrowly; I have had much to do with him in the administration of military affairs in Indiana, and I take great pleasure in bearing testimony to his great abilities, and to his untiring devotion to the cause in which he is engaged. I tell you there is nothing half-hearted about Edwin



Stanton. His whole heart is in the work, and he is devoting himself to it night and day. I believe history will yet record his name upon one of its brightest and best pages. I may speak, too, with propriety, of Secretary Chase. He received the treasury, as it came from the hands of Cobb, without a single grain in it. [Laughter.] It had been impoverished by him purposely to paralyze the power of the government to resist the rebellion. That was a part of the scheme—a part of the policy which characterized the whole administration of Buchanan. Mr. Chase has resurrected the credit of the nation; and this fabric of the national credit never stood so high as at the present time. It is our boast that we have carried on the war to this time without being compelled to call upon Europe to furnish a single dollar, as has been correctly stated in one of the resolutions you have just adopted; and the prospect is that we shall carry on the war to the end, and crush out the rebellion, without calling upon Europe to lend us a single dollar for that purpose. The plan of obtaining peace that I am in favor of, is by crushing out the rebellion. How are we to do that? The great instrumentalities to be employed are the army and the navy. They are attempting by force and violence to destroy this government, and we must meet them by force and violence. We must therefore maintain the army and the navy in their efficiency, and keep them in operation. To do that, the ranks of the army must be recruited. Those who are not in favor of filling up the army, are not in favor of crushing the rebellion, and want the rebellion to succeed. The ranks of the army must be recruited; and how shall it be done? You cannot do it by volunteering; but it must be done by the conscription act. It is a matter of necessity that that act should be enforced everywhere. Some of you, perhaps, do not like the conscription act. It is an odious thing at the best; a thing which cannot be made acceptable to the people. Yet it should be understood that it is a necessary evil, and should be accepted as such. If you do not like the conscription act, let me ask the question, who are the men who forced the conscription upon the nation? They are the men who have endeavored to make the war odious. They are the men who have produced the state of public opinion which has entirely cut off and suspended all volunteering. They are the men who have encouraged desertion from the army. They are the men who have endeavored to depreciate the national currency, to discourage the army, to discourage men from volunteering. These are the men who have brought the conscription act upon the country; and I pray you to hold them responsible for it. The government would much prefer to depend upon volunteering to the end, as it had in the beginning; but as that became impossible in consequence of the opposition to the war, it became necessary to resort at last to the conscription act. Let me here advert briefly to what is called the \$300 section. We are told that is the rich man's section; that it was designed to exonerate the rich man, and to embrace the poor man. I want to correct that. I disapproved of it, but it was for a very different reason from those demagogues who are trying to excite the country against the law. I preferred that it should allow the drafted man to furnish a substitute, but leave to him the expense and the trouble of getting a substitute. But why was the \$300 clause put in? It was put in for the benefit of the poor man. In Indiana we had a little draft—a draft of a few thousand men for nine months—and the price of substitutes ran up from \$200 to \$800 or \$900 in a very few days after the

draft was made. Does it require an argument to show that there is a much larger number of poor men in New York who can procure \$300, than of men who can procure a substitute when they have to pay \$800 to \$1,000 for him? This was the idea which led Congress to insert the \$300 clause; to protect the poor man from the result which experience had indicated, that the price of substitutes would run up even to \$1,000, putting it entirely out of the power of a man of moderate means to procure a substitute at all. Yet this clause has been perverted and falsely held up before the people, to make the government and the war odious.

Another instrumentality to which the government proposes to resort, in certain places, is the raising of negro regiments. We are told that it is degrading to white manhood that the negro should be called upon to fight. We employ the agency of horses and mules; we employ the agency of gunpowder, and that is as black as the negro [laughter]; we employ the agency of steam; and these things are not considered as degrading to white manhood; but the moment you propose to employ the instrumentality of the negro, we are told that it is revolting to the white race. This is done for the purpose of appealing to the lowest prejudices of our nature upon the subject of color. I am in favor of fighting the rebels and subduing them in any way that it can be accomplished. [Applause.] If you can make a successful use of bull-dogs and tom-cats, I am in favor of using them too. [Great laughter.]

The question of employing negroes is not a question of right, but merely of expediency. If you can make the negro soldiers available, use them; if you cannot, don't use them. It is simply a question of the means of suppressing the rebellion. I would like to ask this question of those denouncing the employment of negro regiments, If by employing negro regiments to hold the forts in Louisiana, North Carolina, Tennessee, South Carolina, and wherever we have forts, we can thereby dispense with a draft in the city of New York, would these gentlemen be opposed to it then? [Laughter.] If thereby 5,000 or 10,000 men can be left at home in New York, who would otherwise be taken from their families and their industrial pursuits, would these men still oppose it, or would they still insist that the men must be drafted—that the negroes may not be employed? Suppose that we draft one of these objectors and make this proposition to him, "Now, sir, if you will consent to the employment of negro soldiers in your stead, I will discharge you," what do you think his answer would be? [Laughter and applause.] The only question, then, is the question of expediency. Can they be made useful to us in suppressing the rebellion?

Another instrument which the President proposes to employ in the prosecution of the war, is the proclamation of freedom to the slaves of rebels in rebel states. We are told that this is entirely unconstitutional, and we must pay very strict regard to the constitutional rights of those men who have seceded from the Union and made themselves a new constitution. We are to be divided and distracted among ourselves, and take each other by the throat, to preserve the constitutional rights of rebels. Is that just? I am asked by a gentleman near me, has the rebel any right under the Constitution which a white man is bound to respect? ["No," "no!"] The crowd answers the question for you, sir. The great difficulty is, that our people do not draw the distinction between peace and war. They

seem to think we are to carry on war just like peace. They do not know that war has its privileges, its rights and immunities, just as peace has. What gave the President the right to send his army across the river at the Potomac to occupy the heights of Arlington, to dig up the sacred soil of Virginia into intrenchments, and to cut down timber? There is not a word in the Constitution about that. It is a right that springs out of the condition of war. What gave our army the right, at Goldsboro', to destroy churches and academies, and to convert private residences into hospitals for the use of the army? There is not a word in the Constitution about that. The right springs from the existence of war. They have the right to seize horses and mules, to cut down and destroy growing crops, to cut off the provisions and resources of the rebels, wherever they can. The Constitution is silent about this; but this right to do all these things springs from the existence of war. What gave the President the right to blockade the rebel ports, to shut out the commerce of the world—arms, provisions, goods of every description? The Constitution says not a word about that; but the Supreme Court of the United States has recently decided that the blockade is constitutional, and that the President had power to declare and to enforce that blockade. It is only when you come to the negro—only when you come to slave property—that the paucity and armor of the Constitution is thrown around him. Now, slaveholding is the great element in maintaining the rebellion. It performs all the labor of the camp and of the march. And at home it raises the provisions to feed the rebel army in the field, and to support the families of the rebels upon their plantations. Withdraw slave labor, and three fourths of the rebels would be compelled to return home to raise something to live upon and to feed their families. The question is, how to destroy the strength of the rebellion? If a blockade will assist, we have a right to resort to that; if destroying their growing crops, we have a right to do that; if withdrawing the labor which provides for the families of the rebels, and furnishes provisions to them and to their armies, and which performs all the work of the field and of the camp, we have a perfect right to do that. It simply resolves itself into a question of expediency, How shall the rebellion be suppressed? If it can be suppressed in this way—if this can be made instrumental, in a small degree even, in suppressing the rebellion, it is not only the right of the President to resort to it, but it is his solemn duty to do so. His right to do so is too clear for argument. It is an experiment. I believe it will succeed. It has already partially succeeded. But if it does not succeed, it does not controvert the right. It is an experiment. The attack upon Fredericksburg was an experiment. It did not succeed; but I believe that the constitutionality of it was never disputed. [Applause.] The attack upon Murfreesboro, by Gen. Rosecrans, was an experiment, and it succeeded; and I believe nobody is disposed to question the constitutionality of that act. [Renewed applause.] This is an experiment, and I believe it will succeed—that it will be an important instrument, not only in suppressing the rebellion, but in elevating the character of the nation. [Applause.] But whether it shall succeed or not, the right to issue that proclamation, and to enforce it, seems to me too clear for argument.

We hear a good deal said, in these latter times, about arbitrary arrests, because a man here and there, who has been particularly virulent against his country in time of war, has been taken to Fort Lafayette or person-



ally confined. [A voice, "They ought to be hung up."] It is somewhat arbitrary; I shall not deny that; but in my judgment, the great error of the government has been rather in the discharge than in the arrest. [Applause.] Not many arrests have been made. A great deal has been said about the few that have been made. But for my part, I do not know of a single man that has been incarcerated who did not deserve to be. When we hear men talking about the rights of personal liberty, and of the writ of *habeas corpus*, what have they to say about the rights of the hundreds and thousands of Union men languishing, perishing, rotting, in Southern dungeons. Are not these men our brethren likewise? Are they not our fellow-citizens? Have they not personal rights, as dear to us as those of the people of the city of New York? They are our fellow-countrymen. If you have tears to shed, I pray you to shed them over those men who have been lying in filthy, pestilential dungeons for months past, and many of whom have died there, and the country has never known the history of their death. While these things are going on from day to day—and no one dare deny it—these men have no sympathy for them; but their sympathies are entirely wasted upon a few copperheads who may have found their way into Fort Lafayette or Fort Warren.

The last hope of the rebellion is founded, not upon the success of their arms, but upon dissensions and divisions among us. Take this home with you and think of it. If there are any persons here to-day who are engaged in fomenting jealousies and discords among our people—who are engaged in factious opposition to paralyze the arms of the government—I beg of them to think of the terrible responsibility which they take upon themselves. Every week they protract this war costs us many a life, from disease or from battle. Every week takes millions of treasure, building up still higher the mountain load that rests upon the nation. The responsibility is with them. Read the speeches in their Congress; read their newspapers; converse with rebel prisoners, and you will find that they all tell the same story. They believe that the time is coming when there will be a party in the North which will rise up and strike down the party of the government, and overturn the government itself, when we shall fall an easy prey to them. ["Never," "never."] I believe this will never occur; but it is the hope of this which induces them to linger on. They are told that we cannot get another army. "Struggle on; endure and suffer everything; wait until the present Union army is exhausted, by battle or by disease, and then the victory will be yours; for there never will be another loyal army at the North." It is this which induces them, more than all, to struggle on.

We have everything at stake in this contest; not only our nation, our character at home and abroad, as a people, but the individual prosperity and happiness of every man of us is directly involved in this issue. I have heard men say, who have lately been in Europe, that the American war passes for almost nothing there, the American character has already suffered so much; and if the Union should be destroyed, we should then become, as we should deserve to be, the laughing-stock of the old monarchies of the world. There is one great difference between ourselves and the rebels. We are absorbed in our daily business. Your streets were never more thronged; your harbor was never more full of ships, and general prosperity prevails. We are attending to our business, and the rebels are

attending exclusively to the war ; and when we shall attend to the war we shall end it most speedily.

In conclusion, as you love your country ; as you love your families, your wives and your children ; as you love yourselves—putting it even upon the ground of selfishness—I exhort you to give all that you are, and all that you hope to be, to the final suppression of this rebellion. [Applause.]

The “Star Spangled Banner” was then sung, the audience uniting heartily in the chorus.

SPEECH OF GEN. A. J. HAMILTON.

Gen. A. J. HAMILTON, of Texas, was greeted with loud cheering. He said :

Two years have passed since the hand of treason fired the first gun at the national flag. Our country had engaged in war before it engaged in this. Its flag had been fired upon by national enemies, who had been met on many fields, at home and abroad ; but it had never been called upon to defend that flag against enemies whom it had nurtured, and who ought to have been its dearest and surest friends. During these two years, many changes have, from time to time, been manifested in the public feeling, in the public opinion, judging from the expression given to it through the public press, and through those who assume, from time to time, to be the exponents of the public sentiment. At the moment when the news thrilled through the hearts of the people of this great city and this great nation, that the flag had been fired upon and dishonored, there was but one impulse, and that was to rush to the rescue. There was but one sentiment then expressed, as I am told, in all this land, and that was to punish the men who had been guilty of this treason, and avenge the country upon the men who had sought to dishonor the flag of the nation.

That did not continue to be the public feeling ; and why ? Because it was the impulse, simply, of the hearts of the people, such as an individual might feel upon receiving a personal insult. The public mind had not then been accustomed to weigh in the balance the magnitude of the interests involved in the struggle, nor did they rightly understand the object in view upon the part of those who had made it necessary for the government to engage in this war. It was not perceived at a glance that the traitor had not become maddened under the existence of some real or fancied wrong upon the part of the loyal states, but that this was a conspiracy of long standing, the object of which was to overthrow the government ; not that it had wronged them, but because those engaged in the conspiracy preferred a government of another character. It was said by the vice-president of the so-called confederacy, that the object was to establish a government upon the ruins of the national government, the corner-stone of which should be slavery—which was the stone rejected by the builders of this government. The experience of our forefathers having led them to form a government without that corner-stone, they had determined to tear down that edifice, and build upon its ruins another, and to use that rejected stone as the chief of the corner.

But their object was not understood, and time rolled on ; and many,



supposing that this rebellion was merely the result of a momentary passion and ill feeling, which would soon pass away, became tired, and were ready to reunite with them once more upon the terms of the Constitution, with the addition, it may be, of some additional guarantees, as the phrase was, which would give peace and security to the South, against the aggressive spirit of the North, upon the institution of slavery. But they tell you to-day, that it was not because of any wrong they had suffered at the hands of the people of the North, of any kind, and least of all for any wrong upon the part of the government in respect to slavery, that they severed the bonds that bound them to you. They say, indeed, that they did use this argument; but it was used as a pretext, simply as a means of maddening the people of the South, and firing their hearts, in order to be able to precipitate them into revolution. Now that the thing is accomplished, they tear away the veil, and tell you that the great quarrel they have with you is, that your society constitutes a democracy—not a copperhead democracy, not a democracy which resists every effort the government now makes to preserve its own existence—but using the term in its enlarged and proper sense. They say it is because your men are all free, and therefore all participate in the government; and it results that the government is in the hands of laboring men, or, as they express it, in the heels of society—whereas, in the South, where they control and direct the labor, they say that the government is in the head of society, where it ought to be. And because slavery and democracy are natural antagonisms, as they must ever be, they determined, following the lead of Mr. Calhoun, to hatch the viper, to tear asunder the bonds of this Union, and rear up a government of a few over the many, in which the democratic principle should be ignored, and which should confer authority and power alone in the hands of men who are interested in the institution of slavery. It is the old struggle of liberty on the one hand, and despotism on the other. [Applause.]

But it is said that the President has changed the character of the war, so far as this government is concerned. I will not reply to the assertion the unheard of until now and the monstrous lie, that this government made the war. The man who utters it ought not to be replied to; or, if at all, he ought to be replied to with a blow, and not by words. [Applause.]

I pass that by. The war exists. We all know who made it. But it is said the President has changed the character of the war from a war to suppress the rebellion to a war to crush out slavery. There is only a slight mistake in this. The President has not changed the character of the war. He is still carrying it on to suppress the rebellion; but as the best means of suppressing the rebellion, thank God, he has at last put his heel upon the cause of the rebellion. [Applause.] You say he had not the power to do it. I don't know whether he had the power to do it or not; I know that he has done it; and now how are you to help it? You that don't like it, what are you going to do about it? He is the President of the United States, the commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States; and the principle is older than the government, a principle recognized among all nations, civilized and barbarous, that the commander of an army has the right, and will exercise it if he has the power, of taking from the public enemy all his resources, and reducing him to starvation and to abject want, in order that he may be conquered. Where do

you get the authority for saying that the President of the United States, the commander-in-chief of our army and navy, engaged in the most momentous war of modern times, and for the preservation of his government, has less power as commander-in-chief than the commander-in-chief of the army of any other nation? But if he had wanted any portion of the power exercised by him, upon the theory that it was lodged in another department of the government—the war-making and the law-making department of the government—that has conferred upon him by solemn act of Congress the power to do what he has done. And under his own authority, with that of Congress coupled with it, he has said to the rebellious states and districts embraced in his proclamation of January 1st, that slaves held in bondage by rebel masters prior to that period, shall from and after that date, be forever free men. [Applause.] By virtue of that proclamation, every slave in that whole region stands, under the Constitution and the laws, this evening, as free as you and I. They may not be in the practical enjoyment of their liberty. Many of them we know are not. They are still held as slaves, by force; but as our armies penetrate deeper and deeper among them, they will become practically free; and they will remain free. For while the President had the power to make them free, and while it was his duty to do it—while it was the very best policy that could have been adopted, and the most fatal blow that secession has yet received from any quarter—I thank God that he has not the power, nor has Congress the power, nor any department of the government, nor have the people of this great government the power, constitutionally, to make one of these same manumitted and liberated slaves ever anything less than a freeman again. [Great applause.] It is irrevocable. It will last as one of the proudest monuments in the history of this government, from its foundation down to the present time. The President has changed the character of the war. Scipio, when the Roman government was in danger of being overthrown by the Carthaginians, and when he was fighting for the perpetuity of his government, in order to preserve the government of the people and triumphantly to end the contest, determined “to carry the war into Africa;” and so has President Lincoln. [Laughter and applause.] Africa made war upon him; and he has made war against the institution that made war upon the nation. He is determined not only to declare war against it, but to go into its strongholds and fastnesses and throttle it in its very bed, to seize upon the idol before its altar, and drag it down and destroy it forever. [Applause.]

The President has done a great many other “unconstitutional” things. He has disregarded the right of *habeas corpus*; and for that he is a “tyrant.” The right to suspend the *habeas corpus* is given in the Constitution of this country; and the men who talk about the unconstitutionality of this or of other acts of the President, ought to go and read the Constitution before they undertake to talk about it. [A voice, “Perhaps they can’t read.” Laughter.] The Constitution gives the power. It provides that the right shall not be suspended, “except in time of war.” This I believe is what the lawyers would call a negative pregnant with an affirmative; and is as if the Constitution had said, In time of war it may be suspended.

For what is it suspended? We are told that he ought not to suspend it in New York, because the war does not exist here. Already I suppose there are those who think that New York is virtually out of the Union.

The argument is, that hostilities exist in South Carolina, or Georgia, or other Southern states, and that there it might be well to suspend the right of *habeas corpus*, and that it is the meaning of the Constitution that it may be suspended there. Gentlemen surely do not understand the object of the constitutional provision. It is not for the purpose of dealing with traitors with arms in their hands, in military array against the government, that the Constitution provides for the suspension of the *habeas corpus* in order that men may be taken hold of. Not at all. For men in arms against the government, armies are provided with bayonets and swords, instruments of death, in their hands, ready to mete out justice to traitors whenever and wherever they find them. It is not for the purpose of taking hold of a man who has done enough to convict him, before a proper tribunal and an impartial jury, of treason against the government, that provision is made for the suspension of that writ; but it is made for the purpose of enabling the President to take hold of men who have done not quite enough to enable him to convict them of outright treason, and yet too much to allow them to remain in the body of society; to enable him to lay his hand on them and place them out of the way of tempting weak men to become disloyal to the government. [Applause.] When you hear one of these men complaining so much that Abraham Lincoln is a tyrant, tell him that he furnishes an answer to the charge in his own respected person; because he is the very character that the government ought to take care of, and the government will be remiss in its duty if it does not take hold of him accordingly. The man who makes the charge is a living monument to the lie he tells. If Abraham Lincoln were a tyrant, no man in this critical condition of the country could go about calling him one; for he would not permit it. If he had been a severe man even, if he had been disposed to wield all the power he had, for the preservation of the government, situated as he is, a thousand heads would have rolled from the block before this evening.

Congress, too, comes in for its share of reproach. They tell you that that has been violating the Constitution. Men who have been high in position heretofore, and who ought to be still higher now, by at least twenty feet [laughter], tell you that Congress has violated the Constitution of the country, in providing the means of replenishing the wasted ranks of the army by means of the conscription act, and that it is such a violation of the Constitution of the country, that the good people of New York should be invoked to resist the government in enforcing the law; and this is all done in the name of the Constitution, to preserve it. Again let me ask if the men who take this ground have read the Constitution of their country, or if they suppose that the great body of the people have never read it? Let me ask you who take this position, whether that same Constitution, or any authority of the government, has given you the right to determine this grave constitutional question? When did it give you the right? And how? Has the Constitution provided any means of settling constitutional questions which may arise in respect to the law passed by Congress? Certainly it has. What means has it provided? That the people of New York shall rise up in mass meetings and say that the law is unconstitutional? Oh, no! By the state authorities ignoring it, as South Carolina did in 1832, nullifying the law? No. How then? By taking the case, under the law, to the Supreme Court of the United States,



had invoking its solemn judgment ; and if that august tribunal shall decide that such law has been passed by Congress without authority, you will have no occasion to resist the government, because it will not attempt to put the law in force. But until it is so ascertained, the man who undertakes to resist the law, or who advises its resistance, is already a traitor against the government, and inviting the people to plunge headlong into rebellion. It is not done without a purpose. It is not done out of loyal love and respect and veneration for the Constitution. It is not to protect the rights of the people. But it is a cool, fiendish, deliberate purpose to produce schism and confusion in your midst, that such doctrines are put forth ; and I say that the men who do it ought to be hanged by the government ; and if I could utter a word taking the tone of a curse against the present administration, it would be because it has shown a timidity, almost criminal, in not immediately taking hold of and dealing with all such men. [Applause.]

There are many other things objected to. The truth is, that the government can do nothing these men do not object to. Every solemn effort made by the President, or by Congress, or by your armies in the field, is the subject of constant unfriendly criticism upon the part of these objectors. Yet we hear not a word of reproach or condemnation, not a whisper, against the men who have caused the trouble in which we are now involved. We hear not a disrespectful word from them against Jefferson Davis, or any of his friends. On the contrary, they consider him almost the type of perfection in man—one of the greatest men of the age. I am willing that every rebel here, or elsewhere, should sing pæans to him. I do not want them to give their assent to the act of a single loyal man of the country. It would be a reproach to a loyal man to have their commendation under any circumstances. If they needs must crown their hero, let them crown him with a wreath befitting his character, and suited to the deeds of his life. Having attempted the destruction of his country, in whose lap he was nursed in youth, by which he was educated, and by which in manhood he was trusted as one of its accredited agents ; having a high place in its councils by virtue of the solemn oath he took to support the Constitution, and to legislate for the best interests of the country ; having perjured himself and prostituted his high position to tear down the republic, to plot treason for years, with the coolness of a fiend—if, for doing all that, for well nigh accomplishing it, and making men almost doubt the capacity of man for self-government, which had nearly become part of our religion, he deserves a crown—

“ Then weave the wreath, the hero’s brow to suit,  
Of blasted leaf, and death-distilling fruit ”

Go, gather the cypress and the hemlock, the nightshade and the deadly opas ; steep them in the tears of the widows and orphans he has made ; sprinkle them with the blood of your brothers and sons ; breathe upon them the nation’s deepest curse ; and then bind them upon his brow, there to blister through all time and burn through eternity ; and palsied be the arm, and withered forever, that would stretch forth the friendly hand to snatch them hence. [Great applause.] Let them come and receive their laurels. Let them come boldly, for they have won them well ; and from this hour, neither angels in heaven, men on earth, nor fiends in hell, will deny their claims to eternal infamy.



After the outburst of feeling caused by the capture of Fort Sumter, there came a day of apathy, doubt, and almost of despair; but, at every step through this disastrous war, the people have gone deeper and deeper in their research into the cause of the struggle, and have learned more and more of the spirit, the object, and the temper of the men engaged in it, until at last I believe that they have risen to the full consciousness of the magnitude of the struggle that is pending. They know that it involves the life or death of this great government, and that there can be no compromise offered or thought of. The man who talks of it is either a fool or a hypocrite. Every well-informed man now understands that no compromise can be offered that would be accepted by the leaders of the rebellion. We know, too, that, the leaders out of the way, the great body of the people are ready to come back without any compromise. They have accepted the compromise offered by the President in his proclamation; and that is, that the hellish cause of the rebellion shall die with the rebellion. [Applause.] The only thing that could create another rebellion shall be cast back behind us forever. It shall never again be the cause of disturbance. Why, then, talk about compromise? What we want is unity of action, and to strengthen the hands of the government. How is that to be done? We profess to be lovers of liberty. The man who seeks to destroy the confidence of the public in the President, and the men under him who are carrying on the war, profess to be democrats. What do you mean by the term democracy? If you mean love of the democratic principle, that is the leading feature of our government. If you do love that principle which makes all men under the constitution and the laws equals—which gives to each man the same measure, and offers to him the same protection of life, liberty, and property—you are a democrat indeed; and in God's name, I say, be a democrat, and I will help you if I know how. But if you mean anything narrower than that—if you mean by democracy something that is against the government—then you are no democrat, and you commit a libel upon the name of democracy when you call yourself one. [Applause.]

The war is going on, and we must sustain the government. Men tell you that you can sustain the government at the same time that you condemn the President and those that act under him. I am not here to tell you that the President of the United States is the government, or that the President and the Congress, taken together, are the government. I think I understand something about the theory of this government. It is a government of the people, it is true. They are the ground-work of the government. The government rests upon the people; but it is a government you have created yourselves, and you have prescribed the manner in which your power shall be exercised. You do not get up primary assemblages like this to determine what shall be done in raising an army and prosecuting the war; but you have adopted a constitution, and by that you agree every four years to elect a President, and to clothe him with power to administer the government for four years. You are bound by the constitution which you have made, bound by the rules you have adopted for the exercise of your own power, and you cannot go beyond this, unless you seek to create revolution. Therefore, having selected your President, and made him your agent, under your rules, does it behove you, when your interests are threatened, and when your agent is doing

all he can to protect your interests and preserve your rights, even if you conceive him to commit errors, to go about and cause all men to turn away from him and leave him helpless? When the agent you have created is protecting your own rights, is it not your duty to come up and give him your help, to aid him by your friendly counsels, and not to thwart him by constant attacks, and statements which, if true, would prove him to be unworthy of your confidence or your support? It is not only your duty to do that, but it is your duty to do more. While he is your President, as he must be for two years, when we all realize that this rebellion must be put down within two years, what then ought you to do? Sustain and support him by your counsel and friendly advice. If you think he has men about him in high places who are not doing the most effective work in crushing out the rebellion, it is your bounden duty to let the President know your opinion. If, for example, you believe that there are earnest, able, and willing patriots who have worked well, but who by the jealousies of others have been displaced and withdrawn from the positions in which they were effecting much good, it is your business to let the President know, and to let the world know, that those men ought to be restored. We want Fremont back again at the head of an army. [Applause.] We want old Ben. Butler back at the head of an army. [Applause.] We want Sigel back at the head of an army. [Applause.] They are all worthy men and patriots; and if it so happened that by their superior intuition or knowledge of the facts, they foresaw earlier than others, and especially before the administration, the policy that this government must ultimately adopt in crushing the rebellion, that is no reason why they should not be allowed to aid in carrying out that policy after it has been adopted by the administration. I say it is our duty to the President to say this to him in a friendly way; and as one who has done all I could in every way, and will continue to do it to the end, no matter what my personal fate may be, I would say this to him as frankly to-night as to the humblest man in the land. I believe if we say this, the President will appreciate it, and sooner or later will act upon it.

Now, fellow-citizens, let us rally to the support of the President; and if we act four months vigorously together, the victory will have been achieved. The bottom is ready to drop out of the rebellion to-night. While I speak it may be that the old flag, dishonored two years ago to-day, is again run up and waving over Sumter. [Applause.] It is waving on South Carolina soil, thank God. [Renewed applause.] The brave and gallant spirit at the head of that little band, deserted by the government then in power—a democratic government too, who refused to send him succor—the noble Anderson, deserted, alone, surrounded by traitors and enemies, fought them until he could fight them no more. When the flag went down at the end of that struggle, South Carolina doubtless thought the victory was won, and the independence of the Confederate States already established. I take it that now they feel that this is a little more than they bargained for. The chickens are coming home to roost before they have prepared poles to receive them; and they have not poles enough, even if they had had notice of their coming. [Laughter.] One earnest movement upon the part of the people, and the work is done.

No man under heaven could have avoided mistakes under the circumstances. Gen. Washington had as many revilers as Abraham Lincoln;

and I have no doubt that the men who are now trying to make the country believe that Lincoln is not doing his duty, would have said the same of Washington ; for there were just such men who did say the same of Washington when he was President. Give your support to the President, and, I repeat, the bottom will be out of this rebellion in four months. Their material for armies has been exhausted. The conscription there has swept in every man that could be found, whether by the corporals or the blood-hounds, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, excepting the men fortunate enough to own twenty negroes apiece, and they are exempt. When you are complaining of the conscription act of this government, why do you not say something of the conscription act of the rebels, with whom you have so much sympathy? No man who owns twenty negroes is called upon to go and fight. They are to be kept as safely as possible. When the war is over, and the victory is achieved, they want as few poor white men as possible. They want all the operators to be negroes, and the white men to be all lords and gentlemen. Why not tell the people that? That is no part of your policy. You do not want the laboring men in this part of the country to understand that this is a war against poor men. Rich men can live under almost any form of government ; but poor men have the deepest and most abiding interest in free institutions and free government. Again, we have the material power ; we have all the money upon our side, and can soon crush the rebellion if outsiders will keep their hands off. There is more money in this city to-day than there is in the hands of all the rebels outside of England and France. Go on, and in a few days we shall hear the glad shout of a country redeemed, a nation regenerated, coming up from Maine to California ; and you will have aided in achieving the most brilliant triumph of liberty over despotism, not only in modern days, but in the whole history of the world. Your children will read it at school, and your children's children will draw from it the inspiration of liberty, the love of freedom, and will transmit the heritage you gave them unimpaired to successive generations of their descendants, an honor and a glory until the end of time.

SPEECH OF HON. JAMES M. SCOVEL, OF NEW JERSEY.

The President introduced the Hon. Mr. SCOVEL, a member of the copperhead legislature of New Jersey.

Hon. Mr. SCOVEL said : Being called upon to speak at this time, I am reminded of a family which once visited Mount Vesuvius, and being disappointed in witnessing an eruption, they let off a Roman candle. I feel this afternoon as if, after the gorgeous display of volcanic fires, I were to follow with a Roman candle ; but although I cannot entertain you with the eloquence of the gentlemen who have preceded me, I can perhaps speak to you a few words of truth and soberness. Your President has introduced me as a member of the copperhead legislature of New Jersey. In that legislature there were seventeen men who did not vote for the infamous peace resolutions—men who never bowed the knee to Baal. As one of those seventeen, when asked if I was ready to shoulder the musket, I told them that I was ready to shoulder a copperhead at any time ; for, as the poet says—or, if he did not, as he ought to have said—

“ When Adam first with Eve did wed,  
Into the garden came a copperhead.” [Laughter and applause.]



One of the earliest copperheads was John C. Calhoun; and next to him perhaps we may rank the Old Public Functionary; and then comes Mr. Wood, christened Fernando. Let me here remind the President that I think he and I are about even, for if New Jersey produced a copperhead legislature, she has never produced a Fernando Wood. [Laughter.] Fernando Wood told us in a recent speech that he had had an interview with Lord Lyons. I wish he could have an interview with Gen. Butler or with Rosecrans; for I have no doubt that either of them would have given him an opportunity to consider the maxim, "Brag is a good dog, but Holdfast is a better." [Laughter.] I speak of Fernando Wood as a representative copperhead. He sets himself up as the man that leads that party. He pretends to lead the democratic party. The Mozart regiment itself repudiates him, and states that he never gave a dollar to equip that regiment or to send them to the battle-field. He says he has given more dollars than some patriots have given cents; yet there is not a man in the army who has not more patriotism than Fernando Wood has dollars. Such a man as he claims to be the leader of the democratic party. It was my privilege to follow the banner of Mr. Douglas until that banner waved above his grave. I never regretted it, and never will regret it; for his last expressions were in favor of the Constitution and the Union, and he warned his children to stand by the flag of his country. [A voice, "God bless his memory."] Ay, and God bless the memory of every man who is true to his country to the last. He was a democrat; and I ask you if Edwin Stanton is not a democrat? Is not Daniel S. Dickinson a democrat? Is not Gen. Halleck a democrat? Is not old Ben Butler, perhaps to be our next President—a democrat? [Great applause.] Your little boy will get astride of a stick and call it a horse; but that does not make it a horse. Fernando Wood calls himself a democrat, but that does not make him a democrat. [A voice, "He is a demagogue."] We hear men say a great deal about their patriotism and about state rights. In the legislature of which I am a member, one man rose in his place and said he was a state rights democrat. But Robert Dale Owen says that when you hear a man talking in favor of state-rights, he means by state-rights merely an arm stretched out between a traitor and the gallows. Every man who sympathizes with treason is a traitor; and so when this man announced himself a state-rights democrat, I told him he was a disloyal man and a traitor, and he did not dare to resent it. Brave men everywhere have an instinctive aversion to traitors and cowards; and wherever you see these Northern men with Southern principles—the men who, if they had lived in the time of the Revolution, would have been Tories—you will find men not only cowards, but with treason in their hearts. No man who has the sentiments which actuate free and patriotic men, in such a time as this will raise his voice against President Lincoln, or to weaken the strength of the government, or to abridge its constitutional powers. But when we turn to the people and call upon them to sustain the government, they listen to us and respond to the appeal. Ask New Hampshire, ask Rhode Island, ask glorious little Connecticut. In thunder tones the response comes back to us. [Three cheers were given for Connecticut.] Every patriot was tremulous with anxiety about the Connecticut election; and how glorious was the feeling that kindled in the heart of every true man when he saw them rallying around the old flag,



and when he saw that the President was sustained by these three states, which could not be deceived or sold by traitors who love their own self-interest more than they love their country! Whenever you hear a man calling himself a member of the once-honored democratic party, and following the man who claims to be a leader of the party, tell him that when a party deserts its country it becomes a faction, and that in time of war men who adhere to that faction become conspirators and traitors. If Fernando Wood and his followers act as conspirators, let them have the everlasting infamy, and let their names be remembered, if at all, only as the Catilines of America. I remember the story of an old sailor, who, after he had been off at sea for a long time, came back to look after a lady of whom he had once been enamored, but could not find her. At last he went into a graveyard—rather a queer place to look for his Mary Ann—and there he did not find her; but he found a tombstone bearing the inscription:

“ Weep not for me, my dearest dear ;  
I am not dead, though I lie here.”

The old sailor did not understand it; he looked at it a few minutes, and then he exclaimed, “ Shiver my timbers; I think if I was dead I would own up.” [Laughter.] So it is to-day with those copperheads. The freemen of this country are awake. They understand what patriotism is. They understand that it is not merely a sentiment, but that it is a principle, and that its foundation is virtue. If we are true to the country, we shall stand by the soldiers of the country. They know what self-sacrifice is—these men that sustain our flag upon a thousand fields. Among the proudest days of my life have been those when I have received letters from the gallant soldiers of New Jersey in the national army. There has been no time since the war first broke out when there have not been large numbers of men in New Jersey willing to make peace with the Southern rebellion. They do not even call it the Southern rebellion; they call it the “irregular opposition of the South;” and they say they “do not want to offend their erring brethren of the South.” There were five of them who were willing to go to Jefferson Davis and, upon their bended knees, ask him to make peace. [A voice, “Hang them.”] The day will come when their children shall be ashamed to call them father. But imagine those men going down to Jefferson Davis, the perjured tyrant of the Southern Confederacy, and asking him to make peace with them! He would order them out of the Southern Confederacy in twelve hours; and if they were not, they would soon be like Paganini’s music—executed on a single string. [Laughter.]

What is the duty of freemen in a time like this? It is their duty to stand by the flag of their country, and to stand by the President. I did not vote for President Lincoln. Many of you did not. But the hour he became the constitutionally elected President of the United States, from that hour we said we would sustain him. [Applause.] We know that President Lincoln desires to do just what the President of a free people ought to do. Knowing that, we will stand by him to the last dollar and the last man. Some men say that the conscription act ought not to be sustained. Old Mr. Narr, who calls himself a “locofoco” editor, said that, in his opinion, that act ought to be resisted; and if they took him under that conscription act, they would have to fight for him. The old rascal

knew that he was sixty-five years of age, and that they would not have him anyhow. In forty-eight hours after they had passed the peace resolutions, word came from the army of the Potomac what our soldiers thought of them; and then these men said they never meant to interfere with the government at all. They were only in fun. They meant no mischief. In *Hudibras* we read that,

"Like a lobster boiled, the morn  
From black to red began to turn;"

and a somewhat similar change was apparent in the countenances of these men. The history of New Jersey will hereafter show that at one time there was an organized band of these men, whose sentiments resembled those of some of your New York politicians, men who knew no passage in the Bible but "Servants, obey your masters;" who were ready to lie down before their Southern masters and do their bidding—an organized gang of these men who undertook to carry New Jersey out of the Union; and it was only when loyal men sprang up to the rescue that they were willing to take the back track. This should serve as a warning to us to be watchful, lest we be surprised by the enemies of our country.

I had a friend in the battle of Murfreesboro. When he was asked by his wife to come home a day or two before that battle, his answer was, "I would rather die upon the field of battle, than that it should be said of me that I did not dare to do my duty." And that man died in a hand-to-hand conflict with the rebel cavalry, and his last words spoke his solicitude for his country. When I remember that man, and the gallant boy Cummings fighting on the Harriet Lane, and the friend at Vicksburg who had one leg shattered before the attack, but said "Never mind me, boys; get the vessel by the batteries, and the enemy may have my other leg," and know that it is such men as these who sustain the honor of the country, I should be a coward if I did not take care to keep alive the spirit of patriotism at home, and to put down the men who attempt to strike down the soldiers, and seek to betray them at the ballot-box. You remember that Lord Nelson said, at Trafalgar, "England expects every man to do his duty." This country expects every man to do his duty; and every woman, God bless them! to do her duty; and under the heavens that shine above us we will do our duty. We will not submit to the Southern rebels, or yield to their demands. Governor Pickens, of South Carolina, said at one time that he was "born insensible to fear," when Mr. Adams replied, "Most babies are." [Laughter.] Whatever our feelings toward them, we shall not fear them. But we shall have a feeling of regret that citizens of the same nation should have raised their parricidal hands against our flag.

"So the struck eagle, stretched upon the plain,  
No more through rolling clouds to soar again,  
Views his own feather on the fatal dart  
That winged the shaft that quivers in his heart.  
Keen were his pangs, but keener far to feel  
He nursed the pinion that impelled the steel;  
While the same plumage that had warmed his nest,  
Drank the last life-drop of his bleeding breast."

Let us say, with Clayton, of Delaware—I am sorry that New Jersey is behind Delaware and Missouri, but we will yet send loyal men to the legisla-

ture who will expunge those peace resolutions—"Accursed be the hand that let slip the first arrow at the American flag." Let us do our duty. Let us rally around that flag, and let every man of us, as we gaze upon the sacred folds of that banner, raise the rallying cry of "Liberty and Union." Let the last prayer of every patriot be, "May God bless and save the American Union!"

SPEECH OF REV. J. T. DURYEA.

Rev. Mr. DURYEA was introduced to the meeting, and said: The sun reminds me that I ought to be brief. It has already gone down. God grant that its last gleams may have glittered over the blackened walls of fallen Sumter, and upon the fixed bayonets of a federal guard patrolling in the city of Charleston! [Applause.] It may be well for us to stand here in the sombre twilight, and think solemn thoughts; thoughts of the great future; thoughts of our duty; thoughts of our past, in its glorious history; of our present, in its momentous issues; of our future, in its once glad and glorious, though now clouded promise. Ay, it may be prophetic, if we stand under the sky and see the stars come out, one by one, until the firmament is full-orbed as the firmament of our national glory will yet shine before all the earth, one star after another, beaming and sparkling out, until the finished galaxy resplendent shall call for praise and admiration from the world. [Applause.] Now, let us bring the thoughts we have heard, and the doctrines that have been impressed upon our minds, to a practical issue. What shall be your position to-morrow in the community? What shall be your determination in the future? Will you accept the war cry, "Unity and the government forever"? [Applause.] You have seen that the sole object of the war is to establish the unity of the nation. The life of the nation depends upon the re-establishment of its unity. Upon the life of this nation depend the hopes of all the downtrodden of the earth. Your own hopes and the hopes of your children, your hopes for time, and your hopes, through the church of God planted in this country, for eternity. Will you solemnly swear, under God's heaven and in His presence, that you will know no issue but the unity of the government, and you will know no cessation of efforts or of resources but war until that unity be established? [Cries of "Yes, yes; we will!"] Let this sole issue rise colossal before you. Bow down before the grandeur of a government united, consolidated beyond disintegration forever; and let them take each other's hands and say, to the last man, to the last drop of blood, to the last dollar of our resources, we stand pledged, now and forever, for the unity of the government, indissoluble and perpetual. ["We will!"]

I have stood by mothers who have buried their children, and underneath the sable veil of mourning were weeping hot tears of bereavement; and I have said, "Has this war cost us enough, and shall it cease?" and the quivering lip has gasped, "Never." I have gone to the soldiers upon the tented field. I have seen their privations and witnessed their sorrows. I have seen their longing for home, their impatience to embrace their wives and little ones and join their fathers and mothers and sisters; and I have asked them, "Has this war cost us enough, and shall we now relinquish it?" and the answer has come back, unanimous, "Never." I have walked through the

hospital, from bed to bed. I have seen the shattered limbs, the pierced breast, the battered skull; and going from couch to couch, I have said, "Have you who have bled and suffered and agonized, day after day and night after night, resolved that this war has cost enough, and that it shall cease?" And from corridor to corridor of bustle, and from bed to bed of agony, the cry has come up, "Never, no never." [Cries of "Never."] Have you given children, have you given limbs, have you given property, as have these mourning mothers, and those wounded, dying soldiers? If you have not, never, never say the war has cost too much, until they shall say it. Never say cease, until they shall say it.

One word more. Let me tell you an incident. In Fort Sumter, two years ago, before the bombardment, General Anderson brought out the old flag that had been raised upon that flag-staff, and tied the halliard to the flag, and gathered his men around him, and asked the chaplain to kneel by the flagstaff and pray. He knelt with closed eyes, one hand above grasping the halliard, the other below, and thus kneeling there at the foot of the flagstaff, before God, the chaplain prayed that that flag might never be lowered in the face of the enemy. After Fort Sumter had yielded, and the flag had been lowered, General Anderson called the man who had charge of the pennant halliard, and asked him if the flag had been lowered by himself. Said he, "The old flag that we raised upon the flag-staff when we were bowed in prayer around it, was torn by the gale, and the day before the bombardment it was taken down to be mended; and when the call came to rehoist the flag, we took a new one because the other was not sewed together. We hoisted the new flag instead of the old one; and the old flag, baptized with prayer, and consecrated with uplifted hands to God, and besought of God to be kept from desecration, never was lowered in the face of the enemy." General Anderson told me that flag never was hoisted before the enemy, nor before the enemy was it ever lowered. I have it in New York; and I am patiently awaiting the time when I can bend out the halliards again, and not amid prayer, but amid song and thanksgiving, again hoist the old ensign to the peak. I said that flag shall rise again. My fellow-citizens, if you love the destiny of mankind; if you love the oppressed and downtrodden of the earth; if you love your country; if you love your family; if you love your children, say, will you swear here before God, that flag shall rise there again? ["Yes, yes."] Will you that love the past; you whose hearts are full in the present, you before whom hope shines brightly in the future, lift up now your good right hands to heaven and say, that flag shall rise there again? [The crowd raised their right hands.] Then let it rise,

"and long may it wave,  
O'er the laud of the free and the home of the brave."

The meeting then adjourned, and the assembled multitude dispersed in the deepening shades of twilight.





Charles Schaffner,  
 Joseph W. Lester,  
 Vincent Colyer,  
 G. B. Teubner,  
 Chr. Karl,  
 P. J. Joachimssen,  
 Eugene S. Ballins,  
 David Tappan,  
 Edward Hoyt,  
 Robert L. Stewart,

Augustus Weissman,  
 W. B. Dinsmore,  
 Henry Ford,  
 Benjamin F. Manierre,  
 Alexander H. Stevens,  
 Nehemiah Knight,  
 George H. Moller,  
 Adolph Douai,  
 Dr. Luther Voss.

---

**Secretaries.**

William S. Opdyke,  
 O. V. Coffin,  
 Peter M. Myers,  
 William Bibby,  
 Walter W. Phelps,  
 Albert G. Stevens,  
 Ellis Munday,  
 James McGee,  
 Henry R. Benkard,  
 Thaddeus B. Faber,  
 Hiram Calkins,  
 James Ward Smyth,

Frank Moore,  
 Robert Benson, Jr.,  
 Henry R. Winthrop,  
 John Henry Hall,  
 Augustus C. Fransioli,  
 J. Howard Wainwright,  
 L. P. Tibbals,  
 Maturin L. Delafield,  
 William Rhinelanders,  
 Sidney Webster,  
 David Drake,  
 James S. Stearns,

# PROGRAMME OF PROCEEDINGS.

## STAND No. 3.

WEST SIDE OF UNION SQUARE, BETWEEN FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH STREETS.

*Salutes of Artillery by the workmen employed by Henry Brewster & Co.*

1. Grand March from "Le Prophète," of Meyerbeer, by Dodworth's Grand Band.
2. Dr. Francis Lieber, of the Council of the Loyal National League, will call the meeting to order.
3. Address by Rev. Dr. Rudolph Dulon.
4. C. E. Detmold, of the Executive Committee, will read the call for the meeting, and the list of Vice-Presidents and Secretaries.
5. Robert Lenox Kennedy will read the address adopted by the Council and Executive Committee on Lectures and Addresses.
6. William Orton will read the resolutions adopted by the Council and Executive Committee.
7. Music by the Band.
8. Major General Sigel will address the meeting.
9. Music—singing: "The Army Hymn," written expressly for this occasion, by Oliver Wendell Holmes.
10. Schuyler Colfax will address the meeting.
11. Music—singing: "The Star-Spangled Banner."
12. Governor Pierpont will address the meeting.
13. Music—singing: "Song for the Loyal National League," written expressly for this occasion, by George H. Boker.
14. Weil Von Gernsbach will address the meeting.
15. William Orton will read an original poem, entitled "Those Seventy Men," written expressly for this occasion, by Mrs. Sarah H. Bradford.
16. Rev. J. A. Foersch will address the meeting.
17. Music—singing: "Our Union," written expressly for this occasion, by Alfred B. Street.

When the hour for commencing the proceedings had arrived, the grand march from "Le Prophète" of Meyerbeer was performed by Dodworth's band.

Dr. FRANCIS LIEBER, of the Council of the Loyal National League, called the meeting to order. He said :

FELLOW-CITIZENS : Two years ago the boom of the challenge of treason reached us from Charleston, and now this very day we expect news from that same port. We do not know which way the news will turn out, whether it will bring us a victory or whether any reverses may befall us ; but I venture to say that whether we are victorious immediately and take that treasonable city, or whether every iron-clad vessel is sunk to the bottom there, we will remain firm—[“ Amen”] ; we will carry out this war to the very last, and will not give it up until every inch of the country is restored to the United States [Applause.] No matter what turn the war has taken during these last two years. Sometimes we were victorious, sometimes reverses have befallen us ; but we meet here to-day again to profess our faith and again to pledge ourselves not to give up this struggle—not to yield one inch until the United States authority is restored—until we have again a country in her whole integrity—until we can say again that we are American citizens from the North to the South, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific. [Cheers.] We will not allow pride, or arrogance, or untruth, to rule over us. We have come here to pledge ourselves to this purpose ; and I believe I can express far better what I believe we have come here for—what we have met here for—if a portion of the address which will be given you entirely, be read to you. There I have expressed on paper better than I could now do by the word of mouth—and I hope and trust that I have there expressed only your views. I shall ask my friend Mr. LOSSING to read to you the last part of that address, and then ask you whether you agree with us or not.

I introduce Mr. BENSON J. LOSSING, well known by his works on the Revolution and on the history of the United States.

SPEECH OF MR. BENSON J. LOSSING.

Mr. LOSSING spoke as follows :

It gives me great pleasure to participate with you in the proceedings of this day, and I feel it to be an honor to be called upon to repeat to you by the words of my mouth those wise sayings that have been put in print by the esteemed gentlemen who has just addressed you. I would simply say that two years ago I was in New Orleans on the morning of the 12th of April. We were informed by telegraph from Charleston that Fort Sumter was attacked. I rode down during the afternoon to the battle ground where Jackson won the last and greatest battle of the war of 1812. While I was sitting upon the base of the monument erected near the headquarters of Jackson at that time, making a sketch of the field of Chalmette, where the battle was fought, I heard seven discharges of cannon at the city of New Orleans. Knowing that the fort had been attacked that morning, I said to my travelling companions—



At this juncture Major-Gen. SIGEL appeared upon the stand, and was greeted with loud and protracted cheering. As soon as silence was partially obtained, Mr. LOSSING continued his remarks.

Gentlemen, I will detain you but a moment longer, because one of the bravest of the brave is here to address you. I would simply say that when I heard those seven discharges of cannon, I knew that it meant the seven Confederate States rejoicing over the fall of Sumter. I said to my travelling companion, "Fort Sumter is gone;" but the sound of that cannon to my ears was more significant than that. It sounded to my ears the death knell of that Southern oligarchy—the power that had corrupted the public virtue of this country. ["That's it"—applause.] From that time to this I believed firmly—and my faith is stronger to-day than ever it was—that this whole rebellion is nothing more than an instrumentality in the hands of God for the purpose of strengthening and purifying this nation—[Cheers.] But I proceed now to read the words of wisdom from the eminent publicist who has addressed you, Dr. Lieber.

Mr. LOSSING read as follows :

"We will support the government, and call on it with a united voice to use greater and greater energy, as the contest may seem to draw to a close—so that whatever advantages we may gain, we may pursue them with increasing efficiency, and to bring every one in the military or civil service that may be slow in the performance of his duty to a quick and efficient account.

"We approve of the conscription act, and will give our loyal aid in its being carried out, whenever the government shall consider the increase of our army necessary; and we believe that the energy of the government should be plainly shown by retaliatory measures, in checking the savage brutalities committed by the enemy against our men in arms, or citizens, when they fall into their hands. [Applause.]

"We declare that slavery, the corrupting root of this war, ought to be compressed within its narrowest feasible limits, with a view to its speedy extinction.

"We declare that this is no question of politics, but one of simple patriotism; and we hold every one to be a traitor to his country, that works or speaks in favor of our criminal enemies, directly or indirectly, whether his offence be such that the law can overtake him or not.

"We declare our inmost abhorrence of the secret societies which exist among us in favor of the rebellious enemy, and that we will denounce every participator in these nefarious societies, whenever known to us. We believe publicity the very basis of liberty.

"We pledge our fullest support of the government in every measure which it shall deem fit to adopt against unfriendly and mischievous neutrality; and we call upon it, as citizens that have the right and duty to call for protection on their own government, to adopt the speediest possible measures to that important end.

"We loyally support our government in its declarations and measures against all and every attempt of mediation, or armed or unarmed interference in our civil war. [Loud applause.]

"We solemnly declare that we will resist every partition of any portion of our country to the last extremity, whether this partition should be brought about by rebellious or treasonable citizens of our own, or by foreign powers, in the way that Poland was torn to pieces.

"We pronounce every foreign minister accredited to our government, who tampers with our enemies, and holds intercourse with disloyal men among us, as failing in his duty toward us and toward his own people, and we await with attention the action of our government regarding the recent and surprising breach of this duty.

"And we call upon every American, be he so by birth or choice, to join the loyal movement of these National Leagues, which is naught else than to join and follow our beckoning flag, and to adopt for his device—

### OUR COUNTRY!

Dr. LIEBER: Fellow-citizens, do you agree with those sentiments that have been read to you?

Vociferous responses, "Yes," "Yes."

The band performed "Hail, Columbia."

The assemblage called loudly for "Sigel," "Sigel."

Dr. LIEBER: You will have an opportunity of hearing General Sigel soon.

Mr. C. E. DETMOLD: Before proceeding, we will read the call under which this meeting is assembled to-day.

Mr. DETMOLD read the call.

When the call was read, loud demands were made again for General Sigel.

A VOICE: "Give us Sigel, the best general in America."

Major-Gen. SIGEL, complied with the universal demand, and on rising was greeted with enthusiastic cheers.

A VOICE: "Sprechen Deutch."

#### SPEECH OF MAJOR-GENERAL SIGEL.

Gen. SIGEL said: Citizens, you will have somebody that will give you something better than I can do in German. Citizens of New York, I greet you. I am glad to see a peaceful army around me. [Applause.] I am glad to see the people of New York so faithful to their government, and so decided in maintaining the great principles laid down in the Declaration of Independence, and in the proclamation of Abraham Lincoln. [Great cheers.] There are some, my friends, who say that the safety of

this country will depend on the muscles of men—on the strong arms of the democracy. There are some who say so now. I answer them in the name of a great people, that the rights of man and republican principles are stronger than the muscles of a few thousand demagogues. [Tremendous cheers. “That’s the talk.”] Now, my friends, we are not fighting a new battle. This time is not a new time for the American people; it is the spirit of 1776 [applause] which is making its tour round the globe, and which is revived in the hearts of the American people. [Renewed applause.] My friends, this spirit is awakened, and we have to maintain it. It not only is revived in the heart of the American people, but it has permeated France and Italy; it has revived Germany and Hungary; it has put the scythe and the lance in the hands of Kosciuszko, Microslawski, and Langiewicz, and it has even frightened that far-away grizzly bear of St. Petersburg. And Europe looks upon you as those who have to fight the battle. They say you began it in 1776. It is America which has brought forth this great movement, the French Revolution and all the revolutions following; and it is in this country where the last blow must be struck, and where the last battle must be fought. You are not of the opinion of those who think that this war must be ended now, and must be ended very quickly, and I am not of that opinion either. Europe has for thirty years fought for religious independence, and has fought for the freedom of conscience. We, the American people, have to fight for republicanism and for the independence of nations. [Cheers.] We must not get tired. Your ancestors fought seven years to acquire their independence, and I think that the principles for which we are now battling and fighting are worth that we at least spend half that time for their maintenance. [Applause.] They say that this war is led on slowly. It is true. But the first year, you know very well, was spent in experimenting, in illusions, in false hopes: the second year was hardly sufficient to gather our forces; and the third year, I think, will be sufficient to draw the iron band closely around secessionism, to strangle it. [Cheers. “Ten thousand men for Sigel.”] I thank you for your sympathies. I have not come here to engage in the business of speech-making. I am only here on an errand, and I hope I will not be here very long. I thank you for your sympathies, and I make room for somebody better.

The General was loudly cheered on retiring from the front of the stand.

SPEECH OF DR. DULON.

Dr. RUDOLPH DULON was then introduced amid great applause. He said—speaking in the German language—

Mass meetings, resolutions, long speeches, hurraing, talk—all that does not, and never did, answer the purpose in momentous epochs. But, certainly, the assembling of a powerful, resolute people, resolutions that clearly point out the path to corresponding deeds, speeches that throw oil into the fire, criticism that probes merciless into the foul flesh, these have, occasionally, in the work of great epochs, given powerful co-operation.

And a great epoch is this. We might be led to suppose an epoch differing widely from the men whom it makes. It is, indeed, a great epoch,

and there are tall bodies, but pitifully small, dwarfed shapes of mind. Circumstances have made this epoch great; circumstances occasioned by human folly and crimes.

You lament the war; you are alarmed at its terrible consequences. I tell you no power could exert a more peaceful influence upon the country than this war. For this war the patriot should have prayed. Slavery is a curse. It has been a curse in all times. It co-operated in the destruction of Rome and in the ruin of Greece. Its innermost essentiality makes it a curse everywhere. With us, slavery was safe, protected as it was by right and law. By *right* and law, I say; for the eternal rights of men weigh generally as much in politics as a certificate of baptism in Wall street, or an abstract idea with the usurer. But the slaveholders themselves voluntarily tear up this charter, overthrow that law, destroy their safeguard. Then this holy war becomes a right, a duty, to which reason and patriotism call. Had not two things been wanting, reason and power of action, the victory would have been ours, liberty would have conquered—liberty the most high, the most beautiful, the most sublime. Indeed, there never was anything greater at stake, never a more sublime prize fought for than even now.

Do you consider this a mere phrase? Look over the country, from the gulf to the lakes, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, that immense continent; look at its vast, superabundant resources, look at the immeasurable richness in all that stimulates industry and commerce, general and universal culture of mind and body! This country, rising in all its parts, with equal efforts, equally gigantic, the proud realm of one free and powerful people, not stained by the touch of tyrannical princes, proclaiming that they are such by the grace of God, free from those wrongs and privileges, from those abuses and traditionary prejudices, that are the curse of old Europe. Fellow-citizens, where was there ever anything superior to it—where anything like it? Compared with this power, the old Roman empire, with all its splendor, the empires of Alexander, Charlemagne, Napoleon, are nothing. The despots of Europe may all unite their powers; should free America say, “It is my will,” their united power will crumble into dust. Fellow-citizens, this is a simple fact. Conquer, and you will see the truth of it. To assert the difficulty or the impossibility of our victory, is either treason or want of sense and of courage. Fellow-citizens, why are we here to-day? To proclaim that we see what is just before our eyes; to proclaim that we feel that to which only a codfish could be insusceptible; to proclaim that we shall do what will even fill our pockets, and what will answer all our individual interests; to swear to be true to our country, to sacrifice fortune and life, if need be, not with sounding words, like babblers, but with deeds that shall put the enemy to flight.

With these vows we will meet those European heroes and their plans of intervention. Come, ye lords, if you dare; burn your fingers and introduce yourselves to the stout arms that are in the service of a free people. Such are the vows, too, with which we oppose the traitors of the North. Beware, too, you misled, degenerate sons of the brightest, the proudest country the sun shines on! The arm that is ready to destroy the invader, is quite strong enough to break the hard skulls of traitors. Those vows shall unite us. We will encourage and inspire each other in times of gloom, at any loss and any sacrifice. We like nothing as well as money;



it is wanted ; we must give it. The country, indeed, will some time repay with enormous interest. Our own strong arms are wanted. Let us not despair. Not every ball kills, and within the *free* country it will be sweet to sleep. The country demands what is dearer to us than our own life, our sons, our pride and our hope. Press their hands, and send them into this war. "Rather upon than without the shield," be that the last farewell.

With this *voy* we turn finally to our government. It loses our battles, wastes our millions, and sacrifices unsuccessfully hundreds of thousands of our sons. Yet, you gentlemen in Washington, you can count upon us. We are not tired. We offer once more life and fortune in the service of the people. But you must listen to us.

Fellow-citizens, I must be short ; these gentlemen behind me pull my coat ; they want me to be done. They fear lest I might throw some discord into the unanimous feeling of to-day, by blaming this government. And that I should indeed like to do. Will you, republicans, in times of difficulty, keep from your government one of the greatest blessings of republican institutions ? will you not favor the government, allowing it to bear the opinions of thoughtful and loyal citizens ? will you not allow the greatest blame, if it be well founded ? Will you in times of need, when the highest is at stake, when hearts are bleeding as much as purses—will you then give up your right, and will you plant servile silence, like the most obedient of subjects, upon the sacred soil of freedom ? I dare say we are men, not dogs ; we shall speak, not murmur. The government has managed badly. And we must proclaim it plainly, that we will not be the servants of their caprice. They have failed to place the right men in the right places. Now, I will be short, because I can be plastic.

There is Butler, by the testimony of New Orleans, one of the greatest administrative geniuses that ever existed. Had he been immured in the ice at the North Pole, no sacrifice should have been too great for government to obtain his services. But they have him, and they—they relieve him. He is now travelling and making speeches. The government cannot place him ; they know no use for him ! There is Fremont. Can you find a better or more cultivated patriot ? Can you find a man of which a country could be more proud ? He saw plainly and distinctly, when others doubted. He spoke liberty, while others groped in the dark. He, too, is no man for this government ! There is Sigel. Everybody knows the noble hero. His heroic deeds are fresh in the memory of all, in spite of the pains that some men take to doom them to oblivion. And it is not true, that Carthage and Pea Ridge alone testify to his genius. Bentonville—600 against 5,000—shows equal ability and heroism. And then, when again Bull Run witnessed bloody deeds, there was he, the hero, first paving the path for victory—then at last saving the army from total ruin, by his prudence. This renowned general is so vexed and offended by the government, that as an honorable man he cannot but lay down his sword.

Fellow-citizens, as long as this is possible, our cause, the holy cause of our country, stands not well. If you continue to suffer this, if you do not denounce energetically such acts as these—then whoever you are, free and powerful men, true republicans you are not.

Fellow-citizens, you *avill* do your duty. Hail, Columbia ! Hail, our country !

## SPEECH OF THE HON. SCHUYLER COLFAX.

Hon. SCHUYLER COLFAX, member of Congress from Indiana, was the next speaker. He said :

FELLOW-CITIZENS: I have listened with a great deal of interest to the speech which you have just heard from my friend, who took his seat a few moments ago—not because I understood a word of it (for I did not), but because I saw his heart was in it, and yours, too. Every man who speaks for the Union and our noble flag, in the language of fatherland from Germany, or in the language of my own mother-tongue, or in that of sunny France and Italy, he is my brother and my friend, and his word falls sweetly on my ear. [Cheers.] There are others speaking for our noble Union to-day, in the very jaws of danger, at the port of Charleston, South Carolina. [Renewed cheers.]

God bless those noble men of arms who have gone forth to plant our banner victoriously on the place where the reptile flag of disunion first was raised! [Cheers.] The afternoon of this April day to-day in Charleston has an atmosphere hanging over it lurid with shot, and shell, and flame. [Renewed applause.] There waves on the one hand the Palmetto flag of treason, which seeks to divide this noble country, the heritage of our fathers; and above your sons and brothers—worthy sons of worthy sires—floats the banner of beauty, of glory, that never yet failed in the face of any foe, but which traitors have sought to trample in the dust? [Applause. “They can’t do it.”] My friends, in the hour when our country comes to make up her jewels, these brave men shall be remembered in our heart of hearts—those men who went forth from this city, from my district in the far western state of Indiana, and every other loyal district in the Union, some in the freshness of life’s June, and some in the full maturity of life’s October, to give their life, if need be, for their beloved country—those men whose example shall live as long as history, and whose memory shall blossom even in the very dust of the grave. Their names shall be written high upon the scroll of American fame. God bless them to-day! [Cheers.] May the God of Battles that stood by our fathers in the infancy of this country, and out of weakness gave them strength and power, stand by our noble defenders to-day. [Applause.] My friends, I want you to remember one thing more about that gallant army. The men who are under the folds of the American flag quarrelled in the past, as you have, in regard to the transitory issues of the past. They quarrelled at the primary meetings, at the polls, everywhere where men could honestly differ in the exercise of a freeman’s privilege; but when their country was in danger, when the issues of national life and death hung trembling in the balance, they threw away from them all these petty differences, and struck hands together as noble patriots under our country’s flag. Why cannot we imitate their noble example here at home? for to-day the question is not the minor issues of the past, which are but as dust in the balance. It is the greater, the nobler, the more important question—not only as regards the heritage bequeathed to us, but in regard to your posterity in the coming generations of the future. It is whether this republic of ours shall live, or whether it shall die.

It is whether this country shall remain the beacon-light for the oppressed of all nations to flock to our open gates, with the Union as its insignia, as

it has been in the past, of its power and strength as well as its promise for the future—or whether it shall be shattered into pieces, divided into hostile and warring confederacies, and become at the mercy of every foreign despot, and subject to their insult, invasion, or triumph over us, until we are put under the hoof of the Old World, and liberty shall be crushed out in the warring confederacies of the American Republic, as they have crushed it out on the soil of the Old World. [Loud cries of “Never, never.”] It is to avert that, that hostile armies are marshalled to-day against the ranks of treason. There are some men who go around crying “Peace, peace,” when there is and when there can be no peace except on the basis of submission to rightful authority. [Cheers.] I say to you here to-day, my fellow-citizens (and I am a native of the city of New York), that the man here or elsewhere who will consent that this American Union shall be severed by the sword of treason, is as false an American as the mother whom Solomon proved to be a false mother by proposing to divide the child about which she was disputing with her neighbor. That man who is willing to have this republic severed in twain might have been born under the stars and stripes, he may have been rocked in an American cradle, and may have an American mother (and I sympathize with that mother), but he has not an American heart. [Applause.]

You have a right, my friends, to be proud of the distinguished services of your noble soldiers in the field in this great struggle for American nationality. You have read in the historic past of evidences of noble heroism which are embalmed upon the page of history, and you have wept as you have read them. You have told them to your children on your knee, as the brightest example that ancient history can give you. I will recall before you a few familiar illustrations. There was the Spartan mother who told her child, “Return with your shield or upon it.” That one single example has been the theme of eulogy for many centuries past; and yet, in this conflict, this saying has been paralleled over and over again, hundreds, thousands, tens of thousands of times, from these palatial residences down to the humble cabins in the forests of Indiana. [Cheers.] You have heard, besides, of that mother who told her son, when he complained of his sword being too short, “Add one step to it and it will be long enough.” You have seen mothers girding their sons and telling them to go forth, and if need be, willing to give the life of their first-born to the country that they have loved. You have heard of those women, in the olden time, that threw in their jewels to save their country. All over this noble land of ours these acts have been absolutely thrown in the shade, for the women and men of America have brought forth not only their golden but living treasures to save this republic from disruption and disunion. [Applause.] You have heard of Curtius, who leaped into the yawning gulf to save the republic of which he was a citizen. We have here hundreds and thousands, and there are hundreds and thousands more, ready to leap into the fiery hell of flame at Charleston, to wrest victory, if possible, even against odds, for the flag of the country of their birth. I know there are many others to address you, to whom you will listen, and who can interest you more than myself. The duty of the hour to-day is a perfect abnegation of all the minor differences of the past, and the coming together, welded by the heat of an all-pervading patriotism into one mighty mass around our flag, our country, and our government. The lesson, the



sentiment of to-day, is "unite" —above all things else, "unite," enforcing that unity by deeds of heroism in the field. I heard the speech with which this meeting was opened by the distinguished Gen. Sigel, who addressed you—that noble and brave man. I wish to say, as a member of the American Congress, I watched his course, from the opening of this war until he returned, a few days ago, to the city of New York, and I cannot, for the life of me, point to one solitary military error which he committed in attack, in reverse, in battle, in march, in the camp, or in the field. He was like a tiger at bay and like a lion on the leap. [Applause.] He made you an eloquent speech to-day, but he made a more eloquent one at Wilson's Creek [cheers], another at Carthage, another at Pea Ridge [renewed cheers]; and before this war closes, when this administration shall, as I believe, and hope, and trust they will, weed out every commanding officer whose whole heart is not in this struggle—who does not feel all over like standing by the government, and by the President—and put men who were first to hurt the rebels in the closing Waterloo of this war, you will see Sigel, and the men fighting "mit Sigel," charging. [Loud cheers.] I think that Sigel ought to make all the speeches to-day.

Now, my friends, I told you I intended to draw my remarks to a conclusion, that you might hear other speakers upon this stand. You are sometimes told that there is a difference between the government and the President. I say to you that you can only know your government and your administration through your President. You might as well say you can recognize the corporation that exists in the city of New York without recognizing the men who are the officers of that corporation, who are to sue and to be sued, who stand living, breathing embodiments of the corporate authority granted to them. And so it is with our government. It is known abroad by Abraham Lincoln, it is known at home by Mr. Lincoln. It is Mr. LINCOLN who is civil President; it is he who is military President of the United States; it is he who is commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the Republic. You cannot separate or disassociate the two: and I say to you, therefore, when the copperhead, who, for the sake of stabbing at his country, is willing to stand by these traitors, who have sworn a most sacred oath, that thereby they might stab with a more certain instinct, and plunge the dagger into the nation's heart—when these men talk to you, I say in reply, "Stand by the President." [Loud applause.]

If the hour of reverse comes in war, remember it is only by and through the President alone and his power that this gigantic rebellion can be crushed out utterly and forever. However we may differ, and I say to you while I endorse the proclamation of the President through and through, up and down, from one end of it to the other—[applause]—yet any man who stands unconditionally by the Union, unconditionally by the army, I recognize him as my brother, as true and noble and whole-souled and devoted a patriot, whether he thinks this proclamation is too broad or too narrow. It is the cause of the Union that towers above all things else; the Union represented in that noble flag that waves over our soldiers to-day; that Union that is yet to be restored in all its pristine purity, purged of treason on every side; for though they may tell you that the South will not submit, I tell you in reply that when the military power of the South is broken (and it is dying to-day of exhaustion), the Union will be restored.



The very women of the South who now in bread riots are breaking open confederate warehouses to supply themselves and their children with the necessaries of life, will hail that flag in triumphal procession, not only as the emblem of union, but as the harbinger of peace and of plenty to them. [Cheers.] In that glorious hour when you shall welcome back with triumphal acclaim the noble men who went forth from your midst to be the saviours, defenders, and protectors of the Union, we can all say in the beautiful language of the poet :

“Flag of our hearts, our symbol and our trust,  
 Though traitors trample thy bright folds in dust,  
 Though vile ambition, dark rebellion's lust,  
     Conspire to tear thee down ;  
 Millions of loyal lips thy folds caress,  
 Millions of loyal hearts thy stars do bless,  
 Millions of loyal hands will round thee press,  
     To guard thy old renown.” [Cheers.]

Gen. SIGEL: I will introduce to you Gov. PIERPONT of Virginia. He was never out in the field—he was a little too heavy for that—but I have seen some of his boys. I have made their acquaintance, and I have found them faithful.

#### SPEECH OF GOV. PIERPONT.

Gov. PIERPONT was received with loud cheering. He spoke as follows :

FELLOW-CITIZENS: I know from the hearing that you have given to those who have spoken in a different language to-day, that many of you, perhaps, do not understand my native tongue [“O, yes, go-ahead”]; but from the cheers that you have given and the hearty response that you have made to every sentiment that was uttered, I know that your heart beats with my heart to the tap of the Constitution and the Union to-day. [Applause.] My fellow-citizens, it is a matter of extreme pleasure that I meet with you on this occasion. I think it is one happily conceived that there should be a great meeting in the city of New York on this, the anniversary of the attack upon Fort Sumter. [“Hear, hear,” and applause.] My fellow-citizens, that attack was not a sudden impulse of passion; the event that led to it was not the mere election of a particular man as President of the United States. It was the outbreaking of an old feeling that had fought against our fathers in the days of the Revolution, under the name of tory; that had taken its seat in South Carolina, and has been in South Carolina politics from that day until the present, and has many sympathizers all over the country in the shape of copperheads. [Cheers.] They had decided in their own minds that the two institutions of labor in this country could not exist; they had preached the doctrine that where labor participated in government, that the institutions of the country could not be stable; they had preached the doctrine that the laborers of the South were slaves, and that the laborers of the North were no better; they had inculcated that in the minds of their children, daughters, and wives, and upon this great idea they inaugurated this revolution; not for the purpose of perpetuating slavery particularly, not for the purpose of dividing the North and the South, but, my fellow-citizens, for the purpose of enslaving

the laboring men, whether they were in the North or whether they were in the South [cheers]: and I tell you, gentlemen, to-day, this is the contest that was inaugurated at Fort Sumter on the 11th of April, 1861. It remains to be seen how that fight will be fought out. They had been induced to believe at the South (and I well know it, because I was right in the midst of them) that the people of the North would not fight: they believed that one Southern man was equal to five Northern men, because a Southern man was a gentleman and a Northern man was a slave. My fellow-citizens, that contest is still going on. We have had reverses; we have had victories. It has been a powerful array of strength against strength; but while the South have been united in this great fight, we of the North have had our attention directed partly to the war, partly to making money, and partly to the opposition of the war. [Laughter and applause.] Now, fellow-citizens, this fight is coming to a close; it is not going to last always; it must terminate some way, and it is to have one of two terminations. The one termination is for the South to triumph and subjugate you with all the white men in the South that labor, and put you upon an equality with their slaves by denying to you all participation in the government. [Vociferous exclamations of "Never, never."] The other is, my fellow-citizens, for you of the North to whip the South, and place them and their slaves upon an equality, and tell them, by the eternal God, that a traitor has no more rights than a slave. [Great cheering.] And, my fellow-citizens, you must hold this language to the ear of the people. I tell you, you must be in earnest; they are in earnest. You must hold it to the ear of the people; and whether the traitor be North or whether he be South, or whether he be in your midst, you must teach him that the spirit of liberty, the spirit of eternal, indomitable liberty of every man, is in this fight, and that he is a foolish man who will throw himself in the way of its march. It will run over him and crush him in the dust, for God has intended this country all to be free. [Applause.]

Why, my fellow-citizens, what a spectacle do we present! Americans, Germans, Irish, that have come over from Europe—fled from oppression there—hav'n't you seen enough of aristocracy in the Old World? [A voice, "Too much."] Have you come over here to unite with men to establish a Southern Confederacy, as they call it—who hold that our laboring men are not worthy of participating in the government—that you are all only slaves. No, fellow-citizens, you are capable of being freemen; but what would be the history? This is the last great fight of liberty; we must win or lose forever. You may put down an aristocracy—you may put down an oligarchy for to-day or to-morrow, or next day, but it will rear its head again just as long as you find unscrupulous men to seize upon power: the monarch will raise his head and try to subjugate the weak that are around him—to destroy our free republican government to-day, and what will be its future history? Ay, when your children's children and my children's children come to read the history of to-day, they will look back upon the American Republic as the best government in the greatest country that ever existed upon the face of God's earth. The historian will say, that there were about five millions of white men south of Mason and Dixon's line, backed up by four millions of slaves, and these people made war upon a democracy of eighteen millions, and they whipped them; they subjugated them, and blotted out the brightest hope that God had ever given the world for republican government.

[Loud cries of "Never, never, never!"]

The curses and execrations of every freeman would light upon you—upon the men that lived in this day. They would say that they struggled feebly for a short time, but that copperheads and peace-party-men, who, actuated by a desire for political office, rose up and broke down the force of all the eighteen millions of people. But, my fellow-citizens, if you should triumph in a very short time, it will be this, that in the United States there are four hundred thousand slaveholders, and that these slaveholders attempted to overthrow the great democratic American nation—they attempted to overthrow it by the cry of “Abolition, abolition;” that the freemen of America were not to be frightened by any such cry, but that they rose in the strength and power of their might and overthrew their slaves. And what is to become of the slaves? Are you going to subjugate the master and return to him his property? [Voices, “No, never.”] That is the question that is to be decided. They have decided that democracy and slavery are incompatible. I say they have decided it; the freemen of America never did decide it, but the slaveholder has decided it. He has initiated the war upon that hypothesis; he has preached his whole case upon that single issue; he has said he could overthrow the whole government. Now, is he able to do it? It is for you to say whether he shall or not; it is for you, the people of the North, to say it. I tell you, as sure as there is a God in heaven, and a just God, too, if the people of the North don’t bestir themselves they will overthrow it. I tell you they are overthrowing it.

God never intended—he is too just to intend—that a people should be a great and free people, enjoying all the institutions that we enjoy, as we do enjoy them, when they are attacked by four hundred thousand traitors; if they don’t vindicate their rights he does not intend they shall be free. I would to God that every copperhead north of Mason and Dixon’s line could be made a slave, because he is fighting against the rights of the poor white man; he is fighting against the rights of the man who labors, the man who develops the country—he is fighting against those who are the great bulwarks of our nation, and he ought to be a slave. [“That’s so,” and applause.] He ought to be ranked with a traitor; he is no better than one, he is not as good. Jeff. Davis to-day spurns him and tells him, “We won’t have your peace offers, we despise you.” How does he look—how does he feel! Despised among the freemen of the North, despised by the aristocracy of the South—poor devil! he will nestle in the grass and every man shall put his heel upon him. [Laughter and loud cheers.] I wish to God that my voice would stand it, as I would like to tell you a good many things in connection with this subject. But all I have got to say is, that I represent now a part of Virginia that is loyal. [“Good,” and applause and three cheers for free Virginia; groans for Carlisle.] In a vote of 48,000 in 1860, that was cast for President of the United States, a vote was taken the other day for the freedom of West Virginia from slavery. There were 30,000 out of that 48,000 that voted for the freedom of West Virginia [cheers], and out of that same boundary there are 12,000 troops in the rebel army, and there is not a corporal’s guard left of the last. I tell you we commenced reorganizing the government of Virginia when they attempted to pass the ordinance of secession, and throw around them the arms of the South and bring into subjection the Union men of Virginia. We rebelled against them; we took hold of the old government and reor-



ganized it, and by the grace of God and the assistance of the President, and the strong arm of the troops, I intend to make every man in the state of Virginia, bearing office, swear to support the Constitution of the United States. [Cheers.] Our oath goes this wise: "dealing under license," that embraces all merchants; it embraces all tavern keepers, all coffee-house keepers, all officers of municipal corporations, every minister of the gospel who celebrates the rites of matrimony, and every bank officer—president, director, clerk, or cashier. We require them to take an oath, without any mental reservation, that they will support the Constitution of the United States and the restored government of Virginia, as vindicated by the Wheeling Convention, which assembled on the 11th of June, 1861. And if you had a little of that kind of thing in New York it would not hurt you; I would hold up to you all editors of newspapers. Fellow-citizens, I thank you for your attention. Probably my throat will get stronger; this is not the last time I will be in New York. I hope in God that Charleston may have our flag waving over it to-day; and in prospect of that, I propose three cheers for our army and navy. [Three cheers were given with a will.]

General SIGEL: I had some intercourse with Governor Pierpont, and as he was so friendly to introduce me to you, I wish to say something that I had forgotten before. He wrote letters to me in regard to his men, his boys of Virginia; and from the first moment to the last of our communication, I have found that he is a man of sound principles, that he is just, and that he does not care whether he has to do with somebody who was born in this land or with a little Dutchman. [Laughter and cheers.]

Dr. LIEBER: You have just heard a Southerner speak in favor of the Union and for our country, and you have heard a German by birth speak in favor of it. I now propose to read to you some resolutions regarding another great noble southern Union man, who has just died. The information of his death has just reached us. I mean James Louis Petigru, who was one of the most distinguished, one of the most learned, and one of the bravest men that ever graced the citizenship of the United States. He remained true in the time of nullification, and now in time of rebellion he was the only openly professed Union man in South Carolina. I trust that you will adopt with great cheer and good will the resolutions which will be read to you.

The resolutions (which are herewith given) were seconded by Mr. C. E. DETMOLD, and unanimously adopted.

*Whereas*, We, loyal citizens assembled in Union Square, New York, on the 11th April, 1863, have heard with deep sorrow that James Louis Petigru, of Charleston, South Carolina, has departed from this life; therefore,

*Resolved*, That we will ever cherish the spotless name of this loyal citizen, who has set us a bright example of unwavering fidelity and fortitude, in adhering to his country and her sacred cause, with a large mind, untainted by narrow state pride, free from sectional prejudice and proof against the errors peculiar to his native portion of the country.

*Resolved*, That, born and educated in South Carolina; gifted with talents which entitled him to the highest positions coveted by ambition; acknowledged by all to be the greatest jurist and counsellor in his whole state; of a genial as well as an aspiring temper, fitted to enjoy the amenities of friendship and inspiring popularity; aware that his interests were not lying on the side he had chosen; conscious that he wanted but a sphere of action to be a states-



man, he nevertheless preferred to give up every advantage and tie, and to remain a patriot of devoted rectitude and political simplicity.

*Resolved*, That, in the unhappy period of nullification James Louis Petigru was the acknowledged leader of the Union men in Charleston; and now, in the dire period of civil war, when his impassioned state pronounced herself, by an overwhelming declaration, against the country, he alone, of all prominent citizens, remained faithful to the last moment of his life, as a lonely rock in the midst of an angry sea is lashed in vain by the frenzied turmoil of storm and wave.

---

SPEECH OF HON. MONTGOMERY BLAIR.

Postmaster-General BLAIR was introduced to the assemblage. He said :

FELLOW-CITIZENS: I have already raised my voice on the other side of the square in behalf of the cause we have assembled here this afternoon to cheer and support. I do not believe that I can furnish another quadrant of you with an address on this occasion; but I am happy to see the workingmen of New York turn out to sustain the workingman's cause. This, my friends, is not the cause of the high classes; it is not the cause of the great; it is the cause of the workingmen of the country. It is to sustain a government which has been beneficent, which has given free homes, which has educated the poor and elevated the masses. It is their cause; and in such a cause as that, the workingmen of the country, of all countries, ought to give their hands and hearts on this and on all other occasions. My friends, the aristocratic classes, the oligarchic interest—they understood from the first tap of the drum, from the first gun fired at Charleston—they knew in whose cause that action was begun [“Hear, hear,” and applause], and it is responded to from the other side of the water. From the day that gun was fired, from the first tap of that drum when they reared the rattlesnake flag under the palmetto, the rattlesnake is abroad, and all that oligarchic interest with one united voice led the new government to break up the government of the United States. The people of the United States were slow to believe that a fratricidal hand could be raised to strike down a government which had shed nothing but good upon everybody and throughout the civilized world; but now, my friends, you are rallying, now you are coming up to the mark, now your friends across the waters are responding to the voices of Cobden and Bright; they feel that this is the workingman's cause throughout all lands—not only the land of the Union, but the lands abroad. [Applause.]

Now, my friends, we must be unfaltering. This is a struggle that has been going on from the beginning. It was begun in '76, the era when we founded this government. The aristocratic interest abroad are now sending forth piratical vessels to break down American commerce; all that is furnished by the oligarchic interest in foreign lands to assail free government, the home of the oppressed of all lands. On the other side, you see that instinctively the people begin to understand in Europe, as well as in America, that they have an interest in this cause, and they are coming up to the work nobly. My friends, I do not despair. I know we will go through it; I know we will put down the rebellion and traitors; it is not given by God that a beneficent institution like this shall perish in this age and in this era. [Cheers.]

## SPEECH OF WEIL VON GERNSBACH.

MR. WEIL VON GERNSBACH was then introduced. He said in German :

FELLOW-CITIZENS : The people of New York have assembled to-day in mass meeting, in order—as is their right and duty—to look after the household of the nation and to consult on the situation of public affairs. You will find many things wrong ; and, in fact, many things are wrong. The loyal people of this country have before them an armed, terrible and enraged enemy of their greatness and unity ; and behind and beside them gather thousands of sneaking traitors, to wrest the arms out of their hands, and to deliver them defenceless to the enemy. [Cheers.] What a sad, what a revolting spectacle for the friend of this country and of liberty ! Two years ago, at the outbreak of the civil war, when the people of the free states, full of indignation at the affront to the nation, rushed to arms in order to oppose a wall of brass to the onset of the slave power, these men raised a deafening noise, boasted of their loyalty, of their love for freedom, of their hatred against the rebels, of their devotion to the Union. But no sooner had a few disasters befallen the national armies, than they completely changed front, and for the past eighteen months their representatives in the state legislatures, their orators, their politicians, their journalists have had nothing better to do than to keep up an unceasing denunciation of the government, its agents, its officers, and the generals [applause] who are devoted to the popular cause. Indeed it is a sad work which the press of this party has undertaken to perform. No expression is too vulgar, no abusive term too coarse for them to fling day after day against the head of the nation and against his first officers and councillors. Instead of enlightening the people, of teaching and encouraging them, these men check its energy, mislead its sentiments, and poison public opinion.

Fellow-citizens, this infamous conduct of the press is a disaster of incalculable consequence, a disaster greater than is generally assumed ; and I will tell you why. The first condition of the perpetuity and the prosperity of a democratic republic is the respect of the people for the laws which they themselves have made, and for the authorities which they themselves have constituted. Now, let me tell you, gentlemen, Europeans, and in particular we Germans, can appreciate this respect, which native Americans possess to so high a degree. [Applause.] It is a fruit of their education, and has become with them a habit. Even an unpopular officer they demand to see respected and even to an unpopular law they submit readily, because they know that both can be removed by lawful means. But, fellow-citizens, at present a part of the press seems to have made it its task to root out systematically, by coarse, vulgar abuse, and by unmeasured fault-finding, this respect for law, and thus to undermine the very foundation of the republic. They know not, these deluded men, that they are using a two-edged sword which, at the first opportunity, may be turned against them.

Let me now also say a word, as a German to Germans, on our German press. Some of our journalists have sunk so deep, are so covered with disgrace, have played so deep in the mire of infamy, that they seize of this mire, in which they are completely imbedded, and fling it at the best of

men; yea, even at a long-tried friend of freedom, the ornament of the German population—our gallant General Sigel. Such are the consequences, if men serve a bad cause. And what a cause is it that these people serve? Divested of all phraseology, of all secondary questions, the combat which now devastates this country is nothing else than the combat of free labor against the large-landed property system [cheers]; the battle of the oppressed against the oppressor, of the starving against the aristocracy, of the laborers against the privileged idlers—in one word, of the world-controlling idea of freedom against the disgraceful institution of slavery. [Applause.] In such a combat, can German men, German laborers, thinking, intelligent men of moral education, hesitate one moment on which side they must stand? Many of you have already fought the same combat over before. The revolution which for the last seventy years has been going the rounds of Europe, is substantially nothing else; for the so-called rights of the princes and of the crown, if historically reduced to their origin, what are they but the arrogated rights of the large-landed proprietors? [Applause.] How can Europeans, how can Germans, prostitute themselves by aiding in an attempt to deliver over this country, bound and chained, to the slave power? The government has committed faults, has shown weakness; we do not deny or conceal it. But consider the extraordinary situation of the men at the helm of the nation, and you will not be harsh in your judgment. Do not forget, in particular, that a large portion of the disasters which have befallen us, rests on the shoulders of incapable and unsound-minded generals.

“Peace! peace!” our opponents cry. But what peace do they want? A peace with everlasting disgrace or an honorable peace? A disgraceful peace they can have any time. Tell the army to cast away their arms, give Washington to the rebels, proclaim Jefferson Davis President for life, extend slavery over the entire continent, catch the runaway negroes and return them to their masters, abolish liberty of the press and of speech, submit to the Montgomery Constitution, and deprive the free laborer in the Northern states of his right of suffrage—then you have peace, the peace of the copperheads, the peace of the grave, the peace of infamy and moral self-destruction. [Cheers.] But if, on the other hand, you want an honorable peace, you must conquer it by force of arms—there is no other way.

This land, America, the home of freedom, has given the signal for the combat once before, and France and Europe followed. To-day America gives the signal once more. It is a holy war, and be assured the signal will have again world-shaking consequences. Sooner or later, when the fulness of time is come, the people of France will again sit in judgment over its oppressors and tyrants, and outraged Germany will rise, and wrathful Italy, and bleeding Poland, and downtrodden Hungary, and they will begin the holy war—the last war. [Great applause.]

Be ye therefore united, German men; support with your whole strength the holy cause, your own cause. Victory is not doubtful, and we will carry the standard of victory everywhere—into the huts of the oppressed poor throughout the civilized world. Do not overestimate the power of our enemies in the North. By their designs, tendencies, aims, and acts, they have forfeited the name of a political party. They form only a gang of miscreants, under whose feet the ground already begins to give way. [Continued applause.]



The meeting was then effectively addressed, in German, by Dr. FÖRSCH :

SPEECH OF DR. FÖRSCH.

When I, after a long silence, again appear before the public as an orator, I have to confess, that the importance of the present condition of our country has induced me. But do not think that I speak to you as a partisan. I address you as a citizen of the United States, as a member of our great Union. All party questions must be laid aside at present, and the only question is, Shall our Union be preserved or shall she be gathered into fragments; shall we become the mocking-stock of the European despots, or shall we preserve the respect of all nations as an undivided nation? for I am convinced that this large audience will agree with the words of our immortal Andrew Jackson: "Our Union must and shall be preserved, in peace if we can, by war if we must!"

I may boldly assert, my American fellow-citizens, that no heart can beat warmer for the safety of our Union and the preservation of our liberty than the heart of a true German. Having struggled in vain in the old country for freedom and human rights, overpowered by the mighty aristocracy and despotism, this Union the only asylum of the oppressed, the only refuge of the persecuted, gave us a home. And yet this great Union is the star of hope for all the oppressed nations in the Old World. But, alas! treacherous hands have shaken the pillars of our holy temple, and perfidious sons threaten to trample under their own feet their good mother, who gave them independence and all welfare, our glorious Union. No, no, never shall this be done, and as long as there runs a drop of German blood in our veins we will stand bravely on the side of true Americans, and fight man to man for our great Union, till the last enemy is conquered.

We will fight this battle on the political arena also. Politics are to the German not a mere-business to suit a selfish interest, or to get some foot at the public crib, but an earnest affair to save the people's rights, to promote the people's welfare, to guarantee to the people their liberty, and for all to preserve our great Union one and indivisible. And if the day of election shall arrive, the Germans will not meet under any party flag, but look to that glorious banner on which is written: "The Union shall and must be preserved!"

On the battle-field we see bravely fight our German soldiers for our righteous cause. They laid aside all party questions as the trumpet of war sounded, and rallied with one mind and one heart under the flag of our Union. And if we are justly proud of a Steuben, De Kalb, Muhlenberg, and others, as heroes in our Revolution, and who had helped to lay the corner-stone of our Union, we mention now with equal pride a Sigel, Max Weber, and others, bravely fighting for the preservation of the holy inheritance of our forefathers. So we feel ourselves a common brotherhood, and we say in the words of a Lafayette: "This red, white, and blue, must make its journey around the world!"

I will now close, and I hope to speak in the name of the greater part of my German brethren if I say, "Our watchword is Union and Constitution, and our countersign is Liberty to all! So we assemble around the old flag and say:

"The star-spangled banner, oh! long may it wave  
Over the land of the free and the home of the brave."



# OFFICERS.

---

## STAND NO. 4.

Under charge of Committee of Arrangements,

FRANKLIN H. DELANO,      ROBERT B. MINTURN, Jr.  
GEORGE P. PUTNAM,      SYDNEY HOWARD GAY.

### President.

CHARLES KING.

### Vice-Presidents.

|                          |                       |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| A. W. Bradford,          | John Kress,           |
| Albert R. Gallatin,      | Peter Brunges,        |
| Thomas W. Clerke,        | David Dows,           |
| John E. Williams,        | Edward Burns,         |
| George Folsom,           | J. B. Cornell,        |
| John R. Brady,           | Sigismund Waterman,   |
| Charles A. Hecksher,     | John T. Henry,        |
| Ezra Nye,                | Henry D. Sedgwick,    |
| Richard Upjohn,          | Charles S. Messenger, |
| Samuel B. Ruggles,       | Simeon Draper,        |
| Theodore G. Glaubenskee, | John C. Brant,        |
| Luther Bradish,          | Jonathan Thorne,      |
| William Aufferman,       | Jacob A. Westervelt,  |
| Caleb B. Spicer,         | John Stevenson,       |
| Frederick H. Wolcott,    | John C. Hamilton,     |
| Eugene S. Ballard,       | N. Rossman,           |
| Eli White,               | Conrad Geib,          |
| George F. Tallman,       | F. M. French,         |
| William Astor,           | Nathaniel W. Burtis,  |
| C. Y. Wemple,            | George H. Matthews,   |
| Joseph T. Duryea,        | James G. King,        |
| George L. Schuyler,      | Henry B. Smith,       |
| Julius Brill,            | Chauncey D. Murray,   |
| Adam W. Spies,           | James McKaye,         |
| George F. Allen,         | Charles Cludius,      |
| John J. Phelps,          | Louis Naumann,        |
| S. S. Wyckoff,           | A. V. Meeks,          |
| John T. Henry,           | Hamilton Fish,        |
| William C. Rhinelanders, | Charles A. Moore,     |
| Wm. Hall,                | John Brooks,          |
| Samuel S. Sands,         | Henry A. Heiser,      |
| Nathan Chandler,         | S. Frankel,           |

William W. Todd,  
 Francis G. Shaw,  
 George Donaldson,  
 Edwards Pierrepont,  
 Charles B. Hoffman,  
 T. H. Faile,  
 John K. Myers,  
 E. C. Korner,  
 Charles Bruno,

A. E. Silliman,  
 Eleazar Parmly,  
 James Kearney Warren,  
 Amos Robbuis,  
 Enoch Chamberlain,  
 Henry Vandewater,  
 Henry Maurer,  
 Henry Bruner,  
 Fred. Schutz.

---

**Secretaries.**

Irving Grinnell,  
 John W. Minturn,  
 Washington Coster,  
 Cruger Oakley,  
 Edward C. Bogert,  
 Temple Prime,  
 Oliver K. King,  
 Andrew H. Sands,  
 Peter Maey,  
 Brockholst Cutting,  
 Nathaniel Prime,  
 John Nesbitt,  
 Henry J. Barbey,

William J. Todd,  
 J. Howard Williams,  
 James E. Mauran,  
 I. Smith Homans, Jr.,  
 George D. Lyman,  
 William F. Cary, Jr.,  
 Theodore Roosevelt,  
 Walter H. Burns,  
 Frederick Sturges,  
 Murray Hoffman, Jr.,  
 Edward S. Renwick,  
 Frank Shepherd,  
 William J. Emmett.

# PROGRAMME OF PROCEEDINGS.

---

## STAND No. 4.

NORTHWEST CORNER OF UNION SQUARE..

*Salutes of Artillery by the workmen employed by Henry Brewster & Co.*

1. Grand March from "Le Prophète," of Meyerbeer, by Robertson's Grand Band.
2. Charles King, of the Council of the Loyal National League, will call the meeting to order.
3. Prayer, by Rev. Roswell D. Hitchcock.
4. George P. Putnam, of the Executive Committee, will read the call for the meeting, and the list of Vice-Presidents and Secretaries.
5. Franklin H. Delano will read the address adopted by the Council and Executive Committee on Lectures and Addresses.
6. Robert B. Minturn, Jr., will read the resolutions.
7. Music by the Band.
8. Major-General Frémont will address the meeting.
9. Music—singing: "The Army Hymn." By Oliver Wendell Holmes.
10. Roscoe Conkling will address the meeting.
11. Music—singing: "The Star-Spangled Banner."
12. George W. Julian will address the meeting.
13. Music—singing: "Song for the Loyal National League," written expressly for this occasion, by George H. Boker.
14. W. J. A. Fuller will address the meeting.
15. George P. Putnam will read an original poem, entitled "Those Seventy Men." Written expressly for this occasion, by Mrs. Sarah H. Bradford.
16. Music—singing: "Our Union." Written expressly for this occasion, by Alfred B. Street.

CHARLES KING, of the Council of the Loyal National League, called the meeting to order, and the proceedings were opened by prayer by the Rev. ROSWELL D. HITCHCOCK.

After the reading of the lists of Vice-Presidents and Secretaries, and of the Address and Resolutions, and the special resolutions on the death of Judge Petigru of Charleston, S. C., the chairman, Mr. King, introduced Major-General JOHN C. FREMONT in the following words:

I am now about to present to you one who has a right to claim your attention—for he has shown his devotion to his country by leading her soldiers to the field, and by encountering—what is worse than armed hosts—the prejudices of lukewarm men, half and half friends and patriots—men who, if they had their way, would make a compromise to-morrow with slavery and all its horrors, and who now, under the guise of peace, would make useless, or worse than useless, the treasures of blood spilled by your children and mine to vindicate the glorious flag which rebels would trample down. [Cheers.] Fellow-citizens, I present to you Major-General FREMONT.

Gen. FREMONT was greeted with a burst of enthusiasm which continued some minutes. Quiet being restored, he said:

#### SPEECH OF GEN. FREMONT.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: I had the honor of being asked to meet you here to-day, and to address you. I accepted the invitation for the pleasure it gave me to meet you, and for the further satisfaction I would have in using the occasion to say how fully and how cordially I sympathize with you in the objects of this meeting. Two years ago you met here and accepted the war inaugurated on this memorable day at Fort Sumter. [Cheers.] To-day, again, the noise of battle rolls around that monumental fort, and we are hourly awaiting to hear the thunder of the guns which shall announce that at length our outraged flag has been gloriously avenged. [Applause.] But whatever may be the fortune of the day, no anniversary could have been found more fitting to renew your pledges that there shall be no wavering in your support of the government, no faltering in the purpose of the North to restore and maintain, undivided and free to all, the whole territory of the United States of America. [Applause.] The public assemblages, of which this is the first, are intended to draw together and to give effect and voice to the opinions and feelings of the people on the great question of the day. We welcome these manifestations as the evidence of healthy activity in the public mind. They indicate unmistakably that the nation is not drifting, but moving with a fixed and resolute purpose; that a feeling of unconditional loyalty is rapidly absorbing all varieties of opinion, and fusing all party distinctions into the single resolve to preserve our national unity, at every cost. [Applause.] But while permitting myself the pleasure of meeting you here and taking part in this commemoration, I have declined to avail myself of the invitation with which I had been honored



to address you. The subjects on which I had been asked to speak required a scope of comment and suggestion, in which I do not feel at liberty to indulge. I decline to do so in deference to the commonly received opinion that a certain official propriety prohibits officers of the army and navy from speaking in popular assemblies. But more especially I decline to do so, because I was informed, not very long since, that officers permitting themselves to take part in public affairs outside of their professional duties, had been characterized by high authority as "political generals." [Laughter.] But in giving away to this usage, I am not at all satisfied that it is the correct view of the scope of an officer's duty in this country, and amidst the disorders of a civil war. Under other forms of government, where the head of the nation shapes and directs its policy, and where the agents and the people themselves simply conform, this suppressed freedom of speech, where it must have expression, necessarily takes the form of a revolt, and is consequently more incompatible with the public tranquillity. But in this country, where there is really such a thing as public affairs upon which the nation deliberates, and where the vitality of the system depends upon the fact that every man is expected to take a living interest in them, the case is widely different. Here the government simply executes the will of the people, to which it is expected strictly to conform, and concerning which it ought, consequently, to be well informed. [Applause.] The military power is only an executive arm of the sovereign in this country—the people; and instead of forming that military power into a distinct and separate class, and creating barriers between the army and the people, everything ought to be done to keep the soldier one of them [applause], having common interests and common opinions. [Applause.] To isolate them and their sentiments would be, or might be, highly dangerous to our free government, and in this country there should be no such thing as a military party. [Applause.] We have lately seen with what satisfaction the country received the resolutions of our troops in the field—how timely and important was their influence—not the less because it was evident that they had no idea of merging into the soldier their sympathies and privileges of the citizens. [Applause.] And it is absurd to say that in a war of ideas, a conflict of principles, in a revolution which is taking the shape of a reformation—a revolution which involves the civilization of the age, and to the results of which the friends of liberty are looking with the deepest anxiety and in every part of the world; in all this momentous struggle, that the men most actively concerned, taking the most active part and making the costliest sacrifices, should have no opinion. It is idle to tell us that the opinions of officers in important places have no influence on the conduct and the results of the war. Nor does it always happen that a general has the choice to render his service to the country in the more congenial duties of the field; he may be placed in charge of a distant and rebellious province, separated, disconnected from the seat of the government by the conditions of the war, and where necessarily he must be much governed by his own convictions and his own opinions. Would it reflect—does it reflect—on the soldiery qualities of that general that he had the ability to institute a policy which enabled him, in the midst of rebellion and anarchy, to hold in subjection to the laws and to reduce into good order and healthy propriety, and to restore its commercial relations to the Union, the great metropolis of the South? [Applause.] Men who, by uniting with you here

two years ago, subjected themselves to the charge of being political generals, have sealed with their lives their devotion to this cause. [Applause.] Then Schenck and Mitchel and Baker spoke to you here. [Applause.] The one has given his blood and the others their lives in your service. [Applause.] Were they the less good soldiers because they came to you here, on the eve of battle, to get inspiration and to find encouragement and renewed strength in the assurances of your support? [Applause and cries of "No."] It is not here that the name of "political general" can be considered a stigma or a disqualification. [Applause.] Already shadows begin to people this place, and the spot has become classic ground. Two years ago this was one among the many beautiful openings which decorate your city. You had no Bunker Hill to serve as a field-altar of patriotism. In this splendid city—this radiating centre of the material prosperity of the country, there was wanting the traditional spot in sight of which no man could, without shame, fall below the spirit of the day which gave it an historic fame. [Applause.] But here already you have sermons in these stones—*there* you have your field-altar. [Cheers.] In sight of that statue of Washington you come here to-day to renew your pledges—you promise that in his hand, which two years ago held up to your indignant gaze your discarded and outraged flag, you will yet place the standard which shall be raised in victory over the walls of Sumter. [Great applause.] You promise that you will never agree to a dismemberment of the country which he left you [Voices, "Never," and applause]; and that next to the crime of the traitors who are striking in arms at the life of the nation, you will hold the guilt of those men who, placed in responsible positions, do not use every effort to direct, with most terrible energy, the power of this country to destroy the rebellion. [Tremendous cheering, and three times three cheers for Gen. Frémont.]

The CHAIRMAN: I now, fellow-citizens, present to you one of our own representatives—a man who has proved that bullying could not hurt him. He was a member of Congress when this great crime was committed, and the experiment was tried on him which has been tried on others, by some of the yellow-faced Southern chivalry—to bully him, by talk of pistols and bowie-knives. He told them, "By the grace of God, I carry my defenders here (pointing to his breast), and if any man wants to fight let him come on." [Vehement cheers.] I present to you Mr. ROSCOE CONKLING.

Loud applause greeted Mr. CONKLING, who said:

SPEECH OF THE HON. ROSCOE CONKLING.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW-CITIZENS: You have assembled to commemorate an event which must be memorable in history to the latest syllable of recorded time. You celebrate an anniversary which will be canonized, or cursed, till the holiest fountains of human sentiment are forever frozen or dried up. You solemnize the recurrence of a day which will stand in the calendar hereafter, as the day which made manifest the nothingness or immortality of human rights. [Cheers.] The 12th of April, 1861, was a day of darkness and despair; our sun was eclipsed, and no

man could see to read the dial. It was a day of humiliation and death but through that death there came a glorious resurrection and ascension.

“ When Sumter fell,  
 You, and I, and all of us fell down,  
 And bloody treason flourished over us.” [Cheers.]

But two years have passed—two years “ of plots and counterplots, of gain and loss, of glory and disgrace”—and undismayed and undaunted, you come to say to doubters and to enemies, as William Tell said to his native mountaineers :

“ We hold to you the hands you first beheld,  
 To show they still are free.”

It seems to be a maxim in the economy of Providence, that the trials of a nation are in the ratio of its destinies. If it be poor and powerless, if it have no empire and holds no position envied by the world, it may escape the blasts of war, and languish for long intervals in unmolested calmness. But if it be rich and powerful, if it claim as its own one tenth of the globe if in the lifetime of a single man it grows to be the foremost power in all the earth, it must accept perils and struggles as the price of its greatness and success.

If besides being powerful, a people has set up institutions in which no trace of aristocracy or kingcraft is tolerated, it has voluntarily elected to make its own soil the theatre of a contest which has been waging since time began, between oppression and liberty. It is the mission and fore-ordained destiny of a people assuming to found and maintain a democratic government, to wrestle and grapple with the foes of freedom and equality within and without ; and the struggle now raging in America, is only the old battle for human rights transplanted from the Old World to the New. [Applause.] We had no right to expect to escape it.

Why should we ?

Why should we hope to elude the evil passions and instincts which have led men the world over to seek the destruction of equal rights, and the aggrandizement of the few at the expense of the many ?

We knew that nowhere had men relinquished superior and exclusive privilege without a contest ; why should they do it here—here in the New World, the place reserved for republican government to vindicate itself forever, or to wither from the world ?

Time and civilization and government had their morning not in the west but in the east. Dawn flushed, and yet centuries rolled by before light broke upon the western continent.

Why was this ?

Why was half the globe kept hidden away behind a trackless waste of waters, till the other half had been dug over and over, to bury its dead ? Why were progress and barbarism mewed up so long in the Old World, to solve in blood the problems of humanity ?

Perhaps the New World was reserved till mankind should be fitted for a higher and better dispensation.

Perhaps it was designed to withhold this inheritance from man till the race had been tried and instructed, and exalted by the wisdom and the folly, the virtues and the vices of wasted ages.



If this was the design, we can understand our mission, and accept our responsibilities.

If it is the mission of the American people to make their continent a garden for the growth of a new civilization, higher and better and truer than the world has ever known, we may understand the logic which permits blood to stain our land.

If we maintain successfully that man needs no mortal master but himself, we bring forth a great new truth, and no great truth was ever yet born into the world without great pangs.

It costs great pangs to plant the germ of free government here, and the manner in which the experiment began, might well convince the mind of faith that Providence had charge over it. The task was undertaken by a group of men which no previous age could have produced. They were the victims of all the bad systems of government then extant, and they were called to devise a new system just when the world was all ablaze with political intelligence.

All the past was before them, and the French revolution was just delivering its terrible message to mankind.

Two forms of government had already been tried here.

The colonial system had been tested and thrown off.

The confederate system has been fairly tried, and found fit to live only through the revolution it supported. All the members of the Confederacy had found the need of a stronger system, closer knit. I say all—all but South Carolina, who put herself up to be raffled for by the contending parties, to belong to the British Crown or the American Republic, as the one or the other should succeed in the struggle of which she was to be the safe spectator.

The Fathers of the Republic, in their almost inspiration, saw clearly that a government, to be enduring and free, must be a union, not of states, but of the people, not a partnership, nor a club of thirteen members, but an eternal wedlock of the nation.

They fashioned their work accordingly—they excluded carefully all state rights which would militate against the supremacy of the federal government.

Some of their acts seem prophetic now, when men here in New York, "leading politicians," as Lord Lyons calls them, are proposing to array the state against the general government, and to nullify the act for enrolling soldiers, and other acts of Congress.

An effort was made to put into the Constitution some way in which men could oppose the general government, under cover of state authority, and yet dodge the halter, but the halter was carefully kept in.

Luther Martin, the attorney-general of Maryland, went home from the convention and delivered to the legislature of his state the following statement, which I commend to those politicians with a snaky name, who, according to the good book, must be the most subtle of all the beasts of the field [loud cheers and laughter]:

"By the principles of the American Revolution arbitrary power may, and ought to be resisted, even by arms if necessary. The time may come when it shall be the duty of a state, in order to preserve itself from the oppression of the general government, to have recourse to the sword: in



which case the proposed form of government declares that the state, and every one of its citizens who act under its authority, are guilty of a direct act of treason ; reducing by this provision the different states to this alternative, that they must tamely and passively yield to despotism, or *their citizens must oppose it at the hazard of the halter if unsuccessful—and reducing the citizens of the state which shall take arms to a situation in which they must be exposed to punishment, let them act as they will, since if they obey the authority of their state government, they will be guilty of treason against the United States ; if they join the general government they will be guilty of treason against their own state.*

“ To save the citizens of the respective states from this disagreeable dilemma, and to secure them from being punishable as *traitors* to the *United States*, when acting expressly in obedience to the authority of their own state, I wished to have obtained as an amendment to the third section of this article, the following clause :

“ ‘ *Provided*, That no act or acts done by one or more of the states against the United States, or by any citizen of any one of the United States under the authority of one or more of the said states, shall be deemed *treason* or *punished as such* ; but, in case of war being levied by one or more of the states against the United States, the conduct of each party toward the other, and their adherents respectively, shall be regulated by the laws of war and of nations.’

“ But this provision was not adopted, being too much opposed to the great object of many of the leading members of the convention, which was by all means to leave the states at the mercy of the *general government*, since they could not succeed in their immediate and entire abolition.”

With such views the Constitution was formed, and went into operation over a country infinitely diversified in soil, climate, and production.

The attractive portion of the republic was the South. Its breezes were bland, its climate was almost perpetual summer, its soil needed only to be tickled with a hoe to laugh with a harvest. All these charms had enticed the rich, the indolent, and the idle. The seat of population, and allowed representation in Congress upon its chattels, of course it became the seat of political power. For three quarters of a century it ruled the country absolutely, and enjoyed almost a monopoly of public honors.

But it relied upon unskilled, unpaid labor, and there was the bane of its success. Though it started with everything, it was outstripped by free labor, which started with nothing.

Political questions continually arose, and were always decided for and by the South. While this continued, the South was quiet, apparently, yet ever plotted against the time when decisions might result in favor of other sections of the country. At last that time arrived for once. [Applause.] A President, not of Southern choosing, was elected. What of that ? Did the leading managing men of the South fear that their rights or their slaves would be taken from them ? I deny it. After some association, in Congress and out of it, with those who plunged the South into rebellion, I deny that they for a moment feared that Abraham Lincoln would or could disturb their institutions.

But there was another thing they did fear. Their personal ambition

would be thwarted, and also their plans for prostituting the government for the benefit of their own "section," as they called it.

The time had come when they and their sons could no longer hold all the offices, civil and military, at home and abroad, and when they could no longer manage the foreign and home policy of the government, so as to pick a quarrel with anybody who happened to have an island or anything else that they wanted to steal. [Cheers.]

They were to be deprived of these things if they stayed in the Union; if they went out, they saw visions of new wealth and power. A new empire in the tropics dazzled their eyes. An unlimited and unrestrained license to steal land from feeble neighbors on the South, and to plant it with slavery, the reopening of the slave trade to Christianize the barbarians of Africa—these and kindred objects seemed to them preferable to remaining in a government in which they must at last divide the monopoly they had enjoyed. Fair play is what they rebelled against; equality is what they couldn't endure; free government put into actual practice is what they would not submit to, and they made a bloody issue to destroy it.

Is not this the old fight over again, the encounter once more between equal rights and privileges, the dying kick of despotism?

Surely it is; and with an aristocratic element in the government, it was bound to come. You could not check the laws of growth in the North, nor of decay in the South; and hence, in time, the balance of power was sure to change. This was inevitable, and yet the minority would not loosen their hold without dipping their hands in the blood of their country.

I laid down the proposition that the trials of a nation must be gauged by its destinies, and is it not clear that our destiny left us no course except to resist to the uttermost the bloody raid which we are still repelling?

The patriotism of the people answered that question two years ago to-day. General Jackson believed that there was a deity and divinity in masses of men—that whatever a nation affirmed to be true must be immutable truth. [Cheers.] Never, perhaps, was there a stronger proof of the quick infallibility of a people's instinct, than when the heart of America vibrated with the news that traitors had battered Sumter, and trampled on the flag. [Applause.] Did any man among you speak of submission or separation at that time? No; those who could not speak for their country then were dumb—they dare not speak for treason.

They dare not consort with the ambassador of a foreign power, to betray their country then. They dare not hawk at their government then and assail it with the tricks of the mountebank and the pettifogger. Public sentiment would not tolerate it. Why does public sentiment tolerate it now?

Why does public sentiment tolerate it in this proud city, where, beside all higher motives, you have such an enormous stake of money in the supremacy of the government? Here, where two hundred millions of debts are due from the South, here, where you have for ten years furnished ninety per cent. of all the money the government has had, here, where you hold government securities amounting to more than eighty million dollars, why is it that public sentiment tolerates men who are doing more to help

rebellion than if they had muskets in their hands and stood within rebel lines? There ought to be some good reason why loyal people are doomed to put up with revilings and hypocritical lamentations and complaints of men who, for the wrongs done their country, ought to be daily and nightly on their knees, asking forgiveness from God and the mourners.

It is difficult to know what to do with such people. [A voice: "Hang 'em; hang 'em."]

Mr. CONKLING—No, no. That would violate the wise advice of Dr. Johnson. Goldsmith asked the doctor whether a man who had disgraced himself wouldn't do well to cut his throat. "Why, no," said the doctor, "if he has disgraced himself, let him go where he isn't known, in place of going to hell, where he is sure to be known." The success these disturbers have in misleading others, shows the justice of the saying that a lie will run a mile while the truth is putting on its shoes and stockings. Suppose their charges and statements are all true, just as they make them, does that justify or excuse them in the course they have pursued? Suppose it is true that the President, and the Cabinet, and Congress, and the administration party have all done wrong, why should the nation be murdered, and the government destroyed for that?

The war is for the supremacy of the ballot-box [cheers], and it is only by standing by the government, and maintaining it, that we can preserve the ballot-box, and the ballot-box is the only means of correcting public abuses if they exist. If men are honest in saying that the government is in unfit hands, let them help to wrest it from the assassins who are aiming daggers at its heart; and when this is done, the people can elect better and more capable men. But what reason is there in allowing the government to be ruined because the acts of those who happen represent it for a space are distasteful? [Cheers.] If there are imperfections on the administration's head, it is no time to rebuke or punish them now. But at any time there is no justice in most of the clamors lately raised for political effect, and I will say a word of one or two of them.

It is charged by secession sympathizers, as one of the reasons for assailing the government, that the rebellion is the result of agitating the question of slavery. Suppose it is—is the North, or the anti-slavery men of the North, to be blamed or punished for that? Who has agitated the slavery question in this country since 1850? There was no agitation in 1851 and '52, except by a few abolitionists, who hadn't votes enough to elect a constable from Maine to Minnesota. We had hushed all agitation then. We had annexed Texas to extend the area of slavery, and fought a bloody war, and paid three hundred millions of dollars in consequence. We had acquired new territories, but they had been brought in without any restriction against slavery. We had adopted the compromise measures of 1850. We had given the South such boundaries as she wanted; we had paid her millions, and adopted a fugitive slave law, which I heard Douglas tell Mason he (Mason) drew, and made as stringent as he could, and Mason admitted it. What was there, then, to agitate slavery for? In 1852 both the national conventions adopted the same platform, accepting the compromise measure as a finality, and congratulating the people that the end had come of slavery agitation. The nation went to sleep thinking the negro had been put aside, and that the legislation of the coun-



try was to be turned to its commercial, manufacturing, and material wants. Repose and peace were everywhere, when suddenly there came a voice, as piercing as a cry of fire in the night, and men started, as they would leap from their beds to see if the house was in flames. What was it? Why, the Missouri Compromise was to be repealed. The Missouri Compromise? That wall which our fathers built between slavery and freedom—that great covenant which had tranquillized a continent, and to which every man was pledged, and his father before him—was that to be destroyed? Who was to do it? Had any one in the North petitioned Congress to do it? No. Let us remonstrate; let us pray Congress not to do so huge a wrong; not to hoist the flood-gates of agitation, and launch the nation upon a boundless sea of sectional contention. The people assembled in their might; they conjured the party in power to stay its hand; they implored the majority in Congress, by the memories of the past and the hopes and fears of the future; they sent to Washington memorials which, if heaped together, would have barricaded Pennsylvania avenue. But all to no purpose; the Missouri Compromise fell, and fell with a crash which resounds yet in this bleeding country. [Applause.] Who did it? Who did it? Who did it? Who, as Mr. Fillmore said, opened the Pandora's box, and let loose every evil of sectional madness and strife? Did Northern anti-slavery men do it? Did any anti-slavery man vote for it? Was it anything but a monstrous, treasonable cheat of the slavery interest? [Cheers.] Who carried the torch of the incendiary and the knife of the murderer into the territories? Who sacked their villages and drenched their fields in blood? Who attempted to force slavery upon an unwilling people? Who tried to force through the Lecompton constitution, foul with violence and fraud? Has there been any slavery agitation in this country for ten years not produced by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise? It was that repeal which gave birth to the Republican party, which filled its ranks with the members of all existing organizations, and gave one million three hundred thousand votes to John Charles Fremont. If slavery agitation has contributed to the rebellion, let the blame be where the truth puts it, and not on the anti-slavery men of the North. Let us remember who the incendiaries are, who, after setting fire to the house, complain that those who come to put it out make a great fuss, and agitation, and disturbance generally. But whoever agitated, and however wantonly, what has that to do now with rescuing our government and our liberties from the uplifted hand of treason?

There is another wicked pretext, fashionable now with the disloyal and the false. It is alleged that after secession began it might have been coaxed to stop by compromise; and I want to mention one thing on this head to show how much audacity a man must have to assume the ground held by politicians of a certain school in this state. They are protesting that they were for something at the time which, if it had been adopted by Congress, would have averted the whole difficulty. What were they for in the legislature at Albany? They said that the grievance of the South was, that slaveholders were in danger of being shut out of the territories where the climate would let slavery live, and that was the trouble to be removed. They had a plan for doing it. It was called the Robinson proposition, and was urged and supported as all-sufficient by the very men who are now around inquiring who is responsible for the war, and insisting that it might have



been compromised. What was the Robinson proposition? It proposed that all the territories should be cut in two by the old Missouri compromise line, and that all north of it should come in as a free state, and on the south slavery should take its chance; and whenever the territory filled up with the number of people required for a representative in Congress, it should come in as a state. This was the panacea commended them in New York by those who now oppose the war. Now let me remind you that the political friends of the present administration offered the South twice as much as the Robinson proposition, and it was spurned. We offered them all the territory where slavery could flourish, and offered it without condition. We offered to admit all as a state with slavery, if it came with slavery in its constitution, to admit it at once, without waiting for a white man to move into it, and without any stipulation or understanding that any Northern territory should come in free. The territory thus to be surrendered to slavery was free by the laws of Mexico. You will see the difference; the Robinson proposition required that the North should have, as an offset, the half of the territory free, and admitted as a state, and further, that the South should not form its territory into a state until, in lapse of time, the census showed 110,000 people there; whereas the proposition offered to the South in Congress said nothing about the North having any share, and did not require an hour's delay nor any number of population whatever. Yet the Robinson resolution was thought enough to offer by the same men who now claim that reasonable offers would have been accepted. They know that nothing would have been accepted except the prostration of the government. They know that the Crittenden compromise was defeated by Southern votes in the Senate, as Gov. Johnson stated the other night at your Academy of Music, and as Edward Everett affirmed in Boston day before yesterday. But, again, what difference does it make now whether or not if we had done something some other time, something else would n't have happened? There is another plea for opposing the war, which I see is done not only into speeches, but into poetry, here now. It is that the government party is laboring not to restore the Union, but to emancipate all the slaves, even if so doing prevents a restoration. This is believed by some fools, perhaps by some knaves, and possibly by some honest people, but they must be rather pig-headed. It ought not to be believed or countenanced by any who sympathize with our soldiers in the field, and want to see them spared hardship or exposure. When the war began it was supposed that slavery would be an element of weakness to our enemies—that the fear of servile insurrection among four millions of bondmen would keep part of the masters at home. We had a right to think so. John Brown, with seventeen negroes and a cow, had struck terror into all Virginia. [Cheers and laughter.] John Randolph said in Congress, "The fire-bell never rings in Richmond that every mother does not clasp her baby more closely to her breast." Why was this? Because they lived on a volcano, and knew not at what hour incendiary fires would burst forth, enshrouding cities, and painting hell on the sky. Wasn't it reasonable to suppose that an element so dreadful as this in peace, would be fearful in time of war? Wasn't it patriotic to hope and to wish that slaveowners and overseers might, for fear of slave massacres, be kept at home, in place of going to the battle-fields of rebellion to slaughter your neighbors and mine? Wasn't it right to take advantage of slavery, and

manage it to weaken and paralyze our enemies? But what was done in deference to the policy of those who have stolen the garment of "Conservatism," and are so pleased with their new clothes that they are likely to strut themselves to death? Why, generals, "Conservative" generals, began to issue proclamations, and kept issuing proclamations to the slaves and their masters, saying, "Now slaves be kind and obedient to your masters; don't you run away, if you do we'll send you back; don't you rise, if you do we'll put you down with the whole power of the army; and don't you go to scaring your mistresses or being disobliging, if you do we'll chastise you for that." The great idea seemed to be to let the slaves know that they couldn't be permitted to take any part in the ceremonies at all. Some of our generals felt as select and exclusive on that point, as the boy did at his mother's funeral, when he saw a neighbor boy cry, and asked him, "What business have you to cry here, this ain't none of your funeral." What was the result of thus guarding rebel property? In place of an element of danger and weakness, slavery became an element of strength, and slaves fed and clothed rebellion. While the masters were away in the field, drilling and organizing and putting the country on a war footing, an unpaid laboring population of at least two millions, for women as well as men are field hands, were at home raising corn and pork, and making cloth, or else acting as cooks and teamsters, or digging the trenches, building the fortifications, ay, and fighting the battles of the rebellion. Does anybody doubt now that the slaves have been impressed into the military service of the rebellion? The rebel pickets on the Rappahannock are many of them black to-day. Yet, for trying to turn slaves against their master even now, after learning by bitter experience the folly of the past, the government is denounced, and charged with perverting the war into an Abolition raid. And men say this who pretend to be the friends of our soldiers in the field. I wish you could all stand, as I have stood, among the fortifications at Yorktown. Whoever visits them will see magnificent digging; he will see a city builded in the ground; he will see a maze of trenches and embankments many feet high, doubled with gabions and finished with a labor, which sets one counting by the thousands to guess how many white men dug those graves as they burrowed into Yorktown. I would like to look upon the man who dare avow that he feels glad to know that white men drooped and died in those trenches, when black men, used to the heat and malaria, might have been found to do the work in half the time. [Loud cheers.] Yet all are nicknamed fanatics and radicals, who have sought to get some help out of the negro race. We are told that it would be a great calamity to free the slaves. Why? Because they would come North. Only think of that! They'll stay South in slavery, and when they can stay and have freedom too, they'll come North! I believe that if you would drain the North of negroes, you have only to establish freedom and rights for them South, and they will all go there as naturally as a duck takes to water. I want the North emptied of its black population; I want to see all the negroes North go South, and am willing to have them hold all the land there that is left over after our soldiers who want to stay, and the loyal people, are provided for. I would cast out the best rebel in the South, to make room for the worst loyal man in the North, black or white, and I should expect a trade as profitable as Prentice said another would be. He said if the Devil should change places with Jeff.

Davis, hell would gain as much in malignity as it lost in talent. [Cheers.] It is an easy thing to find a stick if you want to flog a dog; and I wonder sometimes that those who are searching for excuses for shirking their duty are not more ingenious. It is amazing how small a thing answers their purpose. If they can find some man who has been arrested, or some woman of high-flavored reputation who has been searched, they seem to think they have made out a case in favor of leaving the government to perish. For the madness and pique of party, they would bury their nationality under the waves of revolution, and leave the annals of free government like a bloody buoy on the sea of time, warning the nations of the earth to keep aloof from the mighty ruin. If they can find a fraud on the government which they have not been caught in themselves, they are as happy as a boy with a new top. [Cheers.] If some scamp has swindled the government in the charter of a steamboat, or the manufacture of army clothing, the whole administration is held to blame for that, and the war ought to stop to prevent frauds. Frauds are plenty, no doubt; there are miscreants flourishing about your hotels and streets, who have fattened upon the agony of their country; who have bought shawls at Stewards, and diamonds at Ball & Black's, with gains made by smuggling felt and shoddy into the coat of the poor soldier, relied upon to keep him warm and dry in the pelting storm. There are men who would bribe some twin rascal to give them a contract, to weave the winding sheet of their country, expecting to double the profit by filling with shoddy and buying the inspector to let it pass. [Groans.] They are not "radical" men as a class, however; they are remarkably free from "fanaticism." But retribution waits for each one of them, to overtake him sooner or later, and meantime, in place of stopping the war, "room for the leper, room!" If we are beset by thieves, let honest men press forward and close the war at once, instead of protracting it, to give thieves a longer run. Let us make the best and not the worst of our difficulties. Let every man see carefully where his influence goes. Let him look to his selfish interests as well as his patriotism. Do you want to embolden England to fit out ocean bandits to prey upon your commerce, and to drive all freights into British bottoms? If you do, you have only to tolerate and support and vote for politicians capable of sitting down here in New York, and intriguing with the British minister, for the humiliation of their country at the feet of foreign powers. Do you want to breathe new life and hope into rebellion, and the confederates of rebellion at home and abroad? If you do, you need only encourage parties, and newspapers, and men, who foment divisions here, and publish them to the world. Do you want to retard and prolong the war, till foreign quarrels come, and the energies of the people are worn out? If you do, you have only to give ear to those who talk about an armistice, or a compromise, or a convention now. You have only to give them countenance, and some other despot will land an army in Mexico, and slap the Monroe doctrine in our faces, to make us hang our heads the lower, when we remember that eight years ago our American ministers ostentatiously assembled at the tomb of Charlemagne, and proclaimed the "Ostend Manifesto." [Applause.] Do you want to bind up the gashed bosom of the nation? do you want to restore permanent and universal repose? do you want to reinstate the government in its old glory, and the country to its old prosperity? If you do, you have only to bend all the resources we



possess to the annihilation of the rebellion. You want no truce till rebels seek it, and they will seek it whenever John Slidell is as well convinced that the North is united, as he is now that Europe won't interfere. You want no compromise, but the Constitution of the United States as your fathers made it. That is the ark of our safety, and "except we abide in the ship we cannot be saved." [Cheers.] Let us cling to the ship which our fathers built and launched in darkness and tempests, upon the tide of time; let us take heed lest she drift upon the rocks, while we wrangle among ourselves; let us feel that our crowning infamy would be to lose the vessel from brawls among the crew. Rather than this should happen, let her go down in the shock; rather let the harpies of Europe pluck the eagle of the sea, rather than pull down her colors ourselves.

" Nail to the mast her glorious flag,  
Stretch every threadbare sail,  
And give her to the God of storms,  
The lightning and the gale!"

Mr. J. W. MATHER sang a song composed for the occasion by George H. Boker, commencing:

" When our banner went down, with its ancient renown,  
Betrayed and degraded by treason,  
Did they think, as it fell, what a passion swell  
Our hearts, when we asked them the reason?"

The chorus, being taken up by the immense throng, had a fine effect.

The CHAIRMAN next introduced the Hon. GEO. W. JULIAN, of Indiana, as one who would show them how futile was the hope of the rebels to separate Western men from the Union.

#### SPEECH OF HON. GEO. W. JULIAN.

GENTLEMEN: When I came to New York I had no thought of addressing this meeting. I have consented to do so, but briefly and with much hesitation; for I am sure that such an audience as this, assembled in the presence of so many able and eloquent men, can find better pastime than listening to any words of mine.

Allow me for a few moments to refer to some of the lessons of this war—lessons worthy to be pondered in the present stage of our conflict, and full of promise for the future. In the first place, we have learned that this rebellion can only be put down by *fighting*. [Cheers.] In the beginning we did not realize this. We believed in making a show of war, while other remedies were to be kept in reserve, and actual war avoided. You will remember that the general-in-chief of our armies, the great military idol of the nation, scouted the idea of crushing the rebels by military power. He believed in compromise, in declining the just and necessary consequences of Mr. Lincoln's election, in conciliation, in melting the hearts of the rebels by the fervent heat of brotherly love, or that we should allow them to "go in peace." Many good and patriotic persons thought we were to succeed by *playing* war, and by wooing our "erring sisters" back from their folly and their crime. I rejoice that we have outgrown this infatuation, and that all loyal men now agree that this must be a struggle of physical vio-



lence, the aim of which is to *subjugate* the rebels by military power. I believe this will now be done, because at last we have an eye single to its accomplishment, and have put far from us any thought of diplomacy or compromise. [Cheers.]

We have learned another lesson. We have learned, by very dearly-bought experience, that this is not a *mere* struggle of physical forces, or of victories, but of ideas. At first we tried not to see this. We tried to make ourselves believe that this rebellion was a stupendous accident, springing into life without any known parentage, and defying the law of cause and effect. We thought we could crush the rebellion while ignoring the cause which produced it, and that we could hope for the favor of God without laying hold of the conscience of one general. The government itself, speaking through its high functionaries, declared that the slavery question was not involved in the contest, and that slavery itself would remain exactly the same after the war as before. But we have at last opened new books. Every man now sees that this is a struggle between two forms of civilization, each aiming at the mastery of the Republic; a struggle between right and wrong, between light and darkness, between heaven and hell. Every loyal man now admits slavery to have been the cause of the war, and that we must deal with it in the light of this truth. Every intelligent man now sees that our mistaken policy, by making our struggle one for mere power on the part of the North and for independence on the part of the South, has lost us the sympathy of the masses in Europe; and that if we are saved from foreign intervention, it will be owing to our entire change of front on this question. Let us rejoice that since slavery has the nation by the throat, we are at last ready to smite it in the name of God. [Applause.]

Gentlemen, I refer to another lesson we are learning in the progress of this war. We are learning how to draw the line between treason and loyalty. We are learning that opposition to the administration in the use of its authorized means of crushing the rebels, is so much aid given to their cause. We are learning that there can be no middle ground, and that a conditional Union man is no Union man at all. You can't serve God and Mammon. You can't ride two horses at once, when they are going in opposite directions, without great inconvenience. This is a revolt against law, against the constituted authorities of the government. It must be put down by the constituted authorities of the government. We can't crush it by going forth each one of us to fight on our own hook. We must use the army, the navy, the executive, the money provided by Congress, and, in short, the authority of the Constitution and laws. And if there is a man here who is not willing to lay hold of all the ropes which the government has thrown out to strangle rebels with; if there is one here who is not willing to lay hold of old Abe Lincoln's proclamation, and help him maul the lives out of the rebels with it; if there is a man here who is not willing to use all the instrumentalities which the nation, in its wisdom, has seen fit to employ in saving the government, then I say he is on the wrong side of the line, and ought to make tracks to the tents of Jeff. Davis just as fast as his unsanctified legs will carry him. He does not belong here, for there is, I repeat, no half-way house between treason and loyalty. I am glad that we are learning this lesson, and requiring men so to take their position that we may know whether to shoot at them or not.

There is still another encouraging lesson which the rebellion is teaching us. We are learning to *hate* the rebels, somewhat in proportion to their stupendous guilt. [Cheers.] The lack of a just resentment on the part of our armies and people, has been one of the grand obstacles to our success. This I repeat on the authority of the ablest and truest generals in the service. We have not dealt with rebels and outlaws as rebels and outlaws. We have called them "misguided brethren" and "erring sisters," instead of complimenting them in valid coin. I rejoice that we are beginning to appreciate their character, and to act accordingly. We have learned that they are animated by all the fury of devils. Under the infernal tuition of slavery, they have run through the whole gamut of common villainies, and at last turned national assassins. They poison our wells, murder our wounded soldiers, plant torpedoes in their path, boil the dead bodies of our soldiers in caldrons, and saw up their bones into jewelry and finger-rings to decorate their Christ-forsaken carcasses. They have hatched into life whole broods of villainies that have been unheard of in the past history of the world. They have improved upon human depravity till I would suppose the Devil himself would grow ashamed of his occupation, and seek a change of air.

Gentlemen, if I had the command of our armies, and the courage and skill to lead them, I would chastise these rebels as they deserve. I would batter down their cities; I would lay waste their plantations, I would free and arm their negroes; I would write desolation and death on the very soil; and if I had the power, I would paint hell on the very sky that bends over the rebel states, so that all the world might see what it costs to conspire against such a government as this. I would not talk about the constitutional rights of the scoundrels who have abdicated the constitution, and ceased to have any rights under it; but I would deal with them as having no right in God's world but the right to die. Such an earnestness on our part is what the case demanded from the beginning. Some people believe that everybody, at death, will go straight to heaven without touching upon any purgatory on the way. Now I don't propose to enter into any theological speculations, but it sometimes occurs to me that if there is not a pretty brisk little purgatory on the other side of the grave, for the special treatment of Jeff. Davis and his crew, it will be the grandest oversight that divine Providence could possibly have committed. I have heard somewhere of a Calvinistic preacher who said that God would send some sinners to hell just to show them what a splendid damnation he could give them. I confess, I never think of these rebels without thinking of that preacher. But let me not be understood as wishing to postpone the treatment of these rebels to the next world. On the contrary, let us give them as worthy and as emphatic a foretaste here as we *can* give them, consistently with the laws of war. [Cheers.]

Gentlemen, permit me to say, in conclusion, that there is one lesson of this war which I fear we have not yet sufficiently mastered. I mean the duty of frank, fearless and friendly criticism of this administration. I mean just what I say—not the criticism of rebel sympathizers and copperheads, masquerading in the disguise of loyalty, while seeking the overthrow of the government, but the criticism of the loyal masses who installed the administration in power, who have a right to direct it, and whose religious duty it is to make themselves heard. I exhort you, my friends, to do your

duty in this respect. See to it that you are loyal to the government, but see to it that the government is loyal to you. Without you, the administration can do nothing ; with your earnest help, it cannot fail. You made it. It is the breath of the people. The president is your servant ; and it becomes your solemn duty, when he goes astray, to point to his errors and advise him of your wishes. Loving the country as I do, far more than I love the president, or his cabinet, or his commanding generals, and believing, as I have done, that I saw the republic alternating between life and death, through the misguided policy of the administration, I have said so frankly in my place in the House of Representatives ; and I thank the newspapers for the audience they have given me. Perfect loyalty would not allow me to say less. The country must be saved at all hazards. No man's position is so exalted, or character so sacred, that he should be spared at the nation's expense. When General Butler was recalled from New Orleans I think the government did wrong, and I say so ; and that that wrong should be righted. When General Frémont was struck down in the midst of a glorious career in the West, in defiance of the sentiment of the people, and without any warrant of fact or justice, the government did wrong, and the loyal masses of the country, who know this, should demand atonement through his immediate restoration to a command befitting his rank and merits. When high commanders in our armies have been persistently kept in the service for a whole year, when their incapacity or disloyalty could not have been unknown to the President, he did wrong, and you should demand, in the name of the country, that all such wrongs shall be righted. Be faithful to the administration. Stand by it with a love and fidelity which can only be measured by your devotion to your country and its priceless interests, and the government, becoming at once your servant and the master of the rebels, will speedily usher in the glad return of peace, and liberty and law shall be one and inseparable forever. You will not again see "the Union as it was," but as it will be when this war shall have worked out its providential lesson, and the old flag of our fathers, waving only over the free, shall appear as lovely as "the rainbow after a tempest." [Prolonged cheers.]

#### THE YOUNG HERO OF THE "HARRIET LANE."

Gen. FREMONT then stated that JOHN M. EAGER, Esq., would narrate an incident of the Rebellion.

Mr. EAGER said : It will be remembered that when the decks of the Harriet Lane had been cleared by the rebels, a boy made his appearance, and picking up two revolvers that lay upon the deck, discharged their charges upon the boarding assailants, and that nearly every shot took effect. That boy, but fourteen years of age, was of Scottish parentage, and had given his life and courage to the cause in which his vessel was engaged. Fellow-citizens, at the request of the presiding officer of this stand, I have the pleasure of introducing to you the gallant boy, Robert Cummings, the boy hero of the Harriet Lane.

The boy came forward, and the vast concourse gave him a hearty greeting, testifying their appreciation of his merits by a liberal contribution of "greenbacks," which he pocketed with evident satisfaction.

Gen. FREMONT came forward to introduce the next speaker, Mr. W. J. A. FULLER; but the General's appearance was hailed with vociferous applause and calls for "a speech" by new arrivals. Gen. Frémont bowed his acknowledgments, and said: Fellow-citizens, I cannot say anything further than I have already said to strength your convictions, deepen your enthusiasm, or kindle your patriotism. [Cheers.] I beg you will now let me leave the rest to my friend Mr. Fuller. [Cries of "No, no!" "Go on yourself"]

SPEECH OF W. J. A. FULLER, ESQ.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: It requires a pretty bold man to follow in the wake of Gen. Frémont; nevertheless I shall try it. [Cheers.]

Fellow-citizens: Twice since the breaking out of this unholy rebellion, I have had the honor to address you in this place upon the same issues which bring us together to-day. At the great war meeting held here last year, we exchanged words of encouragement that might help to nerve the arm and strengthen the purpose of the government to crush this gigantic crime against the nation and against humanity; and two years ago, in this very square, we first gave utterance to that patriotic indignation which thrilled through the land at the dastard attack upon Fort Sumter. [Applause.] Again we are solemnly assembled, on this anniversary of that fatal day, to renew our stern resolve to maintain the integrity of the nation in all its principles of free government, and to preserve intact the national domain. [Cheers.] None of us will ever forget the glorious uprising of the North, when treason dared to defy the flag we all so honored and revered. The electric effect of the rattling of that iron hail upon Fort Sumter still sounds in our ears and lingers in our hearts. With what eager devotion and enthusiastic loyalty the people rallied around their insulted flag! As in the thunder-storms that sweep over free Switzerland,

"Jura answers through her misty shroud  
Back to the joyous Alps who call to her aloud,"

[cheers], so did the vengeance of a free people vent itself in wrathful clamors against the authors of this outrage. [Applause.] The echoing shouts of their indignation reverberated amid the hills of peaceful and happy New England, across the fertile valleys of the Susquehannah and the Genesee, and over the broad prairies of the West, sweeping them, like their own destructive fires, until the dying cadences were lost, mingling with the pæans of rejoicing that came answering back to us from those bright twin stars of freedom upon the Pacific shore. You all remember the stirring effect of the President's proclamation calling the nation to arms! Its clarion notes rang through the land like the call of a trumpet. It was like the blast of Roderick's bugle. From hill and mountain side, from vale and heather, plaided warriors, belted and glaived, started from the earth and rushed to the defence of the capital and the nation. [Applause.]

I will not stop to trace in detail the progress of the war, or to show its effect upon the country. We have a stinging recollection of some inconsiderable defeats, and a few serious reverses to our arms; but these are more than counterbalanced by a long series of glorious triumphs by land and by sea.



Upon a thorough survey of the whole ground, we have reason to thank God for our successes thus far. All great wars have been slow in their operations, and liable to vicissitudes. This has been eminently so with us. In addition to the gigantic force of the rebellion, we have had to deal, at the North as well as the South, with that disturbing element which alone has caused it. This has been a stronger adversary than enrolled armies, and hosts of steel. It has encountered customs, prejudices, sins, that have been entrenched in the whole sentiment, manifested in all the action, and interwoven with all the tissues and framework of our social, commercial, and political relations. [Cheers.] We must expect, therefore, the progress of our cause to have been slow and fitful—now pushed forward with marked success, now drooping, despondent, and almost paralyzed by a reaction from the other side; now meeting some heady current of opposition, checked, and almost beaten back; now, by the impulse of new energy, and the strength of aroused determination, rallying, and breaking the sturdy lines of the enemy. [Cheers.] Yet in none of these crises must we fear the grand result. Our cause and our material resources are stronger than the rebels, and, like truth, are so mighty that they must prevail. [Applause.] The waves of our progress, now ebbing, now flowing, gain on the whole, and slowly, yet surely, overcome both the sandy barrier and the rock-bound coast; for what is of God, and for humanity, is sure to triumph. [Cries of "good!"] No man can fail to observe that triumph, even at the point which our cause now occupies. In order to appreciate that triumph, we must have a wide horizon. One battle, or two, or a few almost impregnable positions as yet successfully defying our efforts to reduce them, may furnish to narrow and carping minds no perfectly satisfactory result. But what says the experience of the past two years? Is there not a great change in the tone of public sentiment as to the true cause of the war? [Loud applause.] And have we not reason to be satisfied with our net results? Two years ago, fifteen states were in open or thinly disguised rebellion. To-day, our flag flies on the soil of every state, and the border states, with a single exception, are all reclaimed, and ranged on the side of the Union. I have been a close student of history, and I challenge contradiction when I assert that, in neither ancient nor modern times, has any nation ever accomplished so much within so short a period, as our government has done within the past two years. [Cheers.]

The present condition of the war, and purpose of our people, hold out most gratifying encouragement for the future. It has become a question of endurance, and our Northern blood tells. I have never been one of those who believed this hydra-headed rebellion could be crushed completely out in thirty, sixty, or ninety days. It is a big job we have on hand yet; but with patience and perseverance, we shall get successfully through it. The people will get the government right after a while, and then we shall make short work of it. [Cheers.] Already we see the beginning of the end. The sentiment of patriotism, evoked by the assault on Fort Sumter, has crystallized into a principle, a firm, stern, deep-rooted, and determined purpose to preserve intact this nation, both in territory and form of government. The people have always been right. The difficulty heretofore has been with the government, which has moved so slowly and inefficiently. The people have given most freely of their blood and treasure, and submitted to sacrifices without stint; but the imbecility and incapacity of their rulers

have stood between them and their triumph. [Cheers.] At each of the great meetings held here, I have endeavored to urge the government to more vigorous and decisive action. Hitherto we have acted toward the South just as a man would treat his discarded mistress—afraid to strike her and mar her beauty, for fear he might wish to be re-tored to her caresses. Thank God, that is all over now! Even the hunkerest of hunkers and copperest of copperheads are satisfied that war exists, and that there can be but one successful road out of it now, and that is the complete suljugation of the rebels. [Applause.] I never heard one of these reptiles but wanted to whip them first, before “letting the wayward sisters go.” [Laughter and applause.]

The people have finally settled into the conviction that it is too late now to discuss the cause of the war. They all know what brought it about, and feel and know that any and all overtures of peace and reconciliation would be fruitless, until the rebellious hosts have all been overcome. [Cheers.] This is our purpose here to-day—to say to the government, use the means which a confiding people have given you to crush out the rebellion, and we, on our part, here solemnly renew our pledge of unconditional loyalty to the government, to an unwavering support of its efforts to suppress the rebellion, and to spare no endeavor to maintain unimpaired the national unity, both in principle and territorial boundary. [Cheers.]

I want a few words of plain square talk with the President. We all know his sterling worth, his ardent patriotism, his honesty of purpose, his plain, practical common sense; but, alas! we also know that to his extreme good nature and kindness of heart must be charged his disinclination to “hurt” anybody, and the long train of evil results that have flowed therefrom. Abraham Lincoln! you still have the confidence of the people, and they will stand by you and sustain and uphold you and the government in its policy and in all its measures; but in return for this generous confidence, they ask and will exact from you that you do your whole duty to them. [Cries of “That’s so.”] We want you to feel that war means something; that *everybody* must be “hurt” who stands in the way of the accomplishment of our relentless purpose. Make your generals tight, hang traitors, shoot deserters, use the great powers at your command sternly and unflinchingly, and *you* can soon tread out the last dying ember of this rebellion. [Cheers.] We have given you the tools! Use them! You have all the money and all the men necessary to make short work of this war. Employ them with all the vigor and energy God has given you. Enforce your conscription law, and do it speedily and thoroughly. The people will stand it—stand anything, everything but supineness and inactivity. [Three cheers.] Don’t let your armies rust with inaction or rot with disease. [Applause.]

We have had enough of political favoritism and partisan preference in the field and out of it. We want *men* now—men with hearts of fire and nerves of steel. Turn out every man, from a cabinet minister down to the lowest officer in the army who has an independent command, who will not *do* something. [Cheers, and cries of “That’s to the purpose.”] We must have in every department of the public service men equal to the present exigency. The people are sick to death of do-nothings. [Cheers.] As we recover territory in the rebel districts, appoint judges who will confiscate property to help pay the expenses of the war; men who will “hurt”

somebody—*hang* somebody, if you will give them half a chance; who will not, to be personally pleasant and popular, fail in their whole duty, but who will “make things smoke,” and compel the rebels to foot the bills. [Cries of “Good.”] I speak thus to you, Abraham Lincoln, because you are the fountain head, and you alone have the power to remove stumbling blocks and to hold your generals to a most rigid accountability. Stiffen the rail down your back [laughter and cheers], and do not allow generals, as I know they have, to overrule your broad, comprehensive, and common sense plans. If one general fails to execute your orders, have his head in a charger, and put another in his place. [Cheers.] Hold them all responsible with their commissions and their heads for the prompt and faithful execution of your orders. Make them toe the mark, or decapitate them right and left. Do not be turned from your purpose by the stereotyped plea that you are not a military man. You have got in an eminent degree what many men lack; what you call in the West, “hard horse sense.” [Cheers.] Use it! Ride over croakers and inefficient generals roughshod. Take the lines in your hands and drive the coach yourself; and if they attempt to turn your horses or stop your progress, run them into the ditch. For two years the people have been saying, in the language of the Revelations, “How long, O Lord!” have we to wait! They have been patiently and anxiously waiting for you to assume the whole responsibility and control of this war. Use fearlessly and fiercely the vast means and resources which they have placed at your disposal. The compulsive course of the people knows no retiring ebb, but keeps right onward to its purpose, and they earnestly call upon you to do all that lies in you to finish the war and crush out the rebellion. Subjugate, exterminate, annihilate, repeople the South, if need be, but use all the power now in your hands to bring the war to a speedy and successful issue. You are constantly accumulating war material. Use it sharply, suddenly, decisively. Don’t waste your time on side issues or on semi-traitors at the North. The people will take care of them. We’ll erect a guillotine in this square, run it by steam, and cut off all the copperheads in the country, if you will only attend to your part of the business, and make your armies whip the rebels. [Cheers.]

We have got to whip them or be whipped ourselves. There is no middle course, no other alternative. If we are willing to let Jeff. Davis alone, he won’t let us alone. Put men like Gen. Butler [cheers] and the late lamented Gen. Mitchell, if you can find them, in positions where their talents and energies can have full scope. Don’t fetter them. Give them full means and authority, and they will render a good account of their stewardship. Don’t be alarmed about intervention of any kind. The people will take care of that, too, let it come in what shape, or from what quarter it may. In spite of the heavy burdens of the war the nation has increased in moral and material developments, until we have that supreme consciousness of inherent strength and cohesive power, that would enable us in this righteous cause to shake our naval and military fist in the face of the world. The construction of our Monitors has revolutionized naval warfare, and destroyed the boasted superiority of England, who is no longer mistress of the seas. We pulled her naval teeth all out when we built the Monitor. The inventive genius of our people has made such improvements in army and navy projectiles, and other warlike contrivances, that



we can afford to smile with derision at any and all threats of foreign intervention. [Applause.]

The nation has safely passed through two important eras in its history. First, in our infancy, the war of Independence showed our ability to throw off all foreign control. Second, ere we had fairly hardened from the gristle into the bone of manhood, we proved ourselves able to resist successfully, foreign aggression; and now we are in the midst of the third and most important struggle for national life, in coping with domestic treason and preventing national parricide. It remains for us to show that we have sufficient strength and unity to govern ourselves. Unless we can put down this rebellion, we proclaim to the world our inability to sustain free government, and prove the unfitnes and incapacity of a free people to rule themselves. [Cheers.]

We see to-day, throughout the length and breadth of the land, the grandest exhibition of loyalty ever shown by a people to its government. With the vast means and resources placed in the hands of the government, it has, as yet, failed to crush out this rebellion. The fault, as I have said, lies not with the people, but with those who have wielded these vast resources. But, notwithstanding the impatience of the people at the tardy and inefficient efforts of the government, we have again rallied around it, to express our confidence in its loyalty, to give it renewed assurances of our abiding faith in its ability to accomplish its work, and to implore it to give us, in vigorous and energetic action, an equivalent for our generous trust and support. [Cheers.]

This Loyal National League inaugurates a mighty movement, which cannot fail of influencing greatly the destinies of the republic. The people are willing to forget and forgive the faults, and follies, and crimes of men in high places, and only ask in return that their rulers shall forego all personal and partisan considerations, and devote their whole energies to the business of crushing out the rebellion. [Cheers.] Men of all parties, sects, and conditions, have given in their adhesion to this movement. They ignore all party affiliations, bury all personal animosities, and agree to unite for this one purpose of making speedy and thorough work of this war. Let, then, the government unite, heart and hand, with the people, and save the national life, which is in such deadly peril. The country will furnish soldiers, but it must have victories. Let the government be assured that the hearts of the people are wholly in the work before them, and that no draft can be made upon them too large, provided that it be used to insure victories. [Applause.] Unless the government cordially unite with the people, and work with them energetically and efficiently in putting down the rebellion, we shall become jarring states, petty powers, warring upon each other, and torn with internal feuds, like Mexico and the South American republics. Rather than see this nation share such a fate—rather than behold its honored flag trailing in such disgrace—it would be better that the whole country be swept with the besom of destruction. [Prolonged applause.]

The Chairman then came forward and said that Mr. PETER COOPER, not being able to be present, had requested him to read a few remarks which he had prepared.



## REMARKS OF MR. PETER COOPER.

We have met, my friends, like the fathers of our country. They met to pledge their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, to form a Union of all the states into one general government—a government more perfect and more powerful for all the purposes of self-preservation than had ever before existed in any age or country of the world. To effect this glorious purpose, they bound themselves by a solemn obligation to guarantee to every state a republican form of government, with all the rights of a free and independent people and country—a government having its foundation on the inalienable rights of man, and not like rebeldom, with its cornerstone resting on the necks of four millions of human beings held in hopeless, thankless slavery. Yes, my friends, it is to maintain, extend, and perpetuate the institution of human slavery, that has brought on our country all the horrors of cruel war. This, my friends, is what our Southern rebels intend to maintain and perpetuate. It is a system that enables thousands to sell their own children into hopeless bondage; an institution that, as John Wesley has well said, comprehends in itself the sum of all villainies. For, after having stolen a man and sold him into slavery with all his posterity, what more can be done? When I remember of hearing my father tell that he had seen, when a boy, droves of naked Africans driven through his native village of Fishkill, and exposed there for sale, and that he had thrown corn among these half-starved creatures, and seen them struggle for the grains as they fell on the ground, I can only think of a system with such an origin, and which subjects a whole race to such a depth of degradation, with the most *profound detestation and horror*. The question now arises, and demands an answer, what must we do to be saved from being overrun and subjected by the heartless tyranny of such a system? For we must remember, as Dr. Franklin has well said, that men are proud-spirited little animals, not fit to be trusted with power. What, then, can we do to save this great country from the terrible war in which we are now involved? If we act like men, we will frown down every party and every person that stands in the way of putting down this most wicked rebellion. We must do what we ought to have done at the beginning of the war. We should give constant assurance that we will protect and defend *all friends* of the Union of these states, whether *black or white*: and we must carry on this war to the bitter end against all who would pluck a star from our flag or lessen the power and glory of the nation.

The meeting was then adjourned by the chairman.



# OFFICERS.

---

## STAND NO. 5.

Under charge of Committee of Arrangements,

THOMAS N. DALE,  
CHARLES ASTOR BRISTED,  
WILLIAM S. BLODGETT.

---

### President.

CHARLES BUTLER.

---

### Vice-Presidents.

William Curtis Noyes,  
William F. Cary,  
George F. Nesbitt,  
Peter Baker,  
John H. Ocherhausen,  
George Wilkes,  
William Oothout,  
Murray Hoffman,  
S. B. Chittenden,  
Austin Abbott,  
Cyrus Curtis,  
Thomas Tileston,  
Richard Berry,  
P. Pfeiffer,  
J. W. Weners  
E. E. Morgan,  
Horatio Allen,  
F. S. Winston,  
Robert B. Minturr  
A. A. Low,  
H. B. Stanton,  
Ernst Bredt,  
A. L. Robertson,  
Hugo Wesendonck,  
Louis Schwartz,

William Grovenart,  
Francis Ruppert,  
Charles J. Chipp,  
John Benkard,  
J. Penniman,  
Christopher Williams,  
Frederic De Peyster,  
J. P. Girard Foster,  
Robert McGinnis,  
John E. Gavitt,  
Erasmus Sterling,  
Frederick C. Wagner,  
Sigismund Kaufman,  
A. D. F. Randolph,  
Simeon Baldwin,  
H. W. T. Mali,  
G. Griswold,  
Caleb B. Knevals,  
Richard S. Storrs,  
Moses S. Beach,  
Bernard Cohen,  
Adrian Iselin,  
Henry F. Vail,  
Charles Yates,  
Ira O. Miller,

Robert Bayard,  
 Philip Frankenheimer,  
 John Lloyd,  
 Otto Ernst,  
 Adam Norrie,  
 Stephen Cambreleng,  
 William T. B. Milliken,  
 Samuel M. Fox,  
 Peter S. Titus,  
 Samuel W. Stebbins,  
 Charles H. Ruggles,  
 Elias Wade, Jr.,  
 O. Ottendorfer,  
 Abram Wakeman,  
 John Sattig,  
 L. Funke,

Treadwell Ketchum,  
 James W. Savage,  
 John J. Cisco,  
 A. Lockwood,  
 John P. Crosby,  
 Latham Parker,  
 J. N. A. Griswold,  
 Edgar Ketchum,  
 S. Matille,  
 Charles T. Rodgers,  
 T. A. Smith,  
 Henry E. Davies,  
 D. Willis James,  
 W. R. Vermilye,  
 Henry A. Kerr,  
 J. P. Underhill.

---

**Secretaries.**

Nathaniel Coles,  
 Henry A. Oakley,  
 Richard A. McCurdy,  
 Theadore B. Bronson,  
 Charles E. Strong,  
 Samuel Williams,  
 Charles H. Neilson,  
 William B. Crocker,  
 Walter H. Burns,  
 Edward C. Morris,  
 John H. Almy,  
 Richard L. Suydam,

Thomas B. Bills,  
 Hugh L. Meighan,  
 Jefferson Coddington,  
 David Rowland,  
 A. C. Kingsland, jr.,  
 Charles Wiegand,  
 Benjamin W. Strong,  
 Francis A. Hall,  
 B. H. Howard,  
 George B. Satterlee,  
 G. P. Lowrey.



# PROGRAMME OF PROCEEDINGS.

---

## STAND No. 5.

NORTHERLY END OF UNION SQUARE, BETWEEN BROADWAY AND FOURTH AVENUE.

*Salutes of Artillery by the workmen employed by Henry Brewster & Co.*

1. Grand March from "Le Prophète," of Meyerbeer, by Wallace's Grand Band.
2. Charles Butler, of the Council of the Loyal National League, will call the meeting to order.
3. Prayer by Rev. Henry W. Bellows, D. D.
4. William T. Blodgett, of the Executive Committee, will read the call for the meeting, and the list of Vice-Presidents and Secretaries.
5. Thomas N. Dale will read the address adopted by the Council and Executive Committees on Lectures and Addresses.
6. Thomas N. Dale will read the resolutions.
7. Music by the Band.
8. Hon. Daniel S. Dickinson will address the meeting.
9. Music—singing: "The Army Hymn." By Oliver Wendell Holmes.
10. Hon. Henry Wilson will address the meeting:
11. Music—singing: "The Star-Spangled Banner."
12. James W. Nye will address the meeting.
13. Music—singing: "Song for the Loyal National League," written expressly for this occasion, by George H. Boker.
14. John C. Montgomery will address the meeting.
15. Thomas N. Dale will read a poem, entitled "Those Seventy Men," written expressly for this occasion, by Mrs. Sarah H. Bradford.
16. Henry B. Stanton will address the meeting.
17. Music—singing: "Our Union." Written expressly for this occasion, by Alfred B. Street.

CHARLES BUTLER, of the Council of the Loyal National League, called the meeting to order, and an impressive prayer was offered up by Rev. HENRY W. BELLOWS.

The Call of the Meeting, the Address and Resolutions, and the Special Resolutions on the death of Judge James L. Petigru, of Charleston, S. C., were duly read, after which the Chairman introduced the Hon. DANIEL S. DICKINSON, who was received with great cheering and applause.

SPEECH OF THE HON. DANIEL S. DICKINSON.

MR. PRESIDENT AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: It is almost two years since I attended a meeting in this very square to discuss public affairs and the condition of the country. It is two years this day since our national flag, our great emblem of hope and promise—the Stars and Stripes—was insulted by an infamous conspiracy and an infernal rebellion. [Loud applause.] I well remember when the news reached the city. It was a dark and fearful night; the storm was descending in its awful density, well worthy of such an occasion as that. The fiend spirit of the storm clapped his hands, and it seemed as though the evil genius of destruction was brooding over us. Two years have now elapsed, and the sun is shining genially upon us, the air is warm, the germs are shooting, the buds are swelling, the lawns are green, the birds are singing, and the popular heart is redolent with hope and buoyant with promise. [Loud cheers.] Rebellion still exists, but how does it exist? Charleston—the hotbed of secession, the foul point and nucleus of rebellion, the cesspool of conspiracy [loud cheers and laughter], the heart of all that is infamous and wicked in this matter—if she has not already fallen, it is but a question of time. [Great applause and cheers.] And the owls and ravens who have croaked for blood will soon know that ashes and desolation cover the spot that has so long menaced the integrity of this Union! [Loud applause.] It is said to be the heart of this great movement, and so it is; and the foul and slimy blood it has sent forth through the political veins, had it not been resisted by loyal health, would have corrupted the whole mass. But, thank God, from the time our Stars and Stripes were insulted, from the time our soldiers were butchered in Baltimore while marching to the defence of the national capital, from that time to the present, the loyal feeling has been abroad, and it will vindicate itself and prove the integrity of the loyal people. But I will not go back, when so many able and distinguished gentlemen are to follow me, to spend time in discussing the causes of a war for which there was no cause except evil spirits. I will take the question as I find it, as one of the greatest events which has ever existed since civilization was organized—a question between government and conspiracy, a question between light and darkness, a question between good and evil, a question between government and rebellion. What though the evil spirit of darkness has been loose for a little season, and has been permitted to rove up and down the earth? When this rebellion was organized, the spirit of political parties among all noble and good men was hushed—democrat, republican, American, and aboli-

tionist even—all men who loved their country more than party came together like a band of brothers, determined to vindicate the integrity of the government and prove themselves worthy descendants of illustrious and Revolutionary sires! [Cheers.] I stand upon that ground to-day, and I defy all the artillery, save the artillery of heaven, to dislodge me. [Great applause, and cries of "That's it."] But as political parties laid aside their armor and left their castle untenanted, there were a few miserable politicians who came forward and took with them seven more spirits more wicked than themselves, and entered in and dwelt there, and the last state of politics was worse than the first. [Great laughter and applause.]

This controversy, gentlemen, has assorted society—it has made up its account; it has put men of loyal hearts, who love their country above party and above all things, into one great mass together, and here they stand before me. [Applause.] Opposed to them are three classes of those who are against the country and the administration. One of these classes have arms in their hands; another class have politics in their heads; and another class have treason in their hearts—and they are all working together. [Great applause.] I curse them all as one! [Cheers, and cries of "Good, good."] I invoke the maledictions of all loyal people upon them. I denounce them in the name of the Union, the Constitution, of free government, and of liberty. [Cheers.] It is the duty and should be the privilege of all men to come forward and act together, irrespective of party; unfettered, unembarrassed, and untrammelled entirely by any party lines or party leadership! And such is the feeling of the country; it is tending in that direction every day; and the popular currents are growing so broad, so deep, and running with such power, that they will sweep away all this rubbish of lies and political parties. [Loud cheers.]

It is a question, gentlemen, that reaches down to the foundation stones of our government; a question whether that great edifice shall be shaken, or whether it shall be maintained? It is not a question whether one party or the other shall succeed? I myself am an old-fashioned democrat of the strictest sect, and I do not inquire who administers this government! [Cheers.] I would preserve this great edifice, founded with blood and tears, wrought out by our Revolutionary sires, and it will be in time to inquire who shall tenant that edifice after this rebellion is over. [Loud applause.] Listen not to him who cries "Lo, here," or "Lo, there," and attempts to excite party prejudices and to climb up by the back door on the slippery and filthy step-stones of party discipline. [Loud cheers.] Inquire who is for his country? Who is on the Lord's side? [Cheers.] Who will stand for the edifice? and not what are his political antecedents. What he does to-day is of great consequence; what he did before the rebellion is of very little! [Loud cheers and laughter.] We want men who will stand for the country! We want men whose moral and material muscle stands out like whip-cord! In this great controversy we want men who will bare their bosoms to the shock and defy the boasted assault of treason. [Cheers.]

Quite recently I have heard that a great political discussion was held in this city, between the British minister, Lord Lyons, and some individuals who had crawled into the democratic lion's skin [laughter], and brayed accordingly. [Cheers and laughter.] Lord Lyons, I believe, is a gentleman, a foreign minister, and representing a government that puts robbers and the robbed, a government and a conspiracy, upon the same footing, why, I

think he did very well! [Laughter.] Since his government decided that those who stole and those stolen from were both belligerent equals, and to be treated exactly alike, I think their minister did very well. [Laughter.] Since his government fitted out, or permitted to be fitted out, pirates to cruise not merely against the commerce of the world, but against the commerce of the United States, I think Lord Lyons played his part very well, and I have no complaint to make of him. But as to these 290s of the Democratic party, I have something to say of them [laughter]; the robbers who are cruising against the peace of this nation. What is their position? They democrats? Democrats! [Laughter.] Andrew Jackson was a democrat! I wish they would put themselves into communication with his spirit a little while! [Laughter.] If the old gentleman carries his cane yet, there would be some rapping! [Laughter, and a voice, "He would hit Fernando Wood with it."] Let us see what is their position? They sit down with the representative of a government known to be unfriendly to us; a government who wishes to see this government destroyed, because it is the hope of all free governments throughout the world. They sit down in his presence and connive schemes for the overthrow, disruption, and destruction of this government of revolutionary memory, and baptized with the warm blood of our ancestors! They beseech him not to let the powers of Europe come forward in the matter now, because it would be premature; but to keep the hand of Great Britain out of view while she plays an active part. Why? Because there is an hereditary recollection of her villainies and atrocities and persecutions. [Cheers.] Now, I say once for all, and knowing what I say, and meaning what I say, and speaking in italics and capitals [laughter], I say for pure unalloyed rascality, for double-distilled villany, there has been nothing recorded since the days of Pontius Pilate as infamous as that. [Great applause.] Who are the individuals, I want to know? I am told they are democrats? They are *demoncrats*. [Great laughter and loud applause.] I would like to know who they are. [A voice: "Wood."] I mean to go and look in the Rogue's Gallery, to see if I cannot find their portraits there! [Laughter.] Their names will stand high upon the roll of infamy; and if they are not placed in the highest niche in that temple, and are not accorded a proud place in the public pillory, then they will never receive what they are entitled to. [Cheers and laughter.] When this rebellion broke out, our "belligerent equals" had stolen our arms and munitions, and sent our navies adrift beyond our reach. But two years have gone over, and there never was a government, even Rome in its proudest days, that has done what this government has done. It has raised an army that makes the earth throb at every tread as though it were the convulsions of a volcano. It has men and material, and in the energies of its people, it has shown what no other government, ancient or modern, has ever shown! [Cheers.] The rebellion is yet upon us; but how? Look over Virginia, that cheated her people into secession! If the seven vials of God's wrath had been poured out upon that state, it could hardly be more blasted than it is now!

They have lost all hope of foreign intervention. Louis Napoleon, who was so ambitious to stride so far he could not gather, has found enough to do in other sections of the country; and Great Britain, although Russell spouts, and Palmerston complains, and although those fools, Lindsley



and Gregory, may make a noise, yet Great Britain knows altogether too much to meddle in this affair. [Cheers and laughter.] She has some knowledge of this people already, by two efforts, which, as a nationality, she has not forgotten. [Loud cheers.] And although she did hope this controversy would divide and destroy us; and although her aristocracy—her rotten aristocracy, that leans against her public debt, and her public debt against them, like two drunken men supporting each other [laughter], and both of whom will fall when one gives way a little [renewed laughter]—yet her people, with John Bright, and Cobden, and the loyal masses, are in our favor. [Loud applause.] And the government and aristocracy, after putting on their spectacles to look at us, concluded they could see just as well a little farther off. [Cheers and laughter.] She, therefore, has not meddled; and France is not to meddle. Then what is the hope of the rebellion? She has taken up all her conscripts already. It is at the South now as it was in that Arabian country, when the mother said:

“ My daughter, it is time that thou wert wed—  
 Ten summers, already, have passed o'er thy head;  
 I must find thee a husband, if, under the sun  
 The conscript bill has left us one.”

[Cheers and laughter.] She has taken the young and the old. Their substance is eaten out, and the confederate notes are not worth a shilling a peck. [Loud laughter.] Their only hope rests now upon disloyalty and division at the North. They are looking eagerly to the Knights of the Golden Circle, and to parties inaugurated to aid the rebellion in the sacred name of democracy. But they will be disappointed; and they will find a bursting public opinion that shall sweep all these reptiles, these lice, frogs, and locusts of this modern Egypt, away into the Red sea together. [Loud applause.]

I started with this rebellion—with one great idea—that it had to be cleft from crown to heel! There was no other way of disposing of it—never had been, and never will be. [Cheers.] There is no way it can be disposed of except by crushing it to the earth! [Loud applause, and cries of “good.”] All the rest is idle; you cannot treat this rebellion to equal doses of politics and powder! [Laughter and cheers.] It is a dark conspiracy; a rebellion of ambitious politicians. It is not an outbreak of the people. The people of the South are, many of them, loyal and honest; and if you take away the revolvers from their ears, they will come back and rally around the glorious old stars and stripes again. [Loud cheers.] And those conspirators came forward into the various offices of the government, the Cabinet, the Senate and the House of Representatives, and laid their hands upon the holy evangelists of Almighty God, and swore in his name that they would support the Constitution. Those same men, while that oath was yet warm upon their lips, committed perjury that would make hell blush, by slinking away into some dark corner to plot the destruction of the very government they had just sworn to maintain! Yet we are told that the only way to deal with such men is, to hang out the olive-branch of peace to them! I am for the olive-branch myself, but I want it to be a stout tree, and about eight feet from the ground [great applause and laughter] and have a good strong rope hanging at the end

of it. [Renewed laughter and cheers.] That is the way to treat the leaders of this rebellion. [Cheers.]

It is a question between rebellion and government, and there can be no compromise. You might as well compromise between light and darkness; and any one, if he is a man of ordinary intelligence, who should attempt to compromise, is a traitor to his country. [Cheers.] I denounce him as such, and I will tear the mask from his face whoever he may be, and whatever disguise he may take on. [Great applause.] Yet we hear men say every day, "Oh, I am for the war, I am for the Constitution; but I think we ought to treat them with more lenity; give them propositions of peace, and extend the olive-branch to them. I am opposed to employing negroes as soldiers, because it is injurious to their feelings." [Laughter and cheers.] I look over this vast expanse of rebellion. How many brave spirits have been quenched forever for the purpose of maintaining the glorious institutions of our country! And shall they be yielded up now? We must either lay down our arms, or else summon renewed energy, and go as one man to hurl the whole power of the greatest free government on earth upon this rebellion, like one great thunder-storm, and blast it forever. [Great applause and booming of cannon.] "O, but," they say, "we are afraid that the Constitution and slavery may suffer. [Laughter.] Slavery has assembled and dispersed conventions; it has put up and put down politicians; it has made the mean mighty and the little great, and they hate to lose such important political capital. [Cheers and laughter.] Now, I would not go out of the way after slavery, or to get rid of slavery; but you might as well expect to retain the wild game of the country after you had cleared it all up, as to retain slavery after the wave of rebellion passes over it. [Great applause and cheers.] The abolitionists tried to make an impression upon slavery for thirty years without any success; the secessionists made it in *one!* [Great laughter and loud applause.] They are altogether the better abolitionists of the two! [Great applause.] The abolitionists never got the thing in motion; but the secessionists have got it in motion so it will never stop. [Cheers.] Stop rebellion to-day, and slavery will "march on," like John Brown's ghost. [Laughter.] It has gone up, gone down, and gone away [loud cheers and laughter]; as a political institution, it is gone forever. [Cheers.] Xenophanes, the great Greek transmigrator, beseeched a friend to stop the chastisement of a dog, for he thought he recognized in the howl of the dog the voice of a deceased friend [laughter]; and there are a great many politicians who don't like to have slavery disturbed, for they think they recognize the voice of a deceased friend in it! [Great laughter, and long and loud cheers.] I have never seen the day, from the time the first kernel of powder was burned on Fort Sumter, that I would not have employed every negro, every white man, every woman, and every child, of all complexions, and in any and every way which would tend to the crushing out of this rebellion. [Tremendous applause.] I would put forth a blow, and strike them where they would feel it most. I would not draw a bow at a venture; I would draw a good sight, and take good aim at the vitals of this infamous monster. [Loud cheers.] I don't want any compromise until this question is settled, and until we have a peace that is going to be a peace! [cheers] a peace anchored upon a safe and sure foundation stone. [Cheers.] I object to the institution of slavery in our government, or political life,

always, and from this day forward! [Cheers.] I object to it as I would to a powder-house in the city of New York, because it is dangerous, and liable to blow us all to pieces. [Cheers and laughter.] I object to it because it has been invoked as the means to destroy this great nation. I am for the Union, the whole Union, and nothing but the Union, against everything this side Heaven. [Most enthusiastic applause and cheers.] This genial air, this bright sun, this glorious surrounding of popular hearts, tell me that this rebellion is doomed! [Cheers, and cries of "Good."] It tells me, what I believed from the beginning, that whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth. We shall rise higher, stronger, mightier and purer than ever, after this storm has howled itself to rest. [Great applause.] The ocean may cast up her mire and dirt in the mighty heavings and agitations of her bosom; the lightnings may flash athwart the sky; the thunders may roar in the distance, and the winds may howl; but I tell you, the sun of this Union will rise again, with the promise of a fair day, and God's children will stand upon the great principle of equality in this Western hemisphere. [Tremendous applause, and three hearty cheers for the speaker.]

After an interlude of music by the band, Mr. BUTLER introduced the Hon. HENRY WILSON of Massachusetts, who was received with three cheers.

#### SPEECH OF THE HON. HENRY WILSON OF MASSACHUSETTS.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW-CITIZENS OF NEW YORK: The banners of more than a thousand regiments of loyal men of our country are to-day waving in the beams of yonder setting sun in the land of rebellion. Three quarters of a million of our countrymen, of our neighbors, of our friends, are bearing the banners of their country to-day on the soil of the rebel states. They are around Charleston [cheers]; on the shores of North Carolina; with Banks near the mouth of the Mississippi; with Grant around Vicksburg; with Rosecrans around the immortal field of Murfreesboro [loud cheers]; with Fighting Joe Hooker on the banks of the Rappahannock. Your cheers, your voices, the beatings of your loyal hearts, will reach them; and as they look the foes of their country in the face, they will be stronger because the men of New York are behind them. [Cheers.] Our brave soldiers in the field, in the language of Gen. Stoneman, one of our bravest and truest soldiers, say that while they hate the rebel in front, they despise the traitor in the rear [cheers], and they would delight to hang the one as well as to shoot the other. That is the sentiment of three fourths of a million of brave men who are bearing the banners of the Republic. The gentleman who preceded me said to you, and he said truly, that the hopes of the rebel chiefs were in the division of the people of the loyal states. It was my fortune—my sad fortune—to sit with those rebel leaders in the session of '60 and '61. Then they were preparing the country for revolution. Day after day we sat in the Senate of the United States—in the House of Representatives—and saw these rebel leaders plot for the overthrow of the Republic; and I say to you to-day, gentlemen, that their hopes rested upon two things—one, the intervention of England or France through the power of King Cotton; and the



other, division in the Northern states. They believed that the city of New York would raise the cry of "bread or blood;" they believed that the loyal men hastening to the defence of the menaced capital would be smitten down on the pavements of the city of New York. Jefferson Davis, in the session of 1860, said to me on the floor of the Senate that he was assured, in the language of one of his friends in the North, that if this contest came to blows they would throttle us in our tracks. But, gentlemen, you all remember that when, two years ago, the banners of our country went down beneath the consuming fires of the batteries upon Fort Sumter, that the people rose in their majesty as one man for the support of the country. [Cheers.] But you remember, also, with what amazement the rebel chiefs received the intelligence of that uprising of the freemen of the North. Russell tell us in his Diary that he found everywhere in the South the greatest amazement that the people of the North were united to uphold the cause of our country. But, gentlemen, we know while the people of this country—the masses—rose to sustain their government, to sustain the cause of human liberty in the Western World, that there were men who bowed to public opinion, but whose hearts were black with sympathy with traitors. ["That's so."] Misfortunes came upon us, death entered almost all our dwellings, our brave men were smitten down on many battle-fields, trials came upon the people, our hearts throbbed sadly and heavily, and then it was that these men the rebel chiefs relied upon to come to the rescue and save them—to bathe our streets in blood and overthrow the government of the country—began to demand a peace that was to blot this nation for ever from the annals of mankind. But, gentlemen, thanks to God, thanks to the people of this country, they are rising again, and copperheadism is slinking away. [Loud cheers.] The heel of the American people is pressing that serpent's head. [Renewed applause.] And now, gentlemen, I say to you to-day, that while the rebel chiefs give up the cause of foreign intervention, they yet rely on the secret orders of the Knights of the Golden Circle; they rely upon men who preach peace, when there can be no peace, with the salvation of our country. [Cheers.] But, gentlemen, my faith is strong—strong in the people of the United States, strong in the progress of human events, strong in Democratic institutions, and strong in that God that rules over the affairs of men. [Cheers.] The cause in which we are engaged is the cause of *national unity*; and the life of this nation, the existence of this North American Republic, is at issue; and that is not all: the cause of human liberty in America is at issue—the cause of toiling millions of the North American Republic. There is an influence on earth that elevates and adorns human character that is with us and fighting for us in this great battle in which we are engaged. There is not a man who cannot take the cause of our country home with him to-night, and read his Bible, and on his bended knees invoke the blessing of Almighty God upon the cause of our common country. It is a cause that a man may be proud to toil for, labor for, and, if need be, proudly to die for. [Cheers.] The other day, away up in the interior of this state, a gallant and gray-headed old soldier lay dying. In his last moments, when life was flickering, he called for a glass of wine, and, holding it up, said: "God bless my country, the United States of America!" and the brave old soldier passed away with the noble and pious sentiment upon his lips. And there is not a brave soldier battling in the



field under the flag of our country, there is not a man in America that may not invoke these utterances of Gen. Sumner, and ask God to bless our country, the United States of America. [Cheers and the boom of cannon.]

Now, gentlemen, we should give to the government of our country our support, not because it is a republican administration, I don't ask that; if it was a democratic administration I would support it because duty to my country demanded it [great applause] and I am proud to know there are many democrats who are giving to this administration all their moral support, and all the votes they have to give. [Cheers.] The Committee of Military Affairs of the Senate, of which I am chairman, had upon it four republicans and three democrats; 6,825 names have passed before that committee since the war, and I say to you there never was a *party* division in this committee since the war commenced [cheers]. I find here to-day the letter of Senator Rice of Minnesota, a member of that committee, in which he says a peace democrat is a disunionist, and there can be no peace with disunion.

But, gentlemen, our duty is to forget all partisanship, forget all memories of old conflicts, and bury them deeper than plummet ever sounded [cheers], and go for our country, our whole country and nothing but our country! [Great applause.] I hail and welcome these Loyal Leagues and I hope every true man in the country will enroll his name among them, and I agree with Mr. Seward, that I would put my name down on all of them if I could; and I hope there will be no rivalries or jealousies among these organizations; I hope they will all co-operate and bind themselves together, and move straight forward and onward to uphold our country and to fire the hearts and nerve the arms of our brave soldiers to battle for the cause of our country in the field. [Loud cheers.] As republicans and democrats all of us should support the government of our country, and carry the nation in triumph through this contest, and then, after we have unitedly saved the nation from a slaveholders' rebellion, if we cannot stand together to administer the government, we will yield to better men than ourselves. [Great applause.] For my part I look to no future except to carry the nation through in triumph and extend its authority over every foot of territory [cheers], I have no calculations for any future administration; all ideas associated with party dwarf and sink down in the presence of the mighty events now upon us. The highest and loftiest duty ever committed to men is committed to us now; and that duty is to save our country, and preserve the life of our nation. [Loud cheers.] Yes, gentlemen, we will do it, I have undoubting faith that we shall do it; I entertain not a shadow of a doubt of the triumph of our cause [cheers], I never have doubted; amid defeat, darkness and disaster—I had faith that this people would rise and stand up for the country, that they would cultivate patience and toleration, and above all that endurance that wins and triumphs in the end. [Great applause.] I have seen more enthusiasm in other days than in this, but we have now come to the sober second thought which is based upon the sentiment and the heart, upon the convictions and the judgment, upon the aspirations and the soul of the people. It is the result of reflection—it comes from trial, and it will live and last, and carry us gloriously and triumphantly through. [Great applause, and three cheers and a tiger for Mr. WILSON.]

## SPEECH OF JAMES W. NYE.

Amid loud cheers JAMES W. NYE was then introduced to the vast audience, and spoke as follows :

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF NEW YORK: I am not a stranger to you, and although my home is now a distant one I feel quite at home here in the city of New York. I have seen her thousands marshalled before and I hope in the paradise of God to see them marshalled again, but you were never marshalled on a more eventful day than this 11th of April! When I stood in the Capitol of the nation and received the intelligence that Fort Sumter had been fired upon I made a covenant then, which I dare not break, that I never would lay down my arms, till the glory of that old flag was redeemed. [Great applause.] That covenant I have carefully kept, and though divided from you by vast plains and rivers, oceans and mountain heights, I found 3,000 miles distant, when I arrived in the territory of Nevada, my old acquaintance the stars and stripes [great cheering], and there they will float for ever, for whatever may be the fate of the Atlantic slope there shall be one Switzerland in America. [Cheers and cries of "Good," "Good."] We will barricade our mountain fastnesses, and there the old stars and stripes shall float. [Great applause.] They floated first upon New England's soil, and that genius and inspiration was caught up and sent out to the Alleghanies and the nation, weak and few in numbers but strong in determination and will, made it our standard sheet for ever, and no hand of rebellion and no foreign power shall ever wrest that old flag from us. [Loud cheers and cries of "Never, never."] The stars are the eyes of a watchful and vigilant people, and the stripes are emblematical of the tribute our fathers paid to Britain in two wars. [Immense applause.] I look, my fellow-citizens, upon this rebellion differently from most men—I think it is a good thing. [Sensation.] Now don't be alarmed till I explain. [Laughter.] The spirit of '76 had died out ["That's so"], and wanted resurrection! and thank God we have got it! [Great applause.] It wanted regeneration [loud cheers]; it needed rebaptism, that baptism needed to be in blood—and we have got it! [Cheers.] Though it may clothe your family and mine in the habiliments of mourning, yet a glorious future will be a recompense for all our woes! [Loud cheers.] When this rebellion is crushed out, for two centuries we shall be able to sit down under our own vine and fig-tree, with none to molest and make us afraid! [Loud cheers.] Rebellion at the South and Copperheadism at the North will be seen walking two by two into a political potter's field, as the pairs walked into the ark [great laughter and applause], and there they will be buried for ever ["Amen," and loud cheers], and they ought to be! [Renewed applause.] We are told that this rebellion cannot be put down by arms. But we can beat the world, whatever arbiter or arbitrament they choose. [Cries of "That's so," and applause.] These rebels have chosen the arbitrament of the bullet instead of the ballot, and we will beat them at that! [Great applause and cries of "Good, good."] And the man is blinder than a meadow mole and more deaf than an adder, who will not hear the charmer, charm he never so sweetly, who sees anything else but final triumph in this struggle. [Loud cheers.] They tell us, we shall be loaded down with taxes! Now there is one thing I want to say in all earnest-

uess, that when I see a man with a pencil behind his ear, and a card, figuring up what he can make out of the country, in this hour of our nation's struggle—he is a traitor! [Immense applause, cries of "That's so" and "Good."] I want to see armies of men inquiring what they can sacrifice to save their country. [Loud cheers.] Our mothers parted from our fathers, and buckled the armor on to their only sons, and kissed the last tear from off their cheek; and bid them go forth in the hour of the Revolution, to battle for freedom or die! [Loud cheers.] They returned crowned with this rich inheritance of personal and political freedom. That inheritance was intrusted to us, and we are the executors of that rich legacy, and we will sustain it for ever. [Great applause and cries of "We will," "We will."] But we are told that we make no progress! Sir, the moon has not 24 times filled her horn since this Rebellion broke out, and sir, that moon had 23 times filled her horn before England, France, Sardinia and the Turk, took the only fortress they ever did take in Russia, with all their combined armies! [Tremendous applause, cries of "Good" and "Bravo."] And yet we are told we don't fight fast enough. [Renewed applause.] I undertake to say, in full view of the history of the past, that no nation on earth, has ever shown so much recuperative and real existing power as this nation and as the people desirous of putting down this Rebellion! [Loud cheers.] I have got a kind of inspiration that the stars and stripes, either now float over Fort Sumter or they will soon [great applause], gold-dealers and copperheads to the contrary, notwithstanding! [Immense applause and laughter.] I know this Rebellion will be put down because it is wrong! I know we shall succeed because we are right! [Loud cheers.] Sir, I know one thing that copperheads don't know [cheers and laughter], and thank God they know a great many things that I don't know [great applause and laughter], I don't know enough to plot with anybody for the destruction of this glorious country! [Groans for the copperheads.] I do know enough to love this country with as unswerving and undying a love, as a son ever felt for the mother that bore him. [Immense applause.] I know that this nation was planted in faith; it was watered by the blood and nurtured by the tears of as pure patriots as ever went forth to battle for freedom. [Loud cheers.] I know that enough of that blood courses in our veins, to give that eternal and abiding principle of freedom, a resurrection so that all Hell and Rebellom combined cannot destroy it! [Immense applause and cries of "Good, good."]

Men of New York are you ready for this question [cries of "Yes, yes."]  
—Whether from this great pulsating beat of the nation your radiations shall be such as to inspire your distant brethren upon the far western coast, with an abiding belief that you are in favor of maintaining this Union? [Great applause and shouts of "We are."] Then I will go back and report that New York is all right! [Tremendous cheers.]

He who believes that this country will not succeed is wanting in faith—Oh ye of little faith! [Great laughter.] England fought France for 21 years, Wales fought France 700 years and Ireland is fighting England still. [Great applause and laughter; a voice, "May she succeed."] And yet we seem to be tired in 24 months. [Cries of "No, no."] If there is a man who has not faith, let him go among the copperheads! [Cheers and laughter.] A dreadful fate awaits all these traitors—a fate more to be



dreaded than the fall of the dreadful avalanche—it will be an eternal abiding sleep, so that one would doubt whether in the wisdom of God, they will be disturbed in the morning of the Resurrection [laughter and cheers], unless it will be to consign them to a deeper Hell! [Great applause and cheers, “They will file off to the left then.”] I thank you for this hearing. [“Go on, go on.”] It is very easy to say “Go on,” but where is the wind to come from? [Laughter and cheers.] I have been speaking at another stand and I am tired, but I would go on my bended knees on a pilgrimage from the heaving billows of the Atlantic to the quiet waters of the Pacific, to see restored to this continent, that glorious and benignant peace, that will bring with it, one people, one government, and one nation—and that we will have! I want this people now to give three hearty cheers for the old flag. [Three tremendous cheers for the flag, and three more for the speaker.]

SPEECH OF PROFESSOR JOHN A. PORTER.

PROFESSOR PORTER of Yale College was introduced and received with hearty cheers, and spoke as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW-CITIZENS: To-day I am not ashamed to confess myself a citizen of Connecticut. [Great applause and six rousing cheers for Connecticut.] Copperheadism made its strike there, and it has been trampled into the earth. [Loud cheers.] We met the enemy last Monday and as you know, we obtained a glorious victory, which sent a thrill of joy through all this great country of ours. [Cheers.] After a meeting I addressed a few evenings ago, I was introduced to the mother of the lamented Colonel Kingsbury, one of the glorious heroes of this war. At Antietam he was leading on his regiment to capture a bridge that was deemed important, when he fell pierced with a bullet, and he cried to his brave men, “Dash on and take that bridge, never mind me,” and so he laid him down to die. Four men sprang from the ranks to lift him up, when four more balls struck him, and he lay down and poured out his life in defence of his country. To soften the blow a dispatch was sent to his mother, that the colonel was wounded: but she said, “I know what that means—the light of my life is gone out”—and this poor mother as she stood before me, looked as if the light of her life had gone out. I thought to myself, “Shall all these sacrifices be in vain?—This blood poured out, these lacerated hearts, these poor stricken mothers and sisters and widows—are all these to be sacrificed in vain?” My heart answered me, No! “Rome has not lost all her breed of noble sons!” [Cheers.] The people of Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New York, are prepared to stand by the old flag to the last!

“Flag of the brave; thy folds shall fly,  
The sign of hope and triumph high,  
When speaks the trumpet’s signal tone,  
And the long line comes gleaming on;  
Ere yet the life-blood, warm and wet,  
Has dimmed the glistening bayonet,  
Each soldier eye, shall brightly turn,  
To where thy meteor glories burn.”

Yes: true to the flag! every man of us, as our revolutionary fathers were, until from the chain of lakes of the North to the gulf of Mexico at



the South the old flag shall float again in triumph all over our fair land.  
[Great applause.]

SPEECH OF JOHN C. MONTGOMERY.

FELLOW-CITIZENS : I will detain you less than three minutes [cheers]; as no doubt there are a great many democrats among us, I wish to relate two incidents with regard to the two rebel ambassadors at France and England. First, about James M. Mason. I have known him for a long time, and although always of different parties, we were always on terms of intimacy. Some years ago, Mr. Mason was at my house and a friend called to see me, and I introduced Mr. Mason to him as "My democratic friend, Colonel Mason of Virginia." Mr. Mason turned around to me and said, "Montgomery, I shall be most happy to be introduced to your friends; but I want you to understand, that hereafter you must introduce me as your 'republican friend,' not as a democrat, for, by God, I believe democracy unconstitutional." [Laughter.] I have also known the other rebel commissioner a long time—John Slidell. He called himself a democrat and I was an old whig, but never tainted with copperheadism. [Three cheers for the "old whig."] I fought for my country in the second war of Independence [cheers], and my father before me fought in the Revolution; and I am ready to fight now for the good cause [loud cheers] although I am somewhat turned of 48. [Laughter and cheers—Mr. M. appearing to be nearer 70.] In 1840, when General Harrison was a candidate for the Presidency, I determined to devote all my energies to securing his election. John Slidell called at my house and referring to my efforts, he said he could tell me something that would deter me from ever supporting him. I said, "You cannot do that." He said he was in Cincinnati at one time, and met there a Colonel Wilkinson and they employed a hack-driver, who drove his own coach, to carry them to General Harrison's country-seat at North Bend. When they got there General Harrison welcomed them very kindly, and told the driver to take his horses to the stable and then come in, and at the dinner-table the hack-man was invited in and took dinner with them; and "Now," said Slidell, "would you vote for a man, for the Presidency, who would invite a hack-driver to dine at the same table with gentlemen?" I thanked him for his story and told him I would use it, and that I was not ashamed to vote for any man who would invite a man who drove a hack, if he was honest and respectable, to dine at the table with a prince, if necessary. [Loud cheers.]

SPEECH OF G. W. ELLIOTT.

Mr. ELLIOTT, a merchant from London, was the next speaker. He said :

MEN OF NEW YORK : I speak to you as men of what I believe to be the greatest free nation of the earth. Your nation is to-day engaged in a struggle such as no nation has gone through. You are to-day distracted with a violent attempt to separate you and destroy the great fabric which has cost so much, and taken so many years to build. I fervently hope you are to put down this rebellion, and I believe you will. Men of New York, it has been told you that England does not sympathize with you,

but believe it not! England, in her great heart—her popular heart—sympathizes with you thoroughly. [Cheers; a voice, “Can’t see it.”] England is not easily moved; and it takes a long time before her popular heart is stirred up, but you may be sure that the true heart of the nation, her masses, do sympathize with you thoroughly and deeply! [Cheers.] Her aristocracy, and especially her would-be aristocracy, of course look on a popular government like this, with feelings of very little kindness. Well they may, for they know that all the tinsel adornments and gaudy trappings, and all that is not real manhood, when it comes to such a nation as this, is stripped from a man, and he stands before them for what he is. [Cheers.] In England it is said of you men of New York, that you care not for the Union. Contrary to my own interest, I have always maintained that this was a lie. Is it not so? [Cries of “Yes,” and cheers.] I say to you, that this battle must be maintained and carried through successfully at all hazards. The great monarchies of Europe are watching you very carefully, and I tell you, if you obtain a victory, you obtain it not only for yourself, but for all the world! [Cheers.] You must carry this war through successfully for the benefit of all posterity. [Cheers.] I rely upon you that it shall be done. And when this glorious American flag, the stars and stripes, shall float victoriously over every state in all this broad land, and you shall be a great united people, a happy people, you will present to the whole world such a spectacle as no other nation can show! [Loud cheers, “Go on, the London Times won’t print your speech.”]

#### SPEECH OF COLONEL NUGENT.

Colonel NUGENT of the 69th Regiment was received with three hearty cheers. He said:

MY FRIENDS: I did not come here to make a speech, but as a spectator. I am very proud to see so much patriotism, and so many coming up to the support of the government, but I would be much prouder to see one half of you down in the army of the Potomac, to fill up the broken regiments there. I see a great many here that I would take for recruits for the gallant 69th. [A voice, “Give me \$1,000 and I will go.”] I don’t want you, sir, we only want true men and volunteers. [Hisses and cries of “Copperhead.”] But, gentlemen, I don’t feel at home here, and I am not much of a speaker. Put me at the head of my regiment and I am at home. [Great applause.]

#### SPEECH OF F. E. LAMBERT.

Mr. LAMBERT was the next and last speaker. He appealed to his countrymen from the land of Erin, to stand by the flag of their adopted country, and to support the government with all their means and power. He denounced the traitors who cry, “Peace,” and who would compromise with rebellion, and expressed his confidence in all the measures of the administration.

The band then played “Old Hundred,” and the vast audience dispersed, with three tremendous cheers for the Union.

# OFFICERS.

---

## STAND NO. 6.

Under charge of Committee of Arrangements,

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS, JR.,      WILLIAM A. HALL,  
WOLCOTT GIBBS.

---

### President.

WILLIAM E. DODGE.

---

### Vice-Presidents.

|                      |                       |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| C. V. S. Roosevelt,  | Warren Ward,          |
| Francis B. Cutting,  | John S. Giles,        |
| Pelataiah Perit,     | James W. Otis,        |
| Andrew V. Stout,     | David Dudley Field,   |
| Clarence A. Seward,  | Henry A. Smith,       |
| Edward S. Jaffray,   | Wade B. Worrall,      |
| Moses H. Grinnell,   | Gottlieb Dietler,     |
| John D. Jones,       | George W. Blunt,      |
| A. C. Kingsland,     | Stephen H. Tyng, jr., |
| James W. Beekman,    | John H. Williams,     |
| H. W. Bellows,       | Frederick Rauchfuss,  |
| Frederick Sheldon,   | D. Huntington,        |
| Archibald Philips,   | William Post,         |
| J. Evarts Tracy,     | John Meeks,           |
| H. A. Wilhelm,       | John Watson,          |
| Hamilton Bruce,      | James A. Briggs,      |
| C. C. Pinckney,      | John Trenor,          |
| Alfred Schermerhorn, | Archibald Hall,       |
| Henry L. Pierson,    | Morris Franklin,      |
| Frank W. Ballard,    | James Gallatin,       |
| Lorenzo Draper,      | Horace Green,         |
| John Sedgwick,       | F. E. Wellington,     |
| John Cooper,         | Edward Leonard,       |
| Sheppard Gandy,      | Andreas Whitman,      |

Epes P. Ellery,  
 George H. Moore,  
 Joseph P. Norris,  
 Samuel T. Bridgham  
 William A. Martin,  
 D. H. Gildersleeve,  
 G. W. Hayes,  
 A. Davidson,  
 Thomas L. Thornell,  
 James R. Spalding,  
 Frederick A. Coe,  
 Frederick Kuhne,  
 Morgan Jones,

William E. Dodge, Jr.,  
 Jacob Herrick,  
 Caleb Barston,  
 William Jellinghaus,  
 Daniel Wells,  
 Frederick G. Fosr,  
 Daniel Coger,  
 P. Remsen Strong,  
 Nathaniel Wooley,  
 B. H. Howell,  
 David Colden Murray,  
 William Black,

---

*Secretaries.*

Charles Nordhoff,  
 S. Hastings Grant,  
 A. K. McMillan,  
 Lewis Carr,  
 Oscar Schmidt,  
 Edward King,  
 Edward Willets,  
 George F. Betts,  
 Robert R. McBurney,  
 F. M. Palmer,  
 Ames L. Hastie,  
 James F. Ruggles,  
 Joseph H. Choate,

Daniel W. Berdan,  
 W. S. Matthews,  
 J. H. Frothingham,  
 R. M. Strebeigh,  
 Samuel Blatchford,  
 John M. White,  
 Pierre Humbert,  
 Henry S. Fearing,  
 Theodore Tilton,  
 Edward A. Wetmore,  
 Frederick W. Downer,  
 Charles H. Swords.



# PROGRAMME OF PROCEEDINGS.

## STAND No. 6.

NORTHEAST CORNER OF UNION SQUARE.

*Salutes of Artillery by the workmen employed by Henry Brewster & Co.*

1. Grand March, from "Le Prophète," of Meyerbeer, by Wiegand's Grand Band.
2. William E. Dodge, of the Council of the Loyal National League, will call the meeting to order.
3. Prayer by Rev. Thomas E. Vermilye, D. D.
4. William E. Dodge, Jr., of the Executive Committee, will read the call for the meeting, and the list of Vice-Presidents and Secretaries.
5. William A. Hall will read the address.
6. William A. Hall will read the resolutions.
7. Music by the Band.
8. Senator L. S. Foster, of Connecticut, will address the meeting.
9. Music by the Band—singing: "The Army Hymn," by Oliver Wendell Holmes.
10. David Dudley Field will address the meeting.
11. Music—singing: "The Star-Spangled Banner."
12. James Wadsworth will address the meeting.
13. Music—singing: "Song for the Loyal National League," written expressly for this occasion, by George H. Boker.
14. George William Curtis will address the meeting.
15. William E. Dodge, Jr., will read a poem, entitled "Those Seventy Men," written expressly for this occasion, by Mrs. Sarah H. Bradford.
16. S. S. Chittenden will address the meeting.
17. Music—singing: "Our Union," written expressly for this occasion, by Alfred B. Street.

This stand was located in the northeastern angle of Union Square. It bore the motto, "A common Union to maintain the power, glory, and integrity of the Nation." Salutes pealed from the lips of artillery, and at about 4 o'clock Wiegand's band struck up the Grand March from "Le Prophète."

WM. E. DODGE, Esq., of the Council of the Loyal National League, called the meeting to order, after which prayer was offered up by Rev. Dr. VERMILYEA. Mr. JOHN A. STEVENS, Jr., then read the list of Presidents and Vice-Presidents of the meeting. Mr. STEVENS read, also, the resolutions, which were adopted unanimously.

#### SPEECH OF DAVID DUDLEY FIELD.

DAVID DUDLEY FIELD, Esq., was then introduced, and spoke as follows:

FELLOW-CITIZENS: If I were asked to express in three words what appears to me the greatest needs of the country at this hour, I should say unity, courage, constancy. Without unity, our great preponderating force dwindles into insignificance. Twenty-three millions wield undoubtedly enormous power, equal to the subjugation of all the rebels in the rebellious states. But if the twenty-three millions were made up of thirteen millions loyal and ten disloyal, the latter might neutralize an equal number of the former, and the force of the twenty-three millions would really be represented by three millions. So of greater or less proportions. We are, therefore, under a necessity, moral and political, to labor with all our might to produce agreement among our people. The nearer we can come to absolute unanimity the better. To that end, we must lay aside minor differences, and confine ourselves to the few essential, fundamental political truths and rules of conduct that have relation only to the overthrow of the Rebellion. By these means, and these alone, shall we be enabled to collect and use all our resources, for the maintenance of the power, and the integrity of the nation, in its whole territorial extent. But without courage numbers will avail us little. It should seem strange that an exhortation to courage can be necessary among the children of our fathers. Our people have won their way by courage to their present expanded greatness. From the time when our fathers landed on these shores, through all the hardships of settlement, through poverty and want, through perils from Indian savages, through colonial wars, through the war for independence, through the long period of uncertainty and depression which ensued through the political crisis which resulted in the establishment of the Constitution, the war of 1812, and the war with Mexico, courage has been almost a synonym for the American character. But there is a moral as well as a physical courage, which shrinks from no sacrifices, looks unappalled upon reverses, hears with equanimity of delays and mistakes, and carries itself cheerfully, loftily, through all vicissitudes. This kind of courage, not less than that which storms fortresses and leads columns in the field, is needed by us now; a courage which rejects the counsels of the timid and time-serving, spurns every suggestion of inglorious peace, sends none but encouraging words to our soldiers in the ranks, and makes ready to send more soldiers, and as many more as the country

may call, if it call for all we have. And yet, without constancy, courage may fail at last. In the difficult and novel circumstances in which the country now stands, we are liable to have repeated failures. Inexperience leads to mistakes; the difficulty of adjusting untried means to ends proposed brings after it frequent miscarriages, and these tend to beget in the end distrust, and the fear that we may not after all be able to overcome the difficulties in our way. But this is not the proper feeling for a heroic people. Constancy under all fortunes is the great Roman virtue, as the opposite quality is the curse of fickle and secondary nations. "Unstable as water thou shalt not excel," was the prophecy of the patriarch to a portion of his children. So it is now, and so it ever will be; these nations only can hope to stand at the head of the world which never despair. Let us, fellow-citizens, stand together; show the courage of our fathers, and the constancy of our race. So will our future be full of promise. Then shall we rise superior to any disaster and every embarrassment; and our children will thank God for our unity, our courage, and our constancy throughout the perilous times of the slaveholders' rebellion.

Mr. Field was frequently interrupted by applause during the delivery of his address.

SPEECH OF GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS.

Mr. CURTIS on being introduced was received with applause. He said:

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW-CITIZENS: Two years ago, when that flag came down, for the first time shot at in dishonor, and disgraced by American citizens, there was but one feeling that ran through this land—a feeling so shuddering and appalling, that it was as when a great ship suddenly comes into the wind, and every inch of canvas flutters, and for a moment there is a doubt whether the voyage shall be continued or whether the ship shall there go down. You remember, fellow-citizens, that the answer to that shot was given upon this place, where we stand to-day. You remember that the first answer was given by eloquent voices, whom it is well for us at this moment to recall, because they were voices of those who have sealed their fidelity with their life's blood. Here, within the range of my voice at this moment, stood the gallant Mitchell, born in Kentucky; and he, after his career, is silent. But you know his story. Here, within sound of my voice, stood the gray-haired Baker. He, too, has sealed with his life's blood the truth of his words. Eloquent in their lives, fellow-citizens, they were still more eloquent in their death; and they are for ever eloquent, speaking to you and to me and to our children's children, for ever, in our hearts and in our history. Two years have passed. There are no longer but 800 soldiers and but \$500,000 in the Treasury. Did you hear them speak? Then bend your head, and strain your ears this moment, and you shall hear also the thunders of an eloquence that shakes the very air, that dazzles the very splendor of the midnight heavens—the thunders of the belching fires of Dupont and the brave men with him, who now declare that that flag that was pulled down in weakness shall be raised in power; and that as when it fell it was the

glittering shroud of every party line, and of all party differences whatsoever, so that now there are, there can henceforth be, but two parties in the land—they who stand in open rebellion, with guns and cannon against it, and all other men who are resolved to sustain it, and that, God helping, if they cannot do the work, then they will fall doing it, and transfer it to their children, and their children's children to do, until all beneath the pall of party shall upbear the flag, and the stars are restored once more to the heavens whence they came. [Applause.] This, fellow-citizens, and not less, is the significance of the hour. It is to answer for us all whether we are a nationality; it is to answer for us all whether there is something below all our differences, whatever they may be. This is a contest which has never changed its character; this is a contest, from the beginning, simply of the ballot-box. It is not long since I stood upon a platform like this side by side with a man whose every political theory I doubt not, differs absolutely and radically from mine. The gentleman of whom I speak has a name known to you, justly dear to you, peculiarly honored by every loyal man in the land at this moment, for he is James T. Brady of this city. [Applause.] With Mr. Brady, bound upon the same mission, I went into the state of Connecticut, and we went there, not as Connecticut men, but as citizens of the United States, interested to know whether other citizens of the United States living in that state were willing to abandon the Union, dishonor the flag, and consent to common ruin. We stood there side by side simply to defend the ballot-box. Whatever differences Mr. Brady and I had before—and I believe they were radical upon every question—the moment the assault was made upon that box, that instant Mr. Brady and every man like him in the country, and every loyal man of whatever complexion, knew no other party than the party that would restore, by bullets if necessary, by every measure which the administration, which is the representative of this country, might call for, the ballot-box in all its purity, as the sole and single arbiter of every political difference in this land. That, fellow-citizens, was the significance of the meeting here two years ago. I stand before you, I trust, as a loyal man. I believe only one man in this city has made it his boast that he is not loyal. [A voice: "Fernando Wood."] It seems to me, fellow-citizens, that he might well have spared his breath; for I never knew that any one suspected that gentleman of loyalty; or, if he ever was loyal, he has long ago given it the benefit of the statute of limitation. [Laughter.] But when he says there is no such sentiment as loyalty in this land, I hope the occasion of the hour may take him through the square in which we stand, that he may see the hundreds and thousands of men, whose brothers, sons, friends, stand embattled from the Chesapeake to the Mississippi, by sea and by land, brave men, united by one sentiment, and one sentiment only, and that an unshrinking and eternal loyalty to the government which their fathers made, which they have received, and which, by the grace of God, they will transfer unchanged to their children. [Applause.] Now, then, fellow-citizens, understand this one point, that the effort to destroy the nation, which is no less than the United States of America, is simply to undo the laws of God. The union of the United States is an instinct. From the instinct of union in the people the Constitution of the United States sprang; for it was the sentiment of union that made the Constitution, and not the Constitution that made the Union. The Union



is a fact of our existence ; it is a thought, it is a sentiment, you cannot repeal it, you cannot touch it in the least point, for it is in the heart of every citizen. And when we say Union, when I stand here and say to you that I belong to the Union, and that that flag stands for the Union, you all understand me to mean precisely what an Englishman means when he says England, precisely what a Frenchman means when he says France—and that is the essential nationality of this people. The Union is the form only, the Nation is the soul. To save the Union is to save the Nation. And, therefore, at this moment first and most truly in this land the Union man is he who is resolved that there is, that by the grace of God, there shall be, but one government as there is but one nation, within our domains—that either this rebellion shall march trailing its flag over us, until above our shame and disgrace its flag sends its curdling and chilling shadow deep into the waters of the Lakes, or that the people of the United States of America—knowing all their strength is in union—will march triumphant over them, bearing that flag full of the hues of heaven, until its ancient splendor shall flash the liberty with which it was first baptized far over the sparkling waters of the Gulf. [Applause.] Stand fast, then, by the Union. Understand that the Continental Congress adjourned that its best men might make the Constitution of the United States. and that the cause of the United States is the cause of human nature. It is therefore that this rebellion is so envenomed, and therefore that it stands so fast and so ably, because it knows that by the necessary development, by the necessary growth of the people of this country, whatever interferes with the rights, with the liberties, with the peace of any solitary citizen in the land, wherever he may be, that touches the liberty of all ; and that no man will rest, that the nation itself will heave, until the rights of every man have been fully vindicated. Now, fellow-citizens, this being so, the experience of two years has shown us two things : in the first place, that this nation is resolved to maintain its nationality ; and in the second place, that there is no conceivable result possible to the war in which we are engaged except the absolute victory or the absolute subjugation of the government of the United States. [Applause.] There is no possible ground between this. The gentlemen who have for a moment proposed compromise do injustice to the policy and sagacity of the men who have reared the black flag of rebellion. The men who have raised the flag of disunion do an equal injustice to the sworn conviction of every loyal citizen in the land. Therefore, understand me, that there can be but one of these two issues. You know which. In your own experience it is written in many a household of yours in the finger of blood—it is written in your hearts, deep down, with all the earnestness of the most vital conviction. Understand that the moral of to-day is the moral of two years ago ; that there is henceforth no party among loyal men. We know there is none. We know this, fellow-citizens, that Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, was no sounder man tried by party standards, than the old white-haired man whose eloquence at a neighboring stand has thrilled you this afternoon. Whatever Jefferson Davis was as a party man that was Daniel S. Dickinson. But while the hand of Davis was raised to stab us, you know how the tongue of Mr. Dickinson has waved like a tongue of fire, defending and again defending as he has to-day the outraged honor of our dearest common mother and native land. [Applause.] And you know

further that however good a party leader in his day Mr. Breckinridge may have been, that Mr. Douglas was no way inferior to him, and his last words were of the most unswerving loyalty to his country and to the Union of the States. [Applause.] It was my special pleasure to say when it was my privilege to be in Connecticut, that if they had produced in Connecticut one known in party times as a democrat, who had since disgraced the name, we in New York had produced another man known in party days as a democrat, who had not disgraced it, and that if Isaac Toucey had done all he could, as his own letters testify, to haul down that flag and disgrace it beneath the heel of Rebellion; that John A. Dix, no less a man of standing in his party, had not hesitated to make the telegraph and every brave man's heart thrill with the message: "Whoever hauls down that flag, shoot him on the spot!" [Applause.] Yes, fellow-citizens, there we stood then, and here we stand now, unchanged. The ship was tossing then; I grant you the ship is tossing now. But then it was in the wind; now it has laid its course; it has taken the full breeze, and its course is onward. But this understand, what, while the tempest howls, while the ship quivers in these dreadful billows red with blood, is the duty of every loyal man; what will every loyal man do? He will ask himself but one question: Does the captain, do the crew, mean right? Then, if they do, I will not trouble myself to have a better captain whom I may know, I will not trouble myself to call over the names of a crew that may to me seem abler than this. The ship is here; the tornado is here; the captain is here; the crew is here—we are all in for the voyage. And whoever, knowing that that captain and crew desire only the safety of the ship and the passengers, whoever for an instant raises a voice against them, whoever himself desponds, desires or endeavors to seduce loyal and brave men of the land from their obedience, mark that man well, for he shows himself a lineal descendant of the copperhead in Eden, who tried to seduce Eve from her obedience. [Laughter and applause.] Stand fast, fellow-citizens, then, I abjure you; stand fast by the flag which is the symbol of all that is precious to you—of all the liberties you ever had—of principles that at this moment keep this city in perfect peace; that at this moment maintain quiet throughout the broad region that is not touched by the hand of Rebellion. Stand fast by the flag, knowing this, that if we are not strong enough; if, in our day, this fight cannot be fought out; that it is a fight which was born in us; it was bred in our bones; it flows in our blood; we are tied up to that issue; and when we lay in the graves those who went from us with bloom in their cheeks, with patriotism in their voices, with hope in their hearts—remember that when they went we held ourselves in camp by our firesides ready to follow; we hold ourselves—every man of us who is loyal holds himself, at this moment, only waiting to hear what the government, which is the representative of the whole people, demands of him, in order to say, "Ready! Ready! I am here!" [Tremendous applause.] Still more: If all who have gone—God rest their souls!—if all who are ready to go, young men who are strong men now, will not suffice, then shall the time come when each one of us will transfer it to his child, as the most sacred duty he can perform, that he shall neither spare himself nor allow his children's children to be spared in this struggle; and renewing once more our vows to the dear old flag, we will vow—as we do now here—God, and the shades of the august dead,

who have hallowed this very spot with devotion to the Union, witnessing it, we do here once more vow that, pure as its white, bright as its red, fixed as its stars, is our faith in the national honor, in the national glory that that flag represents; and that though it should cost us our lives, they shall be given, and the war shall go on—it shall be chronic in American blood—until that flag floats on every spot of American soil as calmly in the evening air as it hangs before you now. [Great and long-continued applause.]

SPEECH OF S. B. CHITTENDEN.

S. B. CHITTENDEN, Esq., was the next speaker. He said:

FELLOW-CITIZENS: There can be nothing more timely or better calculated to warm the hearts and exalt the patriotism of all who sincerely love their country, than this League and this vast meeting, and yet both have been, and will continue to be denounced by partisan presses and teachers, as instigated by federal office-holders for unworthy ends. I will not consume your time, nor insult your intelligence, by any refutation of this preposterous calumny. There is not a well-informed person within the sound of my voice who does not know it to be a wicked falsehood. It is a prodigious lie—a part of that refuge of lies which begot the rebellion, and by which it still lives, only to be so much the more accursed, when it shall be finally hurled to its righteous and ignominious doom!

Unnumbered thousands of true and loyal hearts, embracing all sects and all political parties, have devoutly prayed for this grand movement—for a National Loyal League—regarding such action indispensable for the salvation of our country; and I hail this League to-day, my countrymen, as a signal and sure prophecy of a grand and glorious victory and triumph for the Union over all its enemies.

The time had come to draw the line. We cannot serve God and mammon. Those who refuse to sustain the government in this hour of its severest trial, are the enemies of their country, and the aids of Jeff. Davis. Such will be the burning record of impartial history. The rebellion must be put down with shot and shell, or the country is ruined. The rebellion never can be put down by conditional patriots. The rebels can't be whipped by men who fight them, shouting all the time at the top of their voices, "We can never subdue you:" nor by men who fight against them with an "if" of any sort. Away, then, with such folly, cowardice, and treason. Let us be men, and worthy of our noble sires. You, who are not unconditionally *for* the war, are against it. There is no middle ground. Thank God the loyal men of New-York have within a month spoken once, twice, thrice, and now speak again in a voice of thunder, re-offering the immortal declaration of Andrew Jackson, "The Union must and shall be preserved." The line is now to be distinctly and finally drawn. Seek ye to-day whom ye will serve. There is but one question before the country. Victory or death! The questions about tariffs, about finance, about slavery—all questions save one, are passed upon and adjourned. There remains but one question to be settled; that is a military question. The fate of this great republic turns upon this. Disunion is impossible. Shall Jeff. Davis subdue the North, or shall the North conquer him? That is the question. Say, not that this is an error. Consult the evidence.



The rebels turn with scorn and bitter execration from the Woods, the Brooks, Vallandigham, and all such peace-at-any-price men as Seymour of Connecticut: they insist peremptorily upon disunion as the first condition of peace. This fact is perfectly established and undeniable by any honest man. To divide this country is to cut the spinal column, and death the inevitable result. Disunion, therefore, is victory for the Rebellion, and defeat and unspeakable disgrace to the nation. Will you, will any man who was not born to be a willing slave, hesitate as to his duty in such a crisis? Shall the iron heel of the supremest despotism that ever trod the earth, crush the necks of twenty millions of free souls? Shall we compel all future generations of Northmen to blush red with shame, that we could not defend the liberties our sires achieved for us? Oh! God forbid such degradation, such humiliation. Oh! spirit of Washington—spirits of all the great and good men, by whose wisdom, valor and sacrifices, the freedom of this people was purchased, save, oh! save our country from such disgrace and shame!

But Mr. Brooks says the Republic is dead, and he has drawn black lines around such obituary notice in his paper. Is that true, my fellow-citizens? Is the Republic dead? Shall it ever die? But, says Mr. Brooks, the Constitution has been violated. I do not admit this, but suppose it to be true for a moment. What then? Suppose Mr. Brooks, that an assassin should enter your house to-night, threatening your life and that of your family. You see him by the light of the moon standing by your bedside; his dagger is drawn, and he is braced to plunge it remorselessly to your heart! Just behind him stand his negro servants beckoning to you as intelligibly as they can, that if you will be their friend they will assist you to save your life and that of your family. What will you do? Will you send for policemen, judge, jury, or the Constitution, to see what weapons they provide for you? Certainly not. You will instantly tell the assassin's negroes that you will be their friend; you will seize any weapon within your reach, and without the least hesitation or delay hurl any one of them at the head of the villain; you will kill him on the spot if you can, and gladly accept all the aid his negroes can give. If you refuse such aid, or hesitate in accepting it, any friend and acquaintance you have in the world will say, "Thou fool! thy own life is forfeited. If with the aid of his negroes you kill the assassin, the world will applaud you, and your children's children to the latest generation will rejoice in your triumph. Is not the case I have supposed the case of our beloved country? Are we not bound to use all the weapons God has given us? Shall we stop to examine their strength? Shall we not rather hurl them all against the foe with a steadfast, unflinching and holy purpose to save the national life!

The Constitution has been discussed since 1789 by all the ablest men the country and the world have produced, with indecisive results. Let this discussion be resumed when the war is over. It is our present and instant duty to crush the rebellion by any means in our power. I repeat it: the only practical question before us is a military question. We are to choose victory or death! Come, then, every true man! By all the treasured and immortal memorials of the Revolution; by the sacrifice and death of the great captains who have already fallen in this struggle; by the blood of hundreds of thousands of our brave brothers smitten and slain



on the battle-fields; by the death and sufferings of other multitudes in camp and hospital; by the heroic martyrs who have been shot and gibbeted in every slave-state, for no crime but love of their country; by the words of weeping friends who have freely given their loved ones to die, that our great inheritance of liberty might be rescued from the grasp of an assassin; by the undaunted heroism and genuine patriotism of the magnificent armies which remain in front, between us and the assassin; by all the precious memories of the past; by the grander and more glorious promise and prophecies of the quick-coming future, I implore my countrymen one and all to sustain the government unconditionally, and may the old flag wave for ever!

“Over the land of the free and the home of the brave.”

SPEECH OF HON. JAMES A. BRIGGS.

Amidst cries for “Frémont, Frémont,” the President introduced Hon. JAMES A. BRIGGS, who spoke as follows:

FELLOW-CITIZENS: I wish that Frémont was here to speak to you in thunder tones of the glorious proclamation of freedom that has gone forth from the chief magistrate of the nation. Not long ago most men were afraid to be called emancipationists, and had a perfect horror of being called abolitionists. That time has gone by; at least the feeling which then existed so generally exists no longer in the minds of thinking men, and to call a man an abolitionist now does not stir his blood unpleasantly at all.

The rebels, my friends, are not all at the South: some of them are here in our midst,—here in this great commercial emporium of the country, the city of New York, and it is your duty and mine to do all we can to counteract their influence. There are men here who are protected by our laws and institutions in their lives, their property, their reputation—in everything of theirs that requires protection—whose sympathies are all with the rebels, who are fighting against the United States government, by which these men are protected; and I have no hesitation in saying that they should be smoked out by a correct public opinion. The men here who give aid and comfort to the rebels at the South should be arrested, indicted, tried, and if convicted, executed. [A voice: “Wood.”] Let them take the penalty of the law. The lamented Douglas, whom all true democrats delight to honor, in the last speech he ever made, said that there were but two parties, patriots and traitors, and he was right. Now, as then, there are but two parties in the land, the party of patriots and the party of traitors. Those who belong to the first are bound to do all in their power to sustain the government; and as for those who belong to the second, let them take the doom of traitors at the hands of the law. This government has cost something—it has cost long years of war and blood and toil, of privation and heroism, and it must now be preserved. We will, if necessary, go through the seven years’ war a second time, and sacrifice every man and every dollar to be found in the land rather than permit this government to be destroyed. [Applause.] But it cannot be destroyed; it cannot die; it will be as lasting and perpetual as time itself. Its foundation-stones were laid by freemen’s hands, and cemented by freemen’s blood, and the God of our fathers watches over it always, so that

it cannot die. Many of our men now in the field must go down to their graves in this struggle, and many of them must go down there unknown; but those who in the next generation shall read the history of our times, as we now read the history of times past, will find written high up upon the scroll of fame and immortality the names of the men who day by day are dying for the republic animated by a spirit as noble and self-sacrificing as that of the patriots and heroes of '76. [Renewed applause.] You have heard from the granite hills of New Hampshire, the land of Stark; you have heard from the land of Greene, Rhode Island; and last Monday Connecticut, the land of Putnam, spoke out in a voice that all the copper-heads in that state understand perfectly well. If those gentlemen had met together on last Monday night it seems to me that they would have had such a meeting as that of the two unfortunates described by Byron in his magnificent poem, "Darkness," who, you remember, by their mutual hideousness destroyed each other. All this is encouraging and as it should be; but it is our duty to see to it that in this great centre of the trade, wealth and influence of the country, no traitorous teachings shall be permitted to take root, and that the hearts of its people shall now, as they have always done, beat true to the music of the Union. [Applause.] We want no reconstruction of the government of the United States. We want no change made in the old Constitution which bears the honored name of George Washington, President. [Renewed cheering.] We desire and intend to preserve that Constitution as it is: we would not change a single letter of it; but we are determined that from Maine to California, from the Lakes on the North to the Gulf on the South, all men shall own allegiance to it.

As we stand here to-day in support of the Constitution and the Union, our noble officers and soldiers are rendering them more active service in front of Charleston, of the capture of which I trust we may be told before we disperse. And when Charleston is captured it should be razed to the earth and the ground on which it now stands ploughed over, so that men hereafter would be at a loss to tell the spot that it once occupied. I would have that city sacked and burned, the women and children spared of course, but the rebels in arms made to bite the dust; and there is humanity in the wish. These rebels North and South must be blotted out unsparingly, and we must do it. There is no other course that we can take without dishonor to ourselves and to the country.

I have already spoken of men in our midst who have no sympathy with us, who are not of us, who are alien in birth, in principles, in feeling, and in hope. Such men come here merely to make money, and they do not care which side wins. They have no business here; they do not belong to the country, and they ought to be put on board the vessels that brought them here and sent back to the Old World, there to have the iron heel of despotism grind into their necks until they can come to a land of freedom better prepared to appreciate it. Every one who is not with us in this momentous struggle for national existence is against us, and should be sent away. [Applause.]

I have spoken of Charleston. Eighty-three years ago to-morrow that city was bombarded by the British under Gen. Clinton. In 1861 at four o'clock on the morning of the 12th of April, the rebels fired upon Fort Sumter. Let us hope and pray that at that hour to-morrow morning Charleston may be ours, and the old flag float again over Sumter in

honor, in glory, and in power, never to be removed from that position until the hour comes, as come it must, when the last particle of light shall fall from the urn of expiring Nature. [Renewed cheering.]

At the conclusion of Mr. Briggs' speech the President of the meeting said: You have heard from Nevada; you have heard from Ohio; have you patience to listen for a few moments to one from Missouri? [Several voices, "Yes," "Yes."]

SPEECH OF MR. PARSONS.

Mr. PARSONS, of St. Louis, then came forward, amid applause, and spoke as follows:

I thank you for this kind greeting, although I cannot, if I would, regard it as offered to me personally, since you do not know me nor I you. I accept it, therefore, as a tribute to the state from which I come. Do you remember that that state is claimed by the Southern Confederacy? You see before you a man who belongs to a state that is claimed by Jeff. Davis. [A voice: "You are not one of them."]

I am not one of them, a friend here says, and he is right; I am not. I will tell you who I am; I am that old man who, when it was dangerous in our city to say that you were a Union man, when there were three rebel flags floating there and only two Union flags, one from the State-House and the other from the City-Hall—I am the old man who then and there hung out the first Union flag that was hung out from a private residence. [Great cheering.] I was threatened and told: "Parsons, you will regret this; it will not be sixty days until we have this city in our hands, and then you and others like you must look out." "Well," said I, "I cannot say you won't have it, but I do not think you will; and you won't if I can help it. But if you do get it you must do one of two things with me—either send me out of the country or take my life; for under the rebel government I will never live." ["Good," "Good."] I had two sons with Gen. Lyon, and the next oldest one wanted to go and join Gen. Frémont's body-guard, but he was too young and not big enough.

I expected that when I should get into the Free States away from the baneful influence of slavery, I would find none but loyal men; but I have been very much surprised to find here and between here and there, secessionists far more numerous than in Missouri, a state claimed by the Confederacy. This should not be so. I want to be able to go back to Missouri and tell our friends there that New York is now loyal, and that she is determined to stand to the old flag until the rebellion is subdued. Let us be united. If we were so we could sweep over this rebellion and overwhelm it at once. I shall conclude with the words of Andrew Jackson and Daniel Webster: "The Union, it must and shall be preserved!" "Liberty and Union, now and forever one and inseparable." [Applause.]

The President next introduced Gen. CRAWFORD, one of the garrison of Fort Sumter under Major Anderson. The General bowed to the crowd, but declined to make a speech.



## SPEECH OF THEODORE TILTON.

The Chairman announced that the closing speech of the day would be made by THEODORE TILTON, of Brooklyn, who rose to speak as the evening was coming on.

MY COUNTRYMEN: It is a beautiful prophecy of the Word of God, "At the evening time there shall be light." I see the shadows of the evening falling on your faces, yet I see the light of hope shining in your eyes. So, amid the shadows of war that now rest on the land, a holy fire in men's breasts keeps bright the prospect of Victory and Freedom.

Two years ago, when I spoke at the first great meeting of the people assembled in this Square—it was at this same hour of the day: the sun was setting behind yonder roofs. I recalled then—and I recall now—that strain of Milton's:

"So sinks the day-star in his ocean bed,  
And yet anon repairs his drooping head,  
And tricks his beams, and with new-spangled ore  
Flames in the forehead of the morning sky."

It is my firm faith, that the glory of this nation—which seemed, like the sun in the heavens, about to go down at noon—is to rise to a more illustrious splendor. The flag that went down shall rise again; the hour that went down with it shall rise again. Nothing shall be lost—except, indeed, the precious loss of the brave dead, who have gained honorable graves.

Is it the fight at Sumter that we celebrate to-day? It is more. Sumter is more than a battle-name. It means a new idea—a new principle—a new doctrine of government—a new assurance of the rights of the people—a new support to republican institutions. It is not simply that over that fortress, two years ago to-morrow, at daybreak, hovered the first cloud of smoke of the greatest war of modern times. It is more. What was the meaning of that outbreak? At first, the meaning was hidden in the smoke. Then, when the people saw it, the government failed to see it. But at last the eyes of the President were opened, and on the first of January he interpreted the meaning by public proclamation to all the world. That fort of Charleston harbor was built upon a foundation of New England granite: that state of South Carolina is to be rebuilt upon a foundation of New England ideas! That is the meaning of Sumter.

To-day's anniversary is a stand-point for looking backward and looking forward. To-day we end the second year of the war. Washington, at the end of the second year of the Revolution, wrote these words:

"That spirit of freedom, which at the commencement of this contest would have gladly sacrificed everything to the attainment of its object, has long since subsided, and every selfish passion has taken its place. It is not the public, but private interest, which influences the generality of mankind, nor can the Americans any longer boast an exception."

This was Washington's testimony. What is ours? Compare the spirit of both wars at the end of two years! Are we better than our fathers, that our record should be better than theirs? We have had what they had—a two years' history of good and evil—of patriotism and greed—of loyalty and treachery—of holy zeal and ignoble passion. Contractors



have fattened, while soldiers have gone unpaid. Opportunities for victory have been thrown away by generals, by reason of not being on friendly terms with brother officers in the same service. Party spirit has kept officers in command who have been fit only to serve the enemy. Other officers, whose names alone are a terror to the rebellion, are still knocking at the doors of the government, vainly asking appointment to the field. Public money has been squandered. Popular patience has been exhausted. Official beguilers in high places have whispered the counsels of the Devil into the President's ears. Honest men have hung their heads for shame, blushing for the government of their country, while they trembled for her fate. Many a Christian heart has lifted up its prayer to God, saying in bitterness, "In whom can we put our trust but in Thee?" This is the picture of the two years' war against the rebellion. Why do I depict it? Is it to make a ground against hope? No. It is to make a ground in favor of hope. It is because what is true of ourselves to-day was exactly true of our fathers in Washington's day. It is because, after such a two years' history, our fathers still had spirit and courage to fight five years more, and in the end to win their immortal victory. So if, after *our* two years' history, we are called to pass through five years more of war, I doubt not we shall be equal to the work, till *our* victory too shall be immortal!

Whence came the war? It is said that many years of peace had corrupted the public virtue. No. Peace is no corrupter of the public virtue. Peace is its foster-nurse. Peace is the mother of the arts. Peace touches the soil, and it blossoms into flowers. Peace is the fore-token of the final glory of the earth. Peace is God's benediction upon the land. No; it was not peace that gave us war. It was because we had war while we thought we had peace. It was because, for seventy years, we were given over to "strong delusion, to believe a lie." First pure, then peaceable—that is the order of God's law. But this nation—impure—guilty of a great sin—the sin of sins—how could it have peace? It had no peace. It has had none from the beginning. Our fathers died, leaving war in the land; and we, when we were born, received as our birthright inheritance to day's legacy of civil war. What, therefore, is the lesson of these many years—of this long experience—of this seeming peace culminating in open war? There is this lesson for to-day—that there will be no end of the war between the North and the South until freedom shall reign, and therefore peace. Justice is the only calmer of revolutionary storms. Anything but emancipation will be war—war now, war evermore—until God's day of settlement with the nation.

And as this is a meeting of the Loyal League, it is easy to answer the question, Who is loyal? It is he who is loyal to liberty—no one else. It is he who has faith in justice—no one else. It is he who upholds the rights of men—no one else. This is the only loyalty that can save this nation. There is but one salvation. Save the nation from her sins, and you save her from her perils. Wise men will heed the many signs of the times—the many tokens of God's interfering providence, saying now, as of old, "I will maintain the right of the poor." It is to rebuke fools for their folly that the people gather here to-day. The first uprising of two years ago, was in testimony against the disloyal South; to-day's uprising is in testimony against the disloyal North. Let the many treasonable complotters who walk these streets—breathing out threatenings against liberty

—take heed of this day's purpose, and beware of that gathering indignation of the people—that coming wrath of the patriotic masses in the loyal states—which means to sweep before it the combined enemies of the republic, alike in the South and in the North!

This nation is not to be lost : it is to be saved. It shall come out of these trials—tested. It shall pass through these flames—purified. I think no evil of these times. They are brave days. They carry sorrow in them, but they carry mercy. Out of the wrath of man rises praise to God. There are sublime compensations for war. Otherwise it would be unendurable. But, with these, and for the sake of these, it becomes heroic. Are the times troublous? They are for putting an end to troubles! Are they full of unusual burdens? They are for making the yokes easy and the burdens light. My countrymen, we have been living low-minded lives! These great events are for lifting us to higher thoughts. They are for inspiring us with more Christian aims. They are for sowing the land with more generous ideas. Our children will be richer in soul for the struggle of flesh and blood through which we are now passing. They will be wiser for the lessons we now are learning. These dews of the night, now falling, are to enrich the fields for future harvests. So the dew of blood which a righteous war is now leaving upon many battle-fields is to spring up into the growth of a nobler manhood of the American people.

Meanwhile, my countrymen—as the night comes on—as the darkness thickens—my thought wanders away from the multitude of your faces, which these shadows are making dim, to that greater multitude whose faces are more dusky than this darkness—the four millions of humble men and women, the poor and lowly, the oppressed and de-pised—who all their lives long have sat in the darkness of the shadow of death. In the silence of the night, their voices arise into the ear of Him who heareth in the heavens!

“Hoarse, horrible, and strong  
Goes up the agonizing cry—  
Filling the hollow arches of the sky—  
How long, O God, how long!”

But it is written in His divine word—“Shall not God avenge His own elect, which cry day and night unto Him, though He bear long with them? I tell you that He will avenge them speedily.”

Is this promise to be fulfilled? Hark! Put your hands to your ear! The noise of many battles comes up from the South! What means the sound? It is the voice of God the Avenger, “bringing forth judgment unto victory.

The meeting adjourned with prolonged and vehement cheers for the Union.

---

#### RECEPTION OF THE DELEGATION FROM THE LOYAL LEAGUE OF PHILADELPHIA.

The Delegation from the Loyal League of Philadelphia, to attend the Great Mass Meeting of April 11, arrived at the foot of Cortlandt street about noon, where they were met by a Committee of the Loyal Leagues of this city, with carriages. The distinguished guests were taken to

Delmonico's and welcomed by R. B. Minturn, and the Rev. Dr. Bellows. Morton McMichael, Esq., Chairman of the Philadelphia Delegation, responded in a very happy and patriotic speech, after which all partook of a lunch provided for their entertainment. From Delmonico's the guests were escorted to the headquarters of the Union League Club, and invited to participate in the proceedings of raising and dedicating a flag. They were then escorted to seats at the various stands. At 7 o'clock the Delegates of the New York Union Leagues dined by invitation with the Philadelphia Delegates at the Astor House. Covers were laid for 150 persons.

When the cloth was removed, speeches were made by B. H. Brewster, Esq., Charles Gibbons, Esq., Henry C. Carey, Esq., and others of Philadelphia, Senator Wilson, of Massachusetts, Charles King, Esq., of this city, and others. Morton McMichael, Esq., presided. There were about one hundred Philadelphians present, among whom were George H. Boker, Esq., Judge Kelley, John B. Kenney, and Ex-Mayor Charles Gilpin. The affair passed off pleasantly. The Philadelphia Guests, during their stay, were waited upon by many of our most prominent citizens, and expressed themselves highly delighted with their reception and entertainment. They returned home, bearing with them the best wishes of their loyal friends in this city, whose hearts beat in unison with theirs, and whose hands are ever ready to join with theirs in upholding the Union and crushing out this wicked and causeless Rebellion.





## TABLE OF CONTENTS.

---

|  | PAGE.     |
|--|-----------|
| Call of the Meeting.....   | 3         |
| Notices of the Press.....  | 4         |
| <b>STAND No. 1.</b> .....  | <b>9</b>  |
| Introductory Remarks by Mayor Opdyke.....                            | 12        |
| Address, prepared by Dr. Francis Lieber.....                         | 13        |
| Resolutions.....   | 21        |
| Speech of Hon. Montgomery Blair.....                                 | 23        |
| Speech of Hon. William D. Kelley, of Pennsylvania.....               | 29        |
| Speech of Benjamin H. Brewster, Esq., of Pennsylvania.....           | 31        |
| Speech of Colonel Stewart L. Woodford.....                           | 33        |
| Speech of Horatio N. Wild.....                                       | 35        |
| <b>STAND No. 2.</b> .....  | <b>37</b> |
| Speech of Governor O. P. Morton, of Indiana.....                     | 40        |
| Speech of General A. J. Hamilton, of Texas.....                      | 50        |
| Speech of Hon. James M. Scovel, of New Jersey.....                   | 57        |
| Speech of Rev. J. T. Duryea.....                                     | 61        |
| <b>STAND No. 3.</b> .....  | <b>63</b> |
| Speech of Benson J. Lossing, Esq.....                                | 66        |
| Speech of Major-General Sigel.....                                   | 68        |
| Speech of Dr. Rudolph Dulon.....                                     | 69        |
| Speech of Hon. Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana.....                      | 72        |
| Speech of Governor Pierpont, of Virginia.....                        | 75        |
| Resolutions on the late James Louis Petigru, of South Carolina... .. | 78        |
| Speech of Hon. Montgomery Blair.....                                 | 79        |
| Speech of Weil Von Gernsbach.....                                    | 80        |
| Speech of Dr. Försch.....  | 82        |
| <b>STAND No. 4.</b> .....  | <b>83</b> |
| Speech of General John C. Frémont.....                               | 86        |
| Speech of Hon. Roscoe Conkling.....                                  | 88        |
| Speech of Hon. George W. Julian, of Indiana.....                     | 98        |
| Speech of W. J. A. Fuller, Esq.....                                  | 102       |
| Remarks of Peter Cooper.....   | 107       |

|   | PAGE.   |
|---|---------|
| STAND No. 5.....  | 109     |
| Speech of Hon. Daniel S. Dickinson.....                                   | 112     |
| Speech of Hon. Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts.....                        | 117     |
| Speech of James W. Nye.....   | 120     |
| Speech of Prof. John A. Porter, of Connecticut.....                       | 122     |
| Speech of John C. Montgomery.....   | 123     |
| Speech of G. W. Elliott.....  | 123     |
| Speech of Colonel Nugent.....   | 124     |
| <br>STAND No. 6..   | <br>126 |
| Speech of David Dudley Field, Esq..                                       | 128     |
| Speech of George William Curtis.....                                      | 129     |
| Speech of S. B. Chittenden, Esq.....                                      | 133     |
| Speech of Hon. James A. Briggs.....                                       | 135     |
| Speech of Mr. Parsons, of Missouri.....                                   | 137     |
| Speech of Theodore Tilton.....  | 138     |
| <br>Reception of the Delegation from the Loyal League of Philadelphia.... | <br>140 |













0 012 026 659 7

