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SPEECH OF

HON. ISAAC N. ARNOLD,

July 14, 1864.

The reception of Hon. Isaac N. Arnold at Metropolitan Hall, last night, was an imposing one. The Hall was largely filled, and the utmost enthusiasm prevailed.

The meeting was organized by the choice of the following officers:

President—Colonel C. G. Hammond.

Vice Presidents—Samuel Hoard, P. W. Gates, J. A. Tyrrell, Geo. C. Bates, E. A. Storrs, Elliott Anthony, J. V. Farwell, C. Bentley, L. C. P. Freer, Hon. E. S. Williams, Hon. J. S. Rumsey, T. W. Baxter, T. M. Avery, A. Wright, Hon. Van H. Higgins, James Long, M. W. Leavitt, Robert Clark, Dr. Paoli, E. C. Larned, J. Y. Scammon, G. Leverenz, P. Daggy, George Fleischmann, Col. J. M. Loomis, S. B. Perry, George Smith, George W. Gage, F. Hartman, Francis Pas de Loup, J. G. Gindele, F. Frillman, Frederick Letz, John Raber, George Mueller, Dr. J. P. Lynn, John Sears, Augustus Herr, C. N. Holden, Merrill Ladd, John F. Beattie, W. H. Reynolds, Hon. F. A. Hoffman, Eli Bates, Edmund Juessen, Iver Lawson, Philip Steinmueller, Henry Erb, W. W. Allport, W. E. Doggett.

Secretaries—A. Shuman, L. H. Davis, S. C. Blake.

REMARKS BY THE CHAIRMAN.

On taking the chair, Col. Hammond said:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: The large audience which has gathered here, notwithstanding it is only two days since a large public meeting was held here, evinces not only the depth and earnestness of your interest in the great cause for which we are contending, but that you have also a special interest in the main purpose for which this meeting has been called.

It is appropriate and proper that our Representative in Congress from this District, after his long and arduous service, should be called upon to meet his constituents and give them a report of his labors as their Representative, and his views on the great questions before the nation. The people should ever watch their public servants with the closest scrutiny, and while quick to denounce their misdeeds or shortcomings, should be as prompt and ready to give a hearty approval of honest, able and faithful service. Next to the consciousness of having done his duty, and his whole duty, the faithful Representative is happy in the approval of his constituents; and he cannot but rejoice to be called upon to meet them and render an account of his stewardship.

It is in this view that the meeting has been called. You will also be addressed by other eminent speakers on the questions of the day.

I rejoice that so large an assemblage is gathered here to welcome Mr. Arnold on his return. I am glad to bear testimony to his able and faithful public services for the last three years.

In times of extraordinary difficulty and temptation in public life, he has been tried and has not been found wanting. Unsullied integrity and unselfish devotion to the public interests in a Congress like the last, are qualities which the people know how to appreciate and honor.

Mr. Arnold has devoted all his time and talents to the public service, never failing to vote, and to *vote right*. He has made his place no sinecure, but one of self-denying labor for his constituents and the country.

While his efforts in the special interests of his District have been faithful and persevering, he has not ceased to remember that he was the representative of the *nation*, but has, by his course in Congress, and his public speeches, acquired a commanding influence and reputation before the whole country.

He has given the most hearty and efficient support to the President and Administration, and enjoys, beyond a doubt, their confidence and regard. He has labored with untiring zeal and ability to supply the means, the men, and the measures for the subjugation of this rebellion, and he has been among the foremost in recognizing slavery as its real cause, and in originating and furthering every effort, legislative or executive, for overthrowing that accursed institution and utterly extirpating it from the land.

In such troublesome times, men who have been tried, *true* men, should be kept at their posts, and we owe it to ourselves to give the country the benefit of their experience in conducting it through the perils of reconstruction yet to be encountered.

We may well learn a lesson from slavery in the past, which never dismissed a public servant, a true representative "to the manor born," but claimed his services for a decade, or for life. Slavery deserted and cast off only "Northern Doughfaces."

But I must not detain you further. I shall better fulfill my duty on this occasion by leaving the issues before the nation, as well as the present aspect of public affairs, to the discussion of one fresh from the seat of Government. I will therefore introduce to you Hon. Isaac N. Arnold.

MR. ARNOLD'S SPEECH.

The times are too grave for speech-making. I am not here for that purpose, but to give you a plain statement of the legislation of Congress, and the present condition of our affairs. Yesterday, when we were all feeling such deep anxiety for the Capital, I sent to the President this dispatch:

"To the President of the United States:

The North-West earnestly requests that half a million more men may be called to the field. Illinois is ready to furnish her quota without delay.

ISAAC N. ARNOLD."

I am quite sure that in this dispatch I gave expression to the intense feeling of the loyal masses of our State.

I appear before you to-night, my friends and fellow citizens, to give you an account of my acts as your Representative in the Congress of the United States. The occasion will compel me to be egotistical. During the three eventful years of the past, with all their varied history, our victories and defeats, our bright and our gloomy days; years than which there are none more important in all the generations of the past, I have had the honor to represent this patriotic, loyal, liberal, generous, great-hearted district of the North-West; a people with more of energy and determination of character; with more of pluck and persistence, more of that American go-aheadativeness, than the same number of men elsewhere on the globe. This has been a proud and responsible position, and you all have a right to know how I have discharged my duty. I am here to-night to tell you; and if in the course of my remarks any constituent desires any additional information, or wishes to inquire of any fact or vote, I shall be glad to be interrogated, and happy to reply. I thank God,

fellow citizens, that in looking back over the varied scenes of these three years, there is no public act of mine of which I am ashamed; nothing for which I do not challenge the most searching scrutiny. Doubtless time has developed many mistakes, many errors; but all my official conduct has been the result of an honest purpose, a sincere and earnest desire faithfully to discharge my duty. On all the difficult and novel questions upon which, as your representative, I have been called to act, I claim, not infallibility; but I claim to have been inspired by an earnest desire to do all in my power to aid in crushing this most causeless and infamous rebellion, to maintain the liberties of my country, to restore the Union, with the cause of all our difficulties (slavery) utterly exterminated—to secure an early and lasting peace, by removing the cause of the war, and by the most vigorous application of force to crush the rebel military power. Such have been my aims. My course in the thirty-seventh Congress has heretofore been fully explained to you. I have had the proud satisfaction of receiving your continued confidence and support manifested by a unanimous re-nomination and triumphant re-election two years ago.

Very early after the rebellion I came to the conclusion, that as this war was waged by the rebels, for slavery and against liberty, the most effectual and speedy means of securing permanent peace was to exterminate slavery. Hence, from the beginning, I have advocated and voted for those measures, called very properly *radical*, as going to the very root of our national disease.

On the 16th of July, 1861, I expressed in Congress my opinion of this contest, an opinion which time has abundantly verified “as a contest between government and anarchy—between law and lawlessness—between liberty and slavery—between civilization and barbarism.”

My duties as your representative, as I conceived them, may be principally embraced in two divisions:

First, to aid, by every means in my power, in sustaining the Government, and in crushing the rebellion and its cause.

Secondly, in promoting and developing the interests of the great North-West and of my own District.

I will speak of my acts, as thus classified, briefly, and yet somewhat in detail.

First. What has been done to sustain the Government in crushing the rebellion, and extirpating its cause—slavery.

The special session of the thirty-seventh Congress convened on the 4th of July, 1861. Its duty consisted in conferring upon the Executive the power of crushing the rebellion. Congress voted all the men and money, and more than were asked for by the President. It placed the resources of the country at the disposal of the Government. Congress, during all the time, and as often as called for since the rebellion broke out, has voted all the men and all the money asked for. No grant of power which the Legislative Department could confer, has ever been withheld from the Executive. Every request for more men and more

money has been promptly voted. In this connection it is due to the truth of history to say, that in regard to the mode of raising troops, and the number to be raised, and especially in regard to the financial policy to be pursued, Congress has followed Cabinet and Executive suggestions and recommendations, rather than itself originated measures.

Members of Congress have felt great confidence in the ability of the late Secretary of the Treasury; and those who have doubted and hesitated in regard to his measures, have felt that while he had the tremendous responsibility of meeting the unparalleled expenditures of the Government, and that while that responsibility rested on him, it was but just for him when he expressed a desire for particular legislation, and expressed confidence that with such legislation he could carry us safely through, but had doubts of success without it, Congress should acquiesce and yield its opinions to his; and Mr. Chase is responsible for the financial measures, and entitled to the credit of the financial success, of the Administration down to the period of his resignation.

SLAVERY.

From the beginning of the rebellion, the subject of slavery, and the treatment of the negroes, and the disposition of rebel property, have been the subjects of constant thought and consideration among those who sustained the Administration, and were to some extent responsible for its success. My own views are indicated in the title or subject of two speeches which I made in the thirty-seventh Congress. The first, delivered on the 17th of February, 1862, was upon

SLAVERY THE CAUSE OF THE WAR AND ALL ITS EVILS.

In that speech, while appealing to Kentucky to deprive the rebels of the strength derived from their slaves, I was interrupted by Mr. Wickliffe, who said, "I recommend to the gentleman the advice given in Mrs. Gaston's Cooking Book, about cooking a rabbit. She says, 'the first thing is to catch your rabbit.'" "How," said he, "are you going to get the negroes until you conquer the rebels?" I replied—for the news of the great victory of Grant at Donelson had just thrilled our hearts with joy—The intelligence of the triumph of our arms at Donelson is a reply to the gentleman from Kentucky. The rabbit, or rather the snake, is caught. Let us extract its fangs—let us kill, not scotch it.

On the 22nd of May, 1862, I delivered another speech, the subject of which was, "*Confiscate the Property and Free the Slaves of Rebels.*" I had before that time introduced a bill to confiscate the property and free the slaves of rebels, some of the provisions of which were embodied in the law passed on that subject. My bill was too stringent and too radical for that day, although public sentiment has been, by the stern teachings of this war, long since educated up to it.

FREEDOM OF THE NATIONAL CAPITAL.

During the thirty-seventh Congress I had the honor to vote to establish *freedom* at the National Capital. The city of Washington shall never more be desecrated by a slave. Since then the dome of the magnificent structure in which the people's representatives meet, has been appropriately crowned by the statue of Liberty, never, as I trust, to be again stricken down; but to stand there forever as a true emblem of the great principle embodied in our national policy.

PROHIBITION OF SLAVERY IN THE TERRITORIES.

In the winter of 1862 I introduced a bill, now, as amended, the law of the land, which secures freedom to all persons throughout all the Territories of the United States. In this connection I wish to say, that I regarded these measures as the beginning of the great work of freeing our country, our whole country, from the curse of slavery. Having secured freedom for all the Territories, and for the National Capital, I have most earnestly desired to see the cursed institution of slavery ended throughout the nation, and liberty become everywhere the law of the Republic.

EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

I have never ceased to regret, that when the President, in 1862, issued his Proclamation of Emancipation—that glorious edict, which has stamped forever upon the brow of Abraham Lincoln the name of the “Emancipator of his Country,”—that paper which shows him to be the true “Apostle of Liberty;” that deed which will live when battle-fields and military heroes are forgotten—I have never ceased to regret that he did not make a clean sweep of slavery, and abolish it everywhere throughout the Union.

Possibly he was wiser than any of us—I know he did what he believed to be best.

The work remains to be consummated; the death of slavery will regenerate the Republic. I would exterminate every slaveholder in the land by the destruction of slavery.

In the thirty-eighth Congress I have labored, with others abler far, to complete the great work of abolition.

NEGRO SOLDIERS.

I have advocated every measure which had for its object the transfer of the negroes laboring for rebels, into the soldiers of liberty, fighting for their own freedom and our National Union. I would protect, at any cost, every man, black or white, who wears the national blue and fights for the old flag. A *black patriot* is better than a *white traitor*.

CONGRESSIONAL SANCTION TO THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

On the 13th of January, 1864, I introduced the following bill, which has been embodied substantially in another which passed Congress:

“Be it enacted, etc., That in all the States and parts of States designated in said Proclamation as in rebellion, the re-enslaving, or holding or attempting to hold in slavery any person who shall have been declared free by said Proclamation, or any of their descendants, otherwise than in the punishment of crime, whereof the accused shall have been duly convicted, is and shall be forever prohibited, any law of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.”

On the 15th of February, 1864, I offered the following resolution:

“*Resolved*, That the Constitution should be so amended as to abolish slavery in the United States, wherever it now exists, and to prohibit its existence in every part thereof, forever.”

The resolution was adopted by ayes 78, noes 62.

This is the first vote ever adopted by the House of Representatives in *favor of the entire abolition of slavery*.

On the 14th of March last, impatient of the delay of the constitutional amendment, and firmly believing that Congress has the constitutional power, as a military necessity, and to secure the peace and security of the nation, to abolish slavery, I introduced “*a bill to secure permanent peace by removing the cause of the war*.” This bill abolishes slavery throughout the United States. I have had the pleasure, at this last session of Congress, to vote for the repeal of the infamous fugitive slave law, and to vote to introduce into the organic law the ordinance of freedom.

Such is my record on the slavery question.

The extermination of slavery has been and will be, so long as I remain in public life, and while the cursed institution exists, my steadfast policy. I will use against it every weapon which my hand can seize. I am in favor of destroying it by proclamation of emancipation. I would abolish it by Act of Congress, in the Territories, at the National Capital, everywhere. I would turn against it the sword of the soldier, as well as the laws of confiscation; I would bring the black freedmen to fight against it. I would by all and every means hasten to extirpate this curse of the land, this disgrace of the Union, this shame of the nation; and I would crown all, by so changing the Constitution as to make *liberty the law, the organic law, of the republic*.

JUSTICE TO THE NORTH-WEST.

On entering Congress I determined as far as I was able to accomplish it, to obtain from the National Government justice to the North-West. In endeavoring to rise to the full comprehension of the duties of your representative, I saw a long line of frontier extending thousands of miles—stretching through waters bearing on their surface the commercial fleets of an empire, and all left utterly defenseless. I saw harbors from which went to and fro a commerce equalling the entire foreign commerce of our country, that commerce neglected and uncared for, our harbors filling up, decaying and utterly without attention from a Government which ought to be paternal and fostering. I saw the great food-producing region of our country languishing because it had out-

grown its avenues to market. On examining the legislation of the National Government, I found that, while that Government had been under the control of the slave power, it had lavished its revenues on the South and on the Atlantic, to the neglect of the Northern frontier and North-West. I found that of the one hundred and twelve millions (in round numbers) which had been expended up to 1860 for forts, arsenals and defenses, improvements of harbors, etc., while Virginia has received twelve millions, Florida ten millions, Louisiana nine millions, Illinois, the fourth State in the Union, had received less than one million. I resolved to try to correct this, and obtain justice for the North-West. The first immediate necessity was to make a new mouth of the Mississippi into Lake Michigan. This was to be done by cutting through the short portage between Lake Michigan and the Illinois. In furtherance of this object a select committee was raised by the thirty-seventh Congress, of which I had the honor to be chairman to report on the needs of the North-west. That committee submitted a carefully prepared report, showing the growth and importance of the West, and its neglected condition, and its present needs, and concluded by recommending the Ship Canal from Lake Michigan to the Illinois, and the improvement of the harbors of the Lakes, a naval depot on the upper lakes, and shore defenses. The conclusions of this report were indorsed by the Military Committee of the House, and the Committee on Roads and Canals, and the great measure of the Ship Canal failed only for the want of two votes.

Not willing to give it up, I drew up a call for a National Canal Convention at Chicago, procured for it the signatures of ninety-eight Senators and members of the House, and a great National Convention was held, presided over by the Vice-President of the United States, and our great measure was fully indorsed. We brought it again before Congress, and it has been again postponed. Possibly it may be postponed until the war is over and the people again turn attention to the arts of peace and to the development of our great country. The way is prepared—the public mind has been called to the subject, and the public verdict has been rendered, that this work is a great commercial, military and political necessity, and only awaits a breathing time of the nation from the terrible struggles of this war to be practically realized.

Its friends should not regard these efforts as failures, nor their labors as useless. We have at least prepared the way; we have removed the obstacles, made the argument, and secured the verdict of popular and Congressional approval, and only await an end of this terrific struggle to carry into execution this magnificent enterprise. The President, in his last annual message to Congress, communicating the proceedings of the Canal Convention, truthfully said that the interest in this enlarged canal would ere long force its own way, and that the enlargement was a mere question of time.

I may add, that we secured at the thirty-seventh Congress, to

the Northern frontier, about one million and a half of dollars for its frontier defenses; and at the late session of the thirty-eighth Congress we obtained \$250,000 to repair our lake harbors. A few days before leaving Washington, in company with several of my associates, we visited the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Treasury, and were assured that the appropriation should be immediately expended.

PACIFIC RAILROAD.

I have always regarded the Pacific Railroad, while in the broadest sense national, as especially important to the North-West and this city of Chicago. Being upon the select committee which had it in charge, I was in a position to see that the original bill was so framed as to secure the interest of the North-West. I trust it is about to be vigorously pushed forward to completion.

HOMESTEAD AND EMIGRATION LAWS.

The homestead law and bills to promote emigration have always been peculiarly important to the North-West, and such laws have been enacted on these subjects as will result in the improvement and rapid development of the Valley of the Mississippi. In connection with others, I have had the pleasure of aiding in the passage of such homestead laws as will secure our broad territories to free labor. A home is now by law freely offered to all who will come and occupy the land. At the session just closed, we passed a bill applying the homestead principle to confiscated estates, and securing to our brave soldiers of every race and color, homes from the great plantations of the rebel leaders. The policy is to divide the great plantations into small farms, and thus secure a loyal people and free labor upon soil hitherto cursed with slavery and traitors.

THE RECIPROCITY TREATY.

There was at the last session a very strong disposition to terminate the Reciprocity Treaty. The defects of the treaty, the unfair legislation of Canada, and above all, the conduct of the British Government during the rebellion, had created a feeling towards that nation which could scarcely be restrained. My own judgment, in accord with the resolutions of our Board of Trade, was for a *modification* of the treaty, and not in its entire *abrogation*, and such was finally the judgment and the action of Congress. The subject of our relations with the British provinces extending across the entire continent, important and complicated as they are, and constantly increasing in magnitude, require the most careful study and the wisest statesmanship, properly to adjust. The treaty needs changes, but I doubt not but that upon principles of true reciprocity, it can be made of immense value and advantage to both nations. The North-West requires all the avenues, both natural and artificial, to market. The Mississippi, the Hudson, the New York canals and railways—the the Canadian canals and railways, and the St. Lawrence, all are needed—the West, with her productive soil, will tax all to their utmost capacity.

CITIZENSHIP TO ALL WHO FIGHT FOR THE OLD FLAG.

I have ever believed that all, wherever born, who fight for liberty and our country, should be recognized as brothers and be entitled to recognition as citizens. Hence, I introduced a bill early after the rebellion broke out, and now the law of the land, which authorizes the early naturalization of all who should serve and be honorably discharged from the army.

THE FUTURE NATIONALITY OF AMERICA.

There is to grow out of this war the grandest nationality of all the ages. The centre of this great nation stretching across a continent, is to be in the valley of the Mississippi. It is here that the broadest and truest national feeling exists. The bane of our country, the mother of secession and rebellion, has been the extreme State-right doctrines of Calhoun. We have been Virginians, New Yorkers, and New Englanders, and not enough *Americans*. These local and sectional divisions and prejudices are to be washed out in the blood poured out for our one common country and one flag; our one grand continental Republic; and it is not the blood of Americans only, which is to cement the foundation of this Republic of the future. All nationalities, the native American, the German, the Irish and the Scandinavian, lovers of liberty from every clime, fighting together, side by side for a common cause, pouring out their blood under the same flag for liberty, will all unite in establishing one great nation, with a government founded in justice and securing the rights of all. This is, indeed, a great aim to fight for, and it is a glorious cause to die for.

MEN AND MONEY FOR THE WAR.

Connected with the efforts to restore the Union by crushing the military power of the rebels, have been the great political and financial questions of furnishing the men and money to carry on the war. This war is unparalleled in the history of the civilized world, for its magnitude and its intensity. It is a struggle between liberty and slavery for a continent. It has made immense drafts upon the people for men, and upon our resources to furnish the money. Its final result is dependent on the persistence, pluck and determination of the people. Will they submit to be taxed in men and money to the extent necessary to secure success? If they will, the result is as certain as a mathematical problem. We have the means adequate to secure success. The people, and especially the loyal people of this District, have never hesitated or faltered or doubted. I have always felt that I truly represented you while voting all the men and all the money asked by the Executive. In raising the moneys, as I have before stated, we have necessarily followed the suggestions, to a very great extent, of the late distinguished Secretary of the Treasury. The system of taxation and finance devised and recommended by him, has, to a very great extent, been adopted.

There are two or three points on this subject to which I wish to call your attention.

DIRECT TAXATION.

The constitution provides that direct taxation in the States shall be in proportion to the census, and not in proportion to the valuation of property. Hence its injustice and inequality. It would be unjust to tax a family of father, mother and twelve children, and no property, but dependent on their daily earnings, as much as a family of husband and wife, and no children, with an income of one hundred thousand per annum. Illinois and the Western States have the twelve children, and New England and the Eastern States have the income and the capital. On the threshold of this question of taxation, in July, 1861, I made a speech attempting to illustrate the inequality. A table of population and valuation of States was prepared for me by Judge Bell, by which it appeared that the rate of taxation in some of the Western States under this system would be as high as four and five and even six mills on the dollar, while in New England it averaged only from two mills to three mills on the dollar. An exposition of this inequality led to an abandonment at that time of direct taxation. Several attempts have been made to renew it but without success.

TAXING BANK CIRCULATION.

In March, 1862, Congress having authorized the issuing of Treasury notes, it was obvious that to prevent inflation of prices and expansion of currency, it was desirable to tax with a view of repressing bank circulation. The object of this was three-fold—to raise revenue, to suppress to some extent bank circulation, and to give room for the circulation of greenbacks. I proposed at that time to tax bank circulation one per cent. upon their issues. The proposition failed. The bankers were too strong. On the 18th day of April last, firmly convinced that the credit of the Government could not be sustained without raising more money by taxation; to do this and to keep down the price of gold; and satisfied that the bank circulation should be greatly diminished, and that our currency should be greenback as far as practicable, I offered for adoption the following resolutions:

Resolved, That in the present condition of the country, and its finances, it is the imperative duty of Congress to raise the taxes so as largely to increase the revenue of the Government. For that purpose a much higher rate of duty should be imposed on all luxuries imported from abroad, and a higher rate of taxation should be imposed upon all luxuries produced in the United States.

Resolved, That the expansion of the bank circulation of the country, producing general and ruinous speculation, should be repressed by taxing the issues of the State banks."

These resolutions were adopted.

Could the legislation suggested in this resolution have received the sanction of Congress, it would have preserved our credit, reduced the price of gold, diminished bank circulation, and lessened the burthen of taxation.

THE DRAFT AND COMMUTATION CLAUSE.

At the beginning of the last session of Congress, many of us in Congress became fully satisfied that the enrollment law, as it then stood, would prove a failure. Appreciating the importance of replenishing our armies, I became satisfied that necessity would compel us to resort to an absolute draft, or other more stringent means of raising men. Hence, very early in the session, I introduced a bill to repeal the commutation clause. It was a severe measure, and the country was not, or Congress was not, prepared to adopt it. Time passed on, and the temporary expedient of raising one hundred day men was restored to. But, finally, the President and Secretary of War sent an urgent communication to Congress, strongly expressing their conviction of the necessity of such repeal, and Congress finally yielded, and adopted it.

There were other provisions, such as classification and bounties, which in my judgment, should have been adopted; but we were compelled to vote for the bill as it passed, or leave the Government without means of filling up the ranks.

Had the bill passed in December instead of this bill in July, 200,000 men might have reinforced Grant and Sherman, Richmond might have been taken, Lee's army have been destroyed, and the rebellion substantially crushed. An officer high in the War Department expressed to me his conviction that the failure to pass that bill in December had prolonged the war for one year.

THE PRESIDENCY—RENOMINATION OF MR. LINCOLN.

Knowing Mr. Lincoln personally, knowing his perfect integrity, his unselfish and single-minded devotion to his country, his loyalty to liberty and law, I came early to the conclusion that the best interests of our country required his renomination and reelection. My views on this subject were avowed before leaving home for Washington last November. On my arrival at the capital I found a combination of members of Congress and other influences opposed to him, such as would have overwhelmed any man less popular with the people than Mr. Lincoln. But the people knew and trusted him, loved and honored him, and the most powerful opposition of men, money and the press, embodying great ability and distinguished names, produced not a ripple against the wave of popular feeling, which carried his nomination by popular acclamation, against all the opposition which could be arrayed against him.

I know there were some honest radical men who opposed him because they misunderstood his devotion to freedom. I sought by speeches in Congress, and otherwise, to make the radicals of the country know the President as he really is: *the Apostle of Freedom*, having but one great object to accomplish, the restoration of the National Union, based on Liberty. I had faith in such reconstruction. I have faith in the vital principle of liberty. I have faith in the architect God has provided. I have

faith that God will bring our country through this bloody ordeal to peace and National Union.

SUSPENSION OF THE CHICAGO TIMES.

Here I may perhaps be pardoned for noticing briefly a subject which has caused great feeling and excitement here, and in regard to which I have been assailed, misrepresented and misunderstood. I refer to the order of Gen. Burnside suppressing the *Chicago Times*.

The thorn in the flesh which the loyal people of Chicago have had to bear during the last three years, has been the existence in our midst of a lying, traitorous sheet called the *Times*. It has outraged every patriotic feeling, and every loyal sentiment. Its business has been to assail every patriot, every gallant soldier fighting for the country, and to give aid and encouragement to traitors. So infamous has it become that it has been excluded, as I am told, from your Board of Trade, your Sanitary Commission, and from most places where truth, loyalty, and patriotism congregate. I believe I have had the honor to be the best abused of all whom it has assailed. So far, well. I have to thank its editors for one thing. It has never damned me by one word of approval or faint praise.

General Burnside, in the honest indignation of his manly heart, issued an order for its suppression. That order was revoked by the President. The President was petitioned by prominent and good citizens of Chicago to revoke the order. I was requested to join in such a petition. I refused. I was asked to transmit their message to the President. This I did, as I do for all petitions from a respectable source; and asked for it his prompt and *careful* consideration. Exactly what I did will appear from the following copy of a note addressed to me from the President on this subject:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, }
WASHINGTON, May 27, 1864. }

Hon. Isaac N. Arnold:

MY DEAR SIR: I hear you are assailed for your action in regard to General Burnside's order suppressing the *Chicago Times*. All you did was to send me two dispatches. In the first you jointly with Senator Trumbull, very properly asked my serious and prompt consideration, for a petition of some of your constituents, praying for a revocation of the order. In the second you said you did *not* in the first dispatch intend to express an opinion that the order should be abrogated. This is absolutely all that ever came to me from you on the subject. I am far from certain to-day that the revocation was not right, and I am very sure the small part you took in it is no proper ground to disparage your judgment, much less to impugn your motives.

Your devotion to the Union and the Administration cannot be questioned by any sincere man.

Yours truly,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

This, my friends, is all there is of this matter. I give you the facts, and leave you to draw conclusions. While I am not responsible for the act of the President, in revoking Burnside's order, I shrink from no responsibility connected with this affair, which properly belongs to me. I approve the act of the President. I think he did right. I think, infamous as the *Times* was and is, it had better be left to be punished by the civil law and the universal contempt and abhorrence of all truthful, honest and loyal men, rather than to establish the precedent of suppressing it by military force. Let me not be misunderstood. I do not doubt the power of the President, if the public safety requires it to declare martial law here, and, if the public safety requires it, to suppress the *Times*. I concur with the President in believing that the public safety did not require its suppression by military force in June, 1863. Whether the public safety may require it hereafter, will depend on the course of that paper and the conduct of the Knights of the Golden Circle, and other traitorous parties, by which it is controlled, and of which it is the organ. I will add one word further: Time has indicated the wisdom of the President's action. How many an honest Democrat has the traitorous course of the *Times* driven to our ranks? It did not succeed in provoking a diversion in favor of the rebels, in Illinois.

WHAT HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED, AND WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

In looking back over these three eventful years, in which I have had the honor to represent you, the thoughtful mind inquires, *what has been accomplished, what have we gained, and what of the future, and when may we hope for peace?*

These years are full of thronging memories of exultation over victories, and sadness over repulses and defeats. From the spring of 1861, when the young hero and martyr, Ellsworth, marched his Zouaves through Pennsylvania avenue, and was welcomed by the President, down to the present, what a drama! It is like some great tragedy, into which have been crowded the events of centuries. How often have I seen the young men of the country, from the lumbermen of Maine to the prairie boys of Illinois, and the West, with generous patriotism, crowding to the capital, to defend the old flag. I have seen the armies of the Union gather, again and again, around the city of Washington; thronging, from valley and mountain, from farms and workshops, from office and college, from everywhere, to pour out their blood and offer up their lives to save the life of the nation. How often have I heard their inspiring music, and gazed with pride on their burnished arms and their brilliant banners, as they have filed past the White House. The President, blessing them and commending them to the God of battles, has sent them forth with hope and with prayers for their victorious return. How often, amidst disaster and defeat in the East, have our hearts been cheered by news of Western victories—Donelson, Fort Henry, Vicksburg, Murfreesboro and Lookout Mountain, have cheered our hearts,

when things looked dark on the Potomac and in Virginia. Through more than three years of varied disaster and success, our gallant boys have borne the banner of the Union and liberty, but through all there has been steady, persistent advance toward final and complete success. Through all this terrific slaughter, through all the fearful sacrifice of wounded and dead, reminding us of all the sacrifices our country has made to save its existence and integrity, we have steadily advanced toward final triumph. Illinois and the North-West mourn, in all their homes, for the dead of those glorious regiments whose valor and patient, persistent heroism opened the Mississippi, so that, from its source to the gulf, it reflects no flag but the old Stars and Stripes. Their old, tattered, precious battle-flags—blood-stained and bullet-torn—but never surrendered—are mementoes of bloody campaigns, and also of absolute triumph in the great Valley of the West. The hero of the Mississippi now leads our army to Richmond. The glory of the hero of Vicksburg will pale before the renown of the conqueror of Lee. More than half the territory once in rebellion has been reclaimed. Missouri, Kentucky, West Virginia and Maryland are saved, Arkansas, Tennessee and Louisiana are now knocking for re-admission at the doors of the Union, purged of the sin of slavery. The rebel despotism has exhausted its resources of men and material; its last great army has been raised, and now confronts the Union forces with the fury of desperation. The rebel leaders, fighting with the doom of traitors before their eyes, have staked all upon this campaign; and that rebel army has lost sixty thousand men, since Grant crossed the Rapidan.

How is it with us? Our resources are comparatively undiminished. The wealth of the loyal North is not perceptibly wasted. The fighting men and material are yet to be counted by the million. Besides this, the free policy of the Administration has turned the four million of negroes from the rebel to the loyal side.

There is but one question in regard to our absolute triumph. Do the people and their rulers possess the virtue, self-denial, and determination adequate to use all these vast and unexpended means, and use them wisely, effectively, economically and successfully? I have faith in the pluck and persistence of the American people, and believe that the means they possess will be used—will be wisely, effectively, economically used, and with such use, success is as certain as that God reigns. The Almighty has forsaken neither our rulers nor our cause. Just as surely as the rebel pirate Alabama went down before the Yankee Kearsarge, so surely will this piratical despotism of Jeff. Davis go down before the loyal constitutional government of the American people. I know the ship of State is tossing on a tempestuous sea, but there is at the helm an honest and a true man; one who trusts in God, in truth, in justice, in right, *and in powder and ball.*

Do not change pilots in the midst of the storm. With Lincoln at the helm of state, and Grant at the head of our armies,

supported by the loyal masses, with the material at their command, this rebellion will be crushed, and liberty and union be re-established on a broader, grander basis than before these fearful convulsions. Thus far, I have as your representative, given to this Administration my humble, but most earnest and faithful support. If you approve my course, and it be your pleasure that I shall continue to serve you, in my present position, I shall do what lies in my power, in my humble way, to save our country and its liberties, and to restore its integrity. I realize the grave responsibilities resting upon all who at this time share the responsibilities of public affairs. If the people claim my services, it would be weak and cowardly to shrink from any position, where they may deem that I may be useful. But I feel painfully that no man is equal to the duties of this hour of peril. And if it is your pleasure that some other and abler representative shall take my position, I shall most cheerfully welcome my discharge, and find, I trust, in a private station, some place where I can labor for the cause of liberty and my country.

RESOLUTIONS.

Mr. E. C. Larned, from the Committee on Resolutions, reported the following, which were unanimously adopted :

Resolved, That we commend the wise and patriotic action of the Baltimore Convention in affirming the choice of the people by renominating Abraham Lincoln for the Presidency ; and that we most heartily indorse the ticket and the glorious platform of principles put forth by the Convention.

Resolved, That we also approve and indorse the action of the Union Convention at Springfield and the nominations there made, and that we pledge our zealous support and earnest efforts to insure the triumphant success of the Lincoln and Oglesby tickets.

Resolved, That the report which has been made to this meeting by the Hon. Isaac N. Arnold, our representative in Congress, meets our hearty approval ; that we recognize in him an able, honest and faithful public servant, in whom the people of this Congressional District may well repose confidence and trust ; that we commend his fidelity to liberty and the principles of free government, his bold and effective advocacy of all the measures for the vigorous prosecution of the war and the speedy and complete suppression of the rebellion, his able and zealous support of the Government, his inflexible integrity in the midst of corrupting influences, and the untiring diligence and devotion to duty which have characterized his Congressional career.

COPY OF THE TELEGRAMS REFERRED TO IN THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER.

OFFICE OF U. S. MILITARY TELEGRAPH — WAR DEPARTMENT.

The following telegram was received at Washington, 10:30 P. M., June 3, 1863, from Chicago, dated June 3, 1863 :

HON. ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President :

At a meeting held to-day in reference to the suppression of the Chicago *Times*, by order of General Burnside, the following was adopted : "Whereas, in the opinion of this meeting of citizens of all parties, the peace of this city and State, if not the general welfare of the country, are likely to be promoted by the suspension or rescinding of the recent order of General Burnside, for the suppression of the Chicago *Times*, therefore, *Resolved*, that upon the ground of expediency alone, such of our citizens as concur in the opinion, without regard to party, are hereby recommended to unite in a petition to the President, respectfully asking the suspension or rescinding of said order." The under-

signed, in pursuance of the above resolution, respectfully petition the President's favorable consideration and action in accordance therewith.

Chicago, June 3, 1863.

Signed, F. C. Sherman, Mayor City Chicago; Wm. B. Ogden, E. Van Buren, Samuel W. Fuller, S. S. Hayes, A. W. Arrington, Thos. Hoyne, Wirt Dexter, Van H. Higgins, A. C. Coventry, H. A. Hahn, C. Beckwith, Henry G. Miller, Wm. F. Tuley.

We respectfully ask for the above the serious and prompt consideration of the President.

(Signed) LYMAN TRUMBULL.
ISAAC N. ARNOLD.

OFFICE U. S. MILITARY TELEGRAPH — WAR DEPARTMENT.

The following telegram was received at Washington at 2:30 P. M., June 4th, 1863, from Chicago, dated June 4th, 1863:

PRESIDENT U. S.—SIR:

In the dispatch sent you yesterday, I did not intend to express an opinion that the order suppressing the *Chicago Times* should be abrogated.

(Signed) ISAAC N. ARNOLD.

The following letter is from Hon. JOHN F. POTTER, who, it will be remembered, backed down the fire-eater, Pryor, who challenged Potter:

LAKESIDE, Wisconsin, July 11, 1864.

Luther Haven, Esq.:

MY DEAR SIR: I know you will pardon me for addressing you upon a subject that apparently is "out of my jurisdiction," when I tell you that I feel so deep an interest in the matter that I cannot remain silent, although I am not a resident of your Congressional district. And, besides, my want of "jurisdiction" is only *apparent*, for every loyal American citizen cannot but feel a deep interest in the character of the men who are to represent us in the next Congress. I have learned that there is some considerable opposition to the renomination of Hon. I. N. Arnold. I was with him in the thirty-seventh Congress, and was intimately associated with him on committees that had specially in charge matters of the greatest importance to the welfare of the North-West; and I had occasion to notice particularly his course as a member of the House.

There was not a member in the House, within my observation, more devoted, vigilant, prompt and watchful than Mr. Arnold. He was untiring, always, in his labors to promote the interests, not only of his immediate constituency, but the general interests of our whole region of country. I never missed him from committee. He was always at his post, and "on time," and whether your people renominate him or another, your district will not have a more faithful representative in all the future than Mr. Arnold. He always voted *right*, too, on the great questions of the day. We always knew just where to find him. He was never counted among the doubtful, or lagging, or timid, and was never afraid to vote as he thought was right. It is for this that I feel anxious he should be renominated. We need such men on the floor of the House. We must have them *there*, or we must expect to have trouble. His experience is worth more — very much more — than the *vote* of any new member, especially to his district, and so far as the interests of his immediate constituents are concerned. In conclusion I will only add that no gentleman in Congress stood higher in the estimation of his colleagues, in every respect, than Mr. Arnold. I shall regret very deeply if such as he are not kept in harness.

Excuse me for troubling you with this letter, but I could not help saying the little I have, as I have noticed in the Chicago papers that there is opposition to Mr. Arnold's re-nomination. I have written this without any other suggestion than the promptings of my own feelings, and as a tribute to a colleague whom I learned to esteem and respect and appreciate during two years of my Congressional life. I leave for Montreal to-morrow, or I should be strongly tempted to be present when the Convention meets.

Very respectfully, yours, etc.,

JOHN F. POTTER.



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