

# THE MONTROSE DEMOCRAT.

A. J. GERRITSON, Publisher.

MONTROSE, PA., THURSDAY, AUG. 11, 1864.

VOLUME XXI. NUMBER 31.

## The Peace Negotiations—Mr. Lincoln's Course Reviewed from History.

(From the National Intelligencer, July 25.)  
In his first message to Congress, called to meet in extraordinary session on the 4th of July, 1861, President Lincoln held the following language:

"Least there be some uneasiness in the minds of candid men as to what is to be the course of the government of the Southern States after the rebellion is suppressed, the executive deems it proper to say it will be his purpose then, as ever, to be guided by the Constitution and the laws; and that he will probably have no different understanding of the powers and duties of the federal government relative to the rights of the states and the people under the Constitution, than that expressed in the inaugural address. He desires to preserve the government, that it may be administered for all, as it was administered by the men who made it. Loyal citizens everywhere have the right to claim this of the government, and the government has no right to withhold or neglect it. It is not perceived that, in giving it, there is any coercion, any conquest or any subjugation, in any just sense of those terms."

On the 23d of August, 1862, in his well known letter to Mr. Greeley, as originally published in our columns, the President wrote as follows:

"My paramount object is to save the Union, and not either save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; if I could do it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help save the Union. I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause; and I shall do more whenever I believe doing more will help the cause."

In the opening words of the preliminary "Proclamation of Freedom," issued on the 22d of September, 1862, the President as if anxious to preclude the inference that he meant thereby to change the object of the war, was careful to declare "that hereafter all heretofore the war will be prosecuted for the purpose of practically restoring the constitutional relations between the United States and each of the States and the people thereof in which states that relation is or may be suspended or disturbed." This is "the object" of the war as the President understands it—to restore the constitutional relation between the United States and each of the States in which the relation is now suspended or disturbed.

In reply to a communication from the Hon. Fernando Wood, of New York, who in December, 1862, had imparted to the President some information to the effect "that the Southern States would send representatives to the next Congress, provided that a full and general amnesty should permit them to do so," Mr. Lincoln under date of December 12 of that year, held the following explicit language:

"I strongly suspect your information will prove to be groundless; nevertheless I thank you for communicating it to me. Understanding the phrase in the paragraph above quoted—'the Southern States would send representatives to the next Congress'—to be substantially the same as that the 'people of the Southern States would cease resistance, and would re-inaugurate, submit to, and maintain the national authority within the limit of such States, under the Constitution of the United States,' I say that, in such case, the war should cease on the part of the United States, and that if, within a reasonable time, a full and general amnesty were necessary to such end, it would not be withheld."

Early in the autumn of 1863, in his celebrated letter addressed to the Springfield Republican Convention, the President wrote as follows, as if to exclude the cavil or objection on the part of political opponents that he had any design to continue the war for the purpose of emancipation after the declared object of the war should have been reached in a restoration of the Union. To this effect the President said:

"You say you will not fight to free negroes. Some of them seem willing to fight for you. But no matter; fight you then exclusively to save the Union.—Whenever you shall have conquered all resistance to the Union, if I shall urge you to continue fighting, it will be an apt time then for you to declare you will not fight to free negroes."

We have arranged these declarations of the President in the order of their chronology, for the purpose of showing that his declared policy under this head has been uniform, deliberate, definite and determinate.

In the month of July, 1861, he declared it his purpose to preserve the government that it might be administered—as it was administered by the men who made it, and he added "loyal citizens everywhere have the right to claim this of their government, and the government has no right to withhold it."

In December, 1862, he said that if "the people of the Southern States would cease resistance and would re-inaugurate, submit to, and maintain the national authority within the limits of said States, under the Constitution of the United States, in such case the war would cease on the part of the United States."

In September, 1863, directing his remarks to supposed dissenters from his negro policy, he said: "Fight you then exclusively for the Union." "Whenever you shall conquer all resistance to the Union, if I shall urge you to continue fighting, it will be an apt time for you to declare you will not fight for the negro."

It was in the light of these presidential declarations that the reader is prepared properly to appreciate the latest terms on which the war will cease, as far as the President is concerned, and without which he proposes to "continue fighting." We allude, of course, to the stipulations announced by him a few days ago as the necessary conditions preliminary to negotiations with the Confederate authorities, as follows:

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES,  
Washington, July 18.

To whom it may concern:

Any proposition which embraces the restoration of peace, the integrity of the whole Union, and the abandonment of slavery, and which comes by and with an authority that can control the armies now at war against the United States, will be received and considered by the executive government of the United States, and will be met by liberal terms on other substantial and collateral points, and the bearer or bearers thereof shall have safe conduct both ways.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.  
This declaration is important in many aspects. It shows, in the first place, that, according to the principles propounded by the President in 1861, the time has passed when he proposes "to preserve the government that it may be administered as it was administered by the men who made it," for nobody pretends that the "men who made the government" supposed that the President had any power to dictate emancipation as the condition of maintaining or restoring peaceful relations between the states and the government.

As compared with the terms of peace propounded to Mr. Wood in the year '62, it shows that the time has passed when "the war will cease on the part of the United States if the people of the Southern States would cease resistance, and would re-inaugurate, submit to, and maintain the national authority," for the President in effect now announces that no proposition "will be received and considered by the executive government of the United States" which does not embrace, in addition to "the restoration of peace and the integrity of the whole Union," the "abandonment of slavery."

As compared with the declaration of 1863, it shows that the time has come when, according to the President's own admission and consent, such of his countrymen as are "fighting exclusively for the Union," and who conscientiously deny the right of the government to fight for anything else, may aptly say that the new terms on which the President insists are such that if the negotiations were broken down by his persistence on this point, they might fairly claim, according to his own theory of their duty, an exemption from "fighting to free the negroes."

It will thus be seen that, by applying to the late declaration of the President, the principles announced by him in the years 1861, 1862 and 1863, we are able to measure the effect and purport of that declaration by his own standards. And when the President thus becomes his own critic and confuter, it would be idle in us to add any words on the subject.

But this latest declaration is important in other aspects. It serves to show that the President has overcome any scruples he may have previously had on the subject of recognizing the Confederate military authorities. He now makes it a condition of receiving and considering any proposition, that it shall come "with an authority that can control the armies now at war against the United States." On this point he paid little heed to the resolution of the Baltimore Convention, when, in re-nominating him, it declared:

"Resolved, That we approve the determination of the government of the United States not to compromise with rebels, or to offer any terms of peace except such as may be based upon an unconditional surrender of their hostility, and a return to their first allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that we call upon the government to maintain their position, and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor to the complete suppression of the rebellion, in full reliance upon the self-sacrificing patriotism, the heroic valor, and the undying devotion of the American people to their country and its free institutions."

The President, it seems, is now willing to "compromise with rebels," for he says that if they will accept the terms prescribed, they will be met by "liberal terms on other substantial and collateral points."

But Mr. Lincoln must have been aware that the President of the so-called Confederate States (who is the "authority"

that controls "the armies now at war against the United States," is not empowered by any of his prerogatives to stipulate for "the abandonment of slavery," and therefore, in specifying this as one of the terms of a proposition to come "by and with" such an "authority," he asked what Jefferson Davis, even with the fullest disposition to do so, had no right or power to grant—slavery being, under the Constitution of the Confederate States, as of the United States, exclusively an institution of the separate states over which the central power has no judicial jurisdiction or control.

We do not doubt that the people of the United States will see in the impossible requisition of the President as a condition preliminary to peace only a new illustration of the inextricable entanglement into which the President has suffered himself to be drawn by departing from the original theory of the war. And if he desires to know the universal impression that is likely to be produced by the attitude in which he has placed himself, he may, we think, read in such comments as the following, from the only one of the New York journals that was originally in favor of his re-nomination. We allude to the New York Times, which says:

"The President made but two conditions to the reception and consideration of any proposition for the restoration of peace, which should come to him from competent authority: first, that it should embrace the integrity of the whole Union—second, that it should embrace the abandonment of slavery. We believe he might have gone still further than this; he might have omitted the second of these conditions altogether, and required the first alone, as essential to the reception and consideration of proposals for peace. We do not mean to say that it will be eventually found possible to end the war and restore the Union without the 'abandonment of slavery'; but we do say that this abandonment need not be exacted by the President as a condition without which he will not receive or consider proposals for peace. The people do not require him to insist upon any such condition. Neither his oath of office nor constitutional duty, nor his personal or official consistency, requires him to insist upon it. That is one of the questions to be considered and arranged when the terms of peace come to be discussed. It is not a subject on which terms can be imposed by the government, without consultation, without agreement, or without equivalents."

And we suppose that it was in presage of the obstacles likely to be laid in the way of peace by the theoretical position which the President had assumed on which and other subjects that the N. Y. Tribune was induced to oppose his re-nomination, and in reiteration of which, even after his re-nomination, it held the following language:

"We cannot but feel that it would have been wiser and safer to the most serviceable ends of our adversaries by nominating another for President, and thus dispelling all motive, save that of naked disloyalty, for further warfare upon this administration. We believe the rebellion would have lost something of its cohesion and venom from the hour in which it was known that a new President would surely be inaugurated on the 4th of March next; and that hostility in the loyal states to the national cause must have sensibly abated or been deprived of its deadliest, most dangerous weapons, from the moment that all were brought to realize that the President, having no more to expect or hope, could henceforth be impelled by no conceivable motive but a desire to serve and save his country, and thus win for himself an enviable and enduring fame."

It was a singular coincidence that the friendly editor who held this frank language after the President's re-nomination should have been called to act so prominent a part in the negotiations which have just given the whole country abundant reason to concur with him in his opinion.

The President solemnly declared in the year 1861, in his message to the Congress of the United States, that "loyal citizens everywhere had the right to claim" that the government should be preserved "that it might be administered for all as it was by the men who made it." As loyal citizens we enter our claim in these words. And the President said at the same time that "the government had no right to withhold or neglect" this claim. Then we ask that he shall not "withhold or neglect" what he has authorized the nation to demand.

A negro picnic was held on the President's grounds, in Washington city, on the 4th of July. A New York opera troupe asked permission of the President to perform on the grounds, for the benefit of the sick and wounded soldiers, but were refused.

Mr. Parson Brownlow said a few years ago of Andrew Johnson, the Lincoln candidate for Vice President, that there was "better men than he in the Tennessee penitentiary!" The parson ought to know. He now supports him.

Subscribe for the Democrat.

## The Check at Atlanta.

At length light has been shed upon the recent battles before Atlanta. It is now seen that, notwithstanding the reassuring dispatches which were allowed to be made public, semi-officially, respecting the great battles on Wednesday and Friday, our troops did suffer a serious check, and that on Friday the rebels disarranged General Sherman's plans. The following extract from a Tribune editorial tells the story:

"The seventeenth corps, General Blair, held the extreme left, and held it negligently. Two rebel corps, Stewart's and Cheatham's, got upon General Blair's flank, surprised him, and rolled up a large portion of his line without ceremony. It was in consequence of this unexpected and unnecessary disaster that General McPherson met his death."

It is very remarkable that all, or nearly all, the disasters of this war are due either to Mr. Lincoln's direct intermeddling with army movements, or to the appointment by him of generals who are notoriously unfit and incompetent. General Grant's first campaign against Richmond failed because political considerations compelled Mr. Lincoln to give Sigel an appointment in the Shenandoah valley, and Butler another on the Peninsula. Hunter, whom he subsequently appointed, was given a command because of his standing among the anti-slavery politicians, and also on account of his intimate personal relationship with Mr. Lincoln, which existed previous to the war. Against all decency, and in direct defiance of the laws, Mr. Lincoln insisted upon the appointment of Mr. Blair to an important command in General Sherman's army. The result in all these cases is before the country. Butler failed in his campaign; Sigel in his; and it was only through a merciful Providence and the quick military perception of the gallant deceased Gen. McPherson that we have been saved the most tremendous disaster of the whole war at Atlanta. It is confessed that Blair held his line negligently, and, in short, did not know how to command his corps; and the direct inference is, that, with a competent officer in his place, a brilliant victory, instead of a heavy repulse, would have crowned the efforts of our armies at Atlanta. This deplorable result, in addition to the negro failure at Petersburg, tells its own story of the failure of Mr. Lincoln's measures, and the misfortune which invariably attends his military appointments.

## The Republican Nominee for Vice President.

Andy Johnson, of Tennessee, who was nominated at Baltimore by the Republicans for Vice President, is known to be one of the most consummate demagogues living. In addition to a thousand other little tricks resorted to by him to make himself popular with the masses, we are told that he keeps standing in front of the elegant mansion in which he lives, a small one-story shanty in which he once worked as a journeyman tailor; this he points out to his visitors, telling them the story of his early struggles in life. He forgets, however, to tell them one other thing connected with his humble origin; how he has an old mother, more than seventy years of age, whom he suffers to traverse the streets of Philadelphia with a basket on her arm, selling trips for a living. Ye who have hearts, only think of this; a man who is rolling in wealth and aspires to the position of Vice President of this great country, suffers his old mother to trudge about the streets of a large city, hawking trips, that she may buy bread to keep her poor old soul and body together. Ingratitude can assume no darker shade than this.

The Republican leaders, speakers, and journals now admit that the purpose for which this war was entered upon has been changed; that the administration has abandoned the work of upholding the Constitution, the Union, and the laws, as well as by "public sentiment," which they say, demands that "the war shall be prosecuted till slavery is destroyed." They are so far from denying this, as they did a year ago, that they now defend it, and uphold the President for his shameful violation of pledges and of his sacred oath.

The Democratic party takes the opposite ground. Its convictions are well expressed in the noble and patriotic speech of General McClellan on the site of the Battle Monument which will commemorate the fallen heroes of the war for the Union:

"To efface the insult offered to our flag—to secure ourselves from the fate of the divided republics of Italy and South America—to preserve our government from destruction—to enforce its just power, and laws—to maintain our very existence as a nation—these were the causes which impelled us to draw the sword."

## HISTORY ANTICIPATED.

The Louisville Democrat reproduces a letter written by Stephen A. Douglas to the Memphis Appeal, and dated February 2d, 1861. All who read it will agree with our cotemporary that this letter evinces the writer's "remarkable political sagacity and foresight." It comes to us now like the prophetic warning of a great and wise statesman, whose worst anticipations are being realized to-day by the oppressed people of a ruined country. What rational man can fail to see that the war, prosecuted as it now is "sooner or later must end in final separation and recognition of the two contending sections." The following is the letter:

Messrs. Editors.—I have this morning read with amazement an editorial in your paper of the 30th ult., in which you assume that I am favoring the immediate withdrawal of the remaining States from the Confederacy as a peace measure, to avert the horrors of civil war, and with the view of reconstruction on a constitutional basis. I implore you by all those kind relations which have so long existed between us, and which I still cherish with so much pleasure and gratitude to do me the justice promptly to correct the unaccountable error into which you have been led.

In regard to secession whether viewed as a governmental theory, or as a matter of political expediency, I have never had but one opinion, nor uttered but one language, that of unqualified opposition. Nothing can be so fatal to the peace of the country, so destructive to the Union and all hopes of reconstruction, as the secession of Tennessee and the border States under existing circumstances. You must remember that there are disunionists among men whose hostility to slavery is stronger than their fidelity to the Constitution, and who believe that the disruption of the Union would draw after it, as an insurrection, and finally the utter extermination of slavery in all the Southern States. They are both, daring, determined men, and believing as they do that the Constitution of the United States is the great bulwark of slavery on this continent, and that the disruption of the American Union involves the indispensable necessity to the attainment of that end, they are determined to accomplish their paramount object by any means within their power.

For these reasons the Northern disunionists, like the disunionists of the South are violently opposed to all compromises or constitutional amendments, or efforts at conciliation whereby peace should be restored, and the Union preserved. They are striving to break up the Union under the pretense of unbending devotion to it; they are struggling to overthrow the Constitution, while professing undying attachment to it, and a willingness to make any sacrifice to maintain it; they are trying to plunge the country into civil war, as the surest means of destroying the Union, upon the plea of enforcing the laws and property. If they can defeat every kind of adjustment or compromise by which the points at issue may be satisfactorily settled, and keep up the irritation so as to induce the Border States to follow the Cotton States, they will feel certain of the accomplishment of their ultimate designs. Nothing will gratify them so much or contribute so effectually to their success, as the secession of Tennessee and the Border States. Every State that withdraws from the Union increases the relative power of Northern Abolitionists to defeat a satisfactory adjustment, and to bring on a war, which sooner or later must end in final separation and recognition of the independence of the two contending sections.

If, on the contrary, Tennessee, North Carolina, and the Border States will remain in the Union, and will unite with the conservative and Union loving men of all parties in the North, in the adoption of such a compromise as well be alike honorable, safe and just to the people of all the States, peace and fraternal feeling will soon return, and the cotton States will come back and the Union be rendered perpetual. Pardon the repetition, but that cannot be too strongly impressed upon all who love our country, secession and war will be the destruction not only of the present Union, but will blast all hopes of reconstruction upon a constitutional basis. I am, very truly, your friend.

S. A. DOUGLAS.

—Mr. Lincoln addressed his communication to the rebel agents, "To whom it may concern." Well, it concerns everybody, and has sealed Lincoln's fate at the election. The people have never before been officially informed that the abolition of slavery was to be made paramount to the preservation of the Union. They now comprehend the situation, and will elect a President who ignores abolition, and is first and last for the Union.

—You can procure of any Druggist in this city and vicinity, Dr. J. C. Morrill's "Cough Syrup." It is a rare and speedy cure for sore throat, hoarseness, chronic inflammation, colds, coughs and pains in the lungs. We advise every one to give it a trial. Who depends on the "cure" of a cough and who waits until the person will never be without it. Every family should have a bottle in the house in case of sudden attacks, such as colds, coughs, etc. The following quantities are recommended: A dose for a child, 1/2 teaspoonful; for an adult, 1/2 to 1 teaspoonful. Sold by all Druggists, Office, No. 10 Cortlandt Street, New York.

## THE POLICY OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

The near approach of the time for holding the Chicago Convention, and the growing prospects of the defeat of the Lincoln party at the November election, naturally lead to some solicitude respecting the action of the convention and the platform which may adopt. We think the events of the past six weeks have led to a very general belief among thinking men of all parties that the Union cannot be restored upon the policy pursued by the present administration; and that if so great a blessing is in store for the people of this country, it can only be obtained through a change in the chief executive of the nation.

In view of such change, and in the belief that the government must, during the next four years, be conducted by the Democratic party, it is natural that some indications should appear in the Democratic papers of the public sentiment on the great issues before us.

We copied, a few days ago, from the Albany Atlas and Argus, an article touching upon the policy of the party and of the country, which we presume may be fresh in the minds of many of our readers. Its point may be found in the following extract:

"Such a contingency will arrive in the progress of this war—how soon, or whether it will terminate in peace or in a renewal of the struggle, the future must disclose. But the armistice—the conference, the attempt at settlement are merely a question of time. And if it be charged as a reproach to the Democratic party, that it is not irreversibly committed to perpetual and desolating war—that it is ready to yield to the impulses of humanity and Christianity, and suspend the effusion of blood long enough to confer upon the possibility of peace—to confer, we mean, through the constitutional agency of a convention of the states—if this be charged as a reproach, we consent to rest under the aspersion, and to abide the calm judgment of the people upon the issue thus made. Indeed, we are content to accept such as issue before the great tribunal of the people in the coming presidential election. We have no confidence that this administration, under all the complications in which it is involved, could ever end the war, except so far as it might end from the exhaustion of the combatants. But we believe that a new administration could close this fraternal strife, on terms honorable to us as a nation, and on the basis of the preservation of the union of the states."

Among our exchanges in the country we find many similar expressions of opinion respecting the proposed action of the convention. It is a significant fact, too, that all agree that this administration can do nothing but fight—nothing but to continue the war, which must oppress the nation, so long as the present party remains in power, while a new administration, unembarrassed by the complications of the past and commanding the confidence of both North and South, might inaugurate measures which would lead to a restoration of the Union. From an able leader in the Jefferson County Union, published at Watertown, in this state, we extract the following:

"There is yet one more convention to be held. If that convention is wise it will lay down a platform upon which the people can stand. The people are wiser than politicians. They have no idea of biting their brains out to please shoddy contractors, lazy office-holders, or corrupt and ambitious demagogues. They demand an armistice, a suspension of hostilities for three, six, or twelve months as may be necessary, to establish an honorable and permanent peace, or to demonstrate to their satisfaction that there is no alternative but war. Thus far the method of settling our difficulties has been that of two shoulder-bitters—brute force alone. We now propose doing what any two sensible gentlemen would—reason, negotiate, compromise."

We have the largest, best armies ever marshaled; they are in the enemy's country. We should propose to the enemy an armistice, each army to remain meantime in the field, holding what it has in its possession, fully armed and supplied, ready at the expiration of the armistice to resume hostilities if so directed. The history of war is full of precedents for such a course. There would be nothing in it derogatory to our dignity or honor."

We might multiply such indications of the popular sentiment, but our purpose at this time is simply to direct the attention of the readers of The World to some of the thoughts which come spontaneously from the people, and which, more than any other, now occupy the minds of all classes. Such thoughts will continue to impress themselves upon the men of the North and of the South, until reason shall take the place of passion, and war give way to the blessings attendant upon peace.—World.

## Executor's Notice.

NOTICE is hereby given that letters testamentary upon the estate of THOS. MORRISSEY, late of Chester County, deceased, have been granted to the undersigned, and all persons having claims against said estate are requested to present the same, duly attested, for settlement, and those indebted to same are requested to make immediate payment.

WALTER MORRISSEY, Executor.  
PATRICK QUINN, Forest Lake, N. Y.  
July 18, 1864.