REMARKS OF
ROB'T R. LITTLE, ESQR.,
OF WYOMING COUNTY,

At Bloomsburg, Friday Evening, Sept. 30, '64.

FELLOW CITIZENS: When can the war policy of Mr. Lincoln restore the seceded States to the Union? ["Never."] We find, in the first place, on the statute book an act of confiscation, the effect of which is to deprive the people of the Southern States, without reference to the question of their loyalty or disloyalty to the Union, of their property. Every man in the South who has been directly or indirectly, voluntarily or involuntarily, at any time engaged in the rebellion, is by force of this statute of confiscation, robbed entirely of his property.

A word now as to the right of Congress to pass a sweeping act of confiscation. It is a familiar principle to lawyers, and doubtless at this day to most people, that the condition of allegiance on the part of the people to the government is protection by the government of the people. If the government fails to protect me in my allegiance to it, it has no right to demand that allegiance. If I find another government inaugurated in opposition to the government of the United States, a government *de facto*, which has power over my person and property, which demands my allegiance, and my lawful government fails to protect me in allegiance to it, the latter has no right to demand such allegiance; and for the time being, for so long a time as my legitimate government fails to protect me in my allegiance to it, I am absolved from the bond. That is an elementary principle. Apply it to the rebellion. We were told, and correctly told in the early days of this war, that there was an extensive Union sentiment at the South. We were told that in many sections of the population were still faithful to the Union of their fathers. We are not told so now. But there was a government immediately over them which had the power to compel their obedience to it. The government of the United States, their legitimate government, had no power to protect them.

That was the situation of the Southern people after the organization of the Confederate government. The government of the United States had not the power to protect the Union people of the South in fidelity to the Union. They must do one of two things: they must either stand faithful to their legitimate government, or go over to this opposition government established in their own States; and according to the principle to which I adverted a moment since, had they not for the time being, in view of the failure of the government of the United States to protect them, a right to render a forced, if you please, an involuntary allegiance to the Confederate government? At all events they were placed in that position, and while they were so situated the government of the United States, forgetful of its obligation to protect the Union citizens of the South, enacts a sweeping statute of confiscation depriving them of all their property.

Is that the way to bring back the people of the seceded States to their fidelity to the Union? They may well reply to the government officials, "we were willing to be faithful to the government of the United States, but you failed to protect us in allegiance to it; what could we do? we were forced to render a reluctant allegiance to the Confederate government; and then you passed an act which deprives us of our property if we come back." In what position are the loyal people of the South placed? If they come back to the Union, they come back naked as they came into the world. Is that the way to create a loyal sentiment in the South? Is that the way to induce the people of the South to come back to their fidelity to the Union? The federal government says to them "come back, but come back naked as you came into the world"!

Again, fellow citizens, a Republican Congress has enacted another statute—a statute which disqualifies every man of the South who has been engaged, however reluctantly, in the support of the confederate government, from holding any office or being represented in the federal government. Every man who has been compelled to render an unwilling support to that confederate government is henceforth and forever disqualified from holding any office of trust honor or profit under the government of the United States. This government says to them "come back; but if you do, you come back not only robbed of your property, but you came back as serfs, as vassals as slaves you have no right to be represented in the councils of the nation."

Aye, and there is another statute of disqualification. Even if the people of the South should to-morrow give in their adhesion to the federal government and undertake to send members to represent them in the House of Representatives and Senate of the United States, where could they find a man in their midst who could go into either body and take the required oath that he had never at any time been engaged directly or indirectly in support of this rebellion? And if a man cannot take that oath, he is not competent to hold a seat there.

I advert to these things, fellow citizens, with a view to call your attention to the drift of the whole policy of the Republican party with reference to the South, for they claim, you know, that their object is to restore the Union, that they are *the* Union party; and yet every measure of theirs from the commencement of this administration has been to drive off and repel the South from the Union. Do you believe, then, that they want this Union restored as it was?—Oh, no. Indeed they now acknowledge that they do not want the Union as it was. Nay more I believe that all the leaders of the Republican party, and perhaps the followers too, to day admit and declare that they will not have the Union as it was.—What! not have the Union as it was! not have the glorious Union that our fathers made for us! Fellow citizens, that Union is good enough for me; it is good enough for you; it is good enough for them. Under that Union, the country waxed great and prosperous. We need no better Union than that which our fathers made for us.

But in addition to the measures to which I have called your attention there is the universal emancipation proclamation. I cannot call it a law, though it is one of Mr. Lincoln's statutes. Its effect, I need not occupy your time in discussing. It is in the nature of a confiscation statute, and in addition to that feature it pledges the whole power of the army and navy of the United States, not for the restoration of the Union, but for the putting down of this institution of the South.

Besides this, there is also Mr. Lincoln's celebrated Amnesty proclamation in which he says to the people of the South "if you choose to take an oath to support my emancipation proclamation and all other emancipation proclamations that I may think proper to issue and all the laws of Congress in regard to slavery, you may come back into the Union, and when one-tenth of your number in any State shall have taken this so called 'iron-clad' oath, they shall be clothed with the power to govern the other nine-tenths; then you may organize a State government." And this is said to be for the purpose of aiding the people of the South in inaugurating republican governments in their several States! We have been taught in time past that a republican government was one in which the people ruled themselves, not one in which a certain favored class, composed of one tenth, one-fifth, one-fourth, or any fractional part should be set up over the heads of the people, but in which the people were their own rulers, their own governors.

Now, fellow citizens, as men of common sense, for I wish to talk to you as such, can we ever, in view of these measures, in view of this peculiar war policy of the present administration, expect the people of the South to submit? If they come back, they must not only come back robbed of their property, nearly naked, but disqualified as citizens, rendered incapable of holding any office or of being represented in the councils of the nation, mere serfs, with the possibility at least in addition to all this of having a favored fraction of unprincipled scoundrels who are willing to take any oath, no matter what, set up over their heads as their rulers. Is that the kind of policy which will ever succeed in bringing back the seceded States to the Union? Can it succeed? Every man of common sense who is not so utterly blinded and maddened by partizan prejudice as to be unable to see the truth, must admit that it is simply impossible to bring them back by any such policy.

Then, fellow citizens, how long must we of the north submit to a war policy of this sort? Where, and what is the end to be? Do you believe that the people of the north are prepared to accept a President chosen by bogus electors from General Banks' government in Louisiana? I name that as a sample of the rest of the bogus States. Just look at that government for a moment. What is it? One year ago we had possession of a large section of the state of Louisiana, along the Mississippi from New Orleans up—not perhaps a large section as compared with the whole State; but a considerable portion of that State was in the possession and under the control of the Federal arms. To-day we have possession of the city of New Orleans and of a few parishes adjoining and along the borders of the river for a short distance above the city; and that is all of Louisiana we have got. Is that small, trifling section of Louisiana to furnish a State government, to choose Presidential electors to take part in the selection of a President for you and for me and for the people of the United States? Will the people submit to it? Fellow citizens, a year ago at Chicago, on an occasion of a little reign of terror they happened to have there, Mr. Senator Trumbull said, "the same chalice that we Republicans are presenting to the lips of the Democrats to-day, they may present to ours to morrow." That was the language of the Republican Senator Trumbull, who stood trembling in his boots when he made the remark. In times like these, revolutions in public opinion are sometimes frequent and violent. There is a limit somewhere to the people's forbearance; and the time may come—aye, fellow citizens, I see the time coming when we may be permitted to present the same chalice to their lips that they have been holding to ours for three years past. But I trust we shall not do it in the same way—not by the employment of the gag—not by striking down the *Habeas Corpus*; not by the terrors of arrest without warrant, imprisonment without crime, and political and social proscription for opinion's sake—not by surrounding them with base spies and malignant informers, not by stationing bodies of armed men in peaceful communities, and holding before the frightened imaginations of the people ghastly pictures of dark Bastiles; not by setting up over their heads an arbitrary and irresponsible despotism. No! No! I see the time at hand when we may heap coals of fire upon their heads by returning good to them for their malignant evil to us, thus teaching them a lesson that will be useful to them when the country shall again be prosperous and happy.

SPEECH OF
HON. PAUL LEIDY,
OF MONTOUR COUNTY,

AT BLOOMSBURG, FRIDAY EVENING, SEPT. 30, 1864.

[*Reported by D. F. Murphy.*]

FELLOW CITIZENS: "Union-savers"! "Union savers"! Democrats, look around you among this crowd and as you point to a Republican here, and there, and there, recollect that ten years ago, eight years ago, four years ago, that Republican was scornfully pointing his finger at you and denouncing you as a "Union-saver"! And why was this epithet so scornfully applied to all Democrats who dared to advocate the principles of the Democratic party? They advocated the principles of that party as founded and based upon the Constitution of the United States, the bond of this Union; and it was for this reason and this alone that we were then pointed at and hissed down as "Union-savers". When we talked to them about the danger of producing a disruption of the Union by the adoption of the doctrines which they advocated, they said to us, "the South cannot be kicked out of the Union; let them go off, what do we want with the South"? This was the language of Republicanism in its earliest days.

To-night the same individuals, without a particle of change of principle or honesty, are pointing at us as "Copperheads," "Disunionists," "Sympathizers with Secession," "Traitors to our Country". And why? Because we stand here now advocating the same principles which we advocated ten, eight, six, four years ago,—the principles of the Constitution of the United States which is the bond of the Union, the only bond that holds together these States and forms us a nation. I ask them to point to a single principle of the Democratic party to-day that was not advocated by us when we were stigmatized as "Union-savers". Let them point to a single characteristic of our party which has been changed in that time. Why then are we now stigmatized as "Copperheads" and "traitors" and "disunionists" and "sympathizers with secession and rebellion"? We sympathize with rebellion! we who during our whole lives and our forefathers before us as Democrats have ever advocated a strict and rigid adherence to the Constitution of the United States in all its parts, in all its principles. We disunionists! we who have denounced sectionalism of every character and in every form,—sectionalism of the North and sectionalism of the South—we who have proclaimed that Abolition and Secession were twin brothers,—we who have fought them both from the days of Jackson down to this time,—we disunionists! Where is the man who in day light dare utter such a charge against his fellow citizen whom he has known during this whole period and whom he has denounced for these very things? If such a man does not blush, it is because he has no shame.

Fellow citizens, why are we met here to-night? We have not met here to encourage rebellion; we have not met here to advocate secession, we have not met here to do anything against the interests of this Union. No man entertains such a suspicion; and the man who utters such a charge does not believe it and knows that he utters falsehood when he says it. We have met here to-night for the purpose of renewing our vows of fidelity to the Constitution and the Union—that Constitution which sheds its protecting power over every State in this Union and under which every man in every State claims his rights as a citizen of the United States.

I am not going to abuse Jeff. Davis. I need not occupy your time and waste my own breath in abusing that man who is so well abused by Republicans. Whenever Jeff. Davis comes to be a candidate in these United States for the Presidency or any other office, I shall oppose him and I shall then abuse him, and I shall do it on the very same principle and for the very same reason that I oppose the election of Abraham Lincoln:—because Jefferson Davis is a secessionist and disunionist, and Abraham Lincoln is an advocate of the doctrine of secession and a disunionist in practice.—That is the reason why I oppose him and why you have met here to-night to oppose him. It is because we do not believe this government is safe in his hands, because we do not believe it can be conducted and administered according to the principles which he has promulgated and practised during the last four years. There is not a single act of Abraham Lincoln that, if you trace it to its legitimate consequences, is calculated to promote the interests of this Union. I defy any Republican who hears me to come here on this stand and point to one of the characteristic measures of his administration that, traced to its final results and final issues, is calculated to promote the interests of this country.

We were told four years ago that a change was wanted. Well, we have had a change; the evidences of it are all about us and around us; and now, thank God, the demonstrations of the people show that they have had enough of that kind of change, and that now they want another change and are determined to have it; and nothing but the military power under the control and direction of Abraham Lincoln can prevent the people of these United States from having a change on the 8th day of November next. They will proclaim their will then; and the moral power of that adjudication of the people as then announced will of itself work a change even before the 4th of March. They show it in every possible way in which a people can demonstrate their determination. It is shown in the vociferous enthusiasm with which the name of General George B. McClellan as the nominee of the Democratic party was received all over this land. [applause.] When, since the choice of the first President of the United States, was the announcement of a Presidential nomination received with such enthusiastic demonstrations by the people as was the recent nomination of George B. McClellan? Never. And was there no meaning in this? Was there no reason for such an extraordinary demonstration?—Was it but a school-boy boisterousness got up for the occasion? No, fellow citizens; it was the outpouring of the feelings long pent up of an oppressed, of an indignant people. Those feelings burst forth because they looked to George B. McClellan as the promised deliverer from the thraldom of this wicked, this imbecile administration as conducted by the miserable man who occupies the Presidential chair. It was this sentiment which ushered forth from the heart of hearts of the American people in the demonstration to which I allude. You see it every where. You see it here to-night. You see it in the presence of this crowd. You see it in the presence here of so many ladies.

And is there no reason for this manifestation of feeling? I tell you there is a reason such as never before existed in your day and mine, such as never before existed since our fathers formed this government for them and for us. And what is that reason? It is because to-night, instead of standing there as free men, instead of standing there as free women, our government has its band of power upon the shoulder of every one of us. Are we freemen? Do we not stand here to-night conscious that before to morrow morning the power of the government may be exercised in our case and we become the victims of that power? Can any of us to-night say that the morrow's dawn will not discover to us around our houses an armed soldiery ready the moment we emerge from the door to arrest us and carry us to a government bastile, there to be treated as a felon, there to remain during the will of the President and his satraps? Is not this the fact? Do you not all feel it and know it? If this is so is it not a reason and a sufficient reason why every man who was born a freeman and who has a right to be a freeman should feel outraged and indignant and should give vent to his feelings and demonstrate his determination in such a way that it cannot be misunderstood by Abraham Lincoln or by any of his supporters?

Fellow citizens, as you value that freedom which was your birth right, which you feel now that you are in part robbed of, which you are in danger every hour of being deprived of by your own government, you are called upon to night to determine anew that just as soon as the Constitution and laws of your country will permit you, by your own right arms, by the omnipotent power of the ballot-box you will work a revolution, not in your government but among the administrators of that government, that by the silent but potent influence of the ballot you will remove that nondescript who now calls himself "*the government*" from the Presidential chair and place in it General George B. McClellan. (Great applause.) But before you are called upon to exercise your power and your might at the ballot box in the removal of Abraham Lincoln, you are to have another election hardly less important in itself and very important in its result upon that which is to follow. On the second Tuesday of October you will be called upon to vote for one of two men to represent this district in the next Congress of the United States. If Gen. McClellan be elected President, that Congress will either co-operate with him or will thwart all his endeavors for the salvation of your country. It is important, therefore, highly important, that the member of Congress whom we send from this District shall be one who holds the same principles and who has in view the same end with General McClellan and the Democratic party, namely, the restoration of the Union of these States to peace and to prosperity.

The candidates before you for your suffrages for Congress are Victor E. Piollet of Bradford county and the Democratic nominee, and Judge Ulysses Mercur, I believe his name is—*Useless* Mercur. I think they said his mother used to call him. (laughter)—of the same county as the Republican candidate. Col. Piollet is known to most of you by reputation. It is not necessary that I should say anything to you respecting his character. You know that for thirty years at least Col. Piollet has stood in Bradford county as the monument of the Democracy of that county. He has based his bosom to the storm; he has received the arrows of the Opposition, under whatever name they have been called and by whomsoever they have been directed. Judge Wilmot as the leader of the Abolition party of that county for years has arrayed himself against Col. Piollet with all the power of his mind and his body and his party, but Col. Piollet has stood firm as a Democrat; he planted himself in early years upon the Constitution as received and expounded and practised by the Democratic Fathers and by the Democratic party during the whole course of our country's history; and he has remained firm and immovable upon that rock. Never for one instant even in the darkest hour in that county or in the country has Col. Piollet quailed before the enemy. Whatever they may charge him with, whatever they may say against him, there is no one who has the hardihood to come up and say that he is not a bold, daring, honest, outspoken man, one who first determines what is right, and having settled that question in his own mind, dare do whatever his judgment dictates should be done to accomplish the right. We want just such a man in Congress now. We shall want such men in the next Congress to sustain GEORGE B MCCLELLAN when he shall have taken upon himself the executive powers of this government; we shall want that class of men to uphold his hands as Aaron and Hur did the hands of Moses.

All I know of Judge Mercur is that he is Judge of the Courts of Bradford county and Republican candidate for Congress. It is sufficient for me to know that as the Republican candidate for Congress to represent this District, he is necessarily the embodiment, the personification of the principles of that party; and I know that those principles are not those which are calculated to preserve and promote the interests of this community, your interests as individuals, your business interests, or your interests as citizens of the State of Pennsylvania or of the United States.

Col Piollet is an agriculturist, an intelligent man, one who understands his own interests, one who by his associations, by his habits of thought, and by his pursuits in life is identified with the great mass of the community, not with a privileged or exclusive class, not with one profession or occupation, but a man whose interests are identified with the great living interests of the whole community. It is impossible for the other candidate to be so identified with your interests. The position he now occupies, the position he has occupied all his life time prevents it.

Which will you choose? Will you vote for the man who *represents* the principles that have always been advocated by the Democratic party, or will you cast your vote for the *protege* of David Wilmot to be your Representative in the next Congress of the United States? If you wish your District to be represented in that Congress by one who can see nothing before him but "the inevitable negro," who can regard the interest of no being unless that being be black, then vote for Judge Mercur; for without knowing anything about him personally, I can assure you that no man would have received the countenance and support of Judge Wilmot unless he were one who could look just as Judge Wilmot looks and could see nothing before him but the negro, the interests of the negro, and the emancipation of the negro as the whole object for which this government was organized and for which it must now be administered.

It is not necessary for me, fellow citizens, to urge you to vote for GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN. As I said before, the people everywhere are manifesting a determination to do so. But this I will say to you: be not content with that determination; be not satisfied that you have made up your own mind to do yourself what you believe is right; but set yourself to work at once; from this hour forth until the closing of the polls at the ides of November never for one moment relax your efforts to bring others with you; talk to those who differ with you; show them the necessity (not the "military necessity" but the inevitable necessity,) if they would save the Union from utter destruction, of voting with you to place GEN. GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN in the Presidential chair. Go to your neighbor; appeal to him; appeal to his sense of justice and of right; turn his attention to the acts of the Administration, to its violations of the Constitution of the United States, to the wrongs it has perpetrated on your fellow citizens—your fellow citizens here in your own county,—your fellow citizens in other counties—your fellow citizens in other States,—to the papers which it has suppressed in violation of the Constitution; point them to the editors whom it has incarcerated in its bastiles time and again, never daring to make a charge against them, never daring to bring them to trial, but keeping them there during its pleasure and until the little bell of Seward would ring their release. Point them to these things; appeal to them, as they love their own liberty, as they revere the Constitution, as they regard the interests of posterity, as they would give their nation a good name before the world as it once had—appeal to them to pause and consider. Do not go to them with abuse. Abuse never convinced any man. It it were possible for abuse to convince any man or any set of men, the abuse which Jeff Davis has received at the hands of Republican orators and editors would have convinced him long ago that he was wrong and he would have repented in sack cloth and ashes and have knelt down at the feet of Abraham Lincoln. (Laughter.) But, as I say, abuse will not convince men. Men, and especially free men, were not made to be dealt with in that way and to be convinced by that kind of instrumentality. Go to them as brethren, appeal to them as brethren, as men who want to do right and who will do right if they can but look at things from the proper stand-point. Try to get them from under the corrupt and baleful influence of Abolitionism which is to-day and has been for the last four years rushing the country to destruction as fast as it could. Get them out of this whirlpool and place them where they can pause and reflect free from passion; and then appeal to them by all that freemen hold dear and sacred, appeal to them by their love for their wives, their daughters, their mothers, to stop and think ere the tide of woe and desolation cannot be arrested. Ask them if for the sake of the emancipation of the negro slaves that are yet remaining the property of their masters in the South, conferring on them, I was going to say a doubtful blessing, but no, inflicting on them a positive curse by giving them unregulated freedom, the free men of the North are willing to hazard the liberties of the millions of white men and women, free born American citizens, not of African descent. Ask them this, and by this means you will induce many to go with you to the polls on the election day in November and there side by side help to accomplish that result to which alone we now look for the salvation of the Union.

Fellow citizens, in this place and in every place throughout the length and breadth of the land there is in a certain portion of the Republican mind a revolution going on—It is silent, but it is powerful. There is an upheaving of all the political elements that have been hidden in those bosoms for the last four years. Honest, thinking, reflecting, intelligent Republicans are beginning to hesitate. They are beginning to ask themselves the question, "must this state of things go on? is it possible that there is no arm omnipotent enough to arrest the progress of this destruction that is wasting our country and destroying our people? if not where shall we end? how long can Abraham Lincoln carry on this government according to his line of policy before we shall reach the point of anarchy or absolute despotism?" I am not speaking the imaginings of my own heart when I tell you that this night here and elsewhere and every where honest, sober minded, thinking Republicans are agitating questions like these in their own hearts; and in many instances these internal agitations have worked such a revolution in their political opinions that they have determined and have declared their determination, not again to vote for Abraham Lincoln, and they pray God to forgive them for having done so four years ago.

The signs of the times are encouraging. There is not a single aspect of the contest now before the people even from a period anterior to our nomination, which is not encouraging to the friends of the Union, to the patriots of the land. Long before the nominating Convention had announced the name of the nominee, the people, the sovereigns of this land, had proclaimed George B. McClellan as the next President of the United States. (Great applause.) Let us now make that proclamation good. Let us on the day of election march forward in solid phalanx to the polls and there deposit our ballots, each man for himself, and let each man see that every other Democrat, every other lover of the Union is at the polls in time and that he there deposits his ballot. Then by the united power of a free people let us restore this Union to what it was, and let us hand it down to posterity as it was handed down to us by our fathers, unimpaired and its flag untarnished. (Great applause.)

REMARKS OF MR. BUCKALEW,
AT THE MEETING AT ORANGEVILLE,

September 30, 1864.

Mr. Buckalew having excused himself from delivering a regular speech, said:—

I came here because I had promised to come and because I desired by appearing among you, if by nothing more, to show that I heartily concur in the object of your meeting. I should be happy on some other occasion to renew my labor of former years in addressing the people of this county upon political subjects: For the course of years—the experience of this country bitter as it has been—has deepened and strengthened in my breast those honest convictions which in former years I endeavored to convey to you. And the substance of them all is contained in this doctrine; that for a free, republican government in these United States, a party based upon the doctrines of Mr. Jefferson and following his teachings, is necessary; and that when those doctrines and teachings are departed from, disunion and war and debt and taxation and suffering in varied and intolerable forms, leading if not immediately yet ultimately to a despotic and detestable tyranny over the people, are inevitable. The man who doubts this great truth—a truth illustrated by our prosperity when those doctrines were followed and proved by our adversity when they were departed from—would, to use the language of Scripture, remain unconvinced "though one rose from the dead!"

SPEECH OF
HON. C. R. BUCKALEW,

AT THE COURT HOUSE,
BLOOMSBURG, FRIDAY EVENING,
SEPT 30, 1864.

Fellow Citizens of my Native County:

In the month of August 1861, three years ago and shortly after the outbreak of the war, I returned home from a foreign country. I had resided for some time in one of the Spanish American Republics, where from the frequent recurrence of revolutions, rights of property and person are insecure, and great social as well as political evils have a chronic existence. And it had been my pride, while absent, to contrast the condition of those countries with our own—the success of free institutions here with their failure there—and to draw a conclusion therefrom highly favorable to our countrymen.

I landed at the port of New York, the chief city of the State of which William H Seward is a citizen and the commercial metropolis of the United States. And I found my countrymen engaged in civil war. I found that they had forgotten the instruction so impressively given them by Washington and Jackson against sectionalism and sectional parties; that they had followed the evil example of the turbulent and degraded countries within and beyond the tropics and had put in peril the existence of their freedom and prosperity by a resort to battle and to war for the solution of their internal disputes.

For my feelings on that occasion I have no adequate language, nor would I recall them to mind except for an instructive purpose. Becoming acquainted with the condition of public affairs—casting an anxious glance over the entire country as it presented itself to my observation—I felt, as doubtless you felt at that time, deeply troubled and humiliated. The storm, long foretold as the result of sectional agitation, had come in all its fury and power; stoutest hearts quailed; and the statesman whose business it is to take a wide view of affairs and to relieve himself from the vexations of the moment by contemplating those general laws which control the consequences of particular events, was, equally with others, unable to comprehend the extent or duration of the great conflict.

The first battle of Bull Run had just been fought and I found the President had been obliged to call to his aid the patriot chieftain who had rescued West Virginia from the grasp of secession, and commit to him the existence of the Capital and the reorganization of the army. It was a time of much gloom and despondency and well calculated to awaken anxious thoughts in one who came freshly to the scene, with personal interests as a citizen in the course and character of public events.

But among all the thoughts which then found lodgment in my mind, those awakened by accounts of arbitrary arrests in the northern states were most painful. Ordered by public authority they were sustained by the party of the administration throughout the country, and most absurd, frivolous and impudent reasons were held sufficient for their vindication. That these arrests should take place in known violation of the laws and be sustained and even applauded by many, was fearful evidence of our unfitness for self government. It was also proof of a danger, quite new to us and so incredible that it has not even yet been received as real by many sincere men among the friends of power—the danger of a permanent loss of liberty by our people and a change, ultimately, in their form of government.

Yes! I was forced to admit the unwelcome fact that I, in common with my fellow-citizens, held all my political rights and particularly the right of personal liberty, not under the established laws of the land, but—*subject to a telegraphic dispatch from Simon Cameron!*

This was the condition to which American freemen were degraded at that time, when I found Abraham Lincoln President, William H. Seward Secretary of State (with his convenient bell at hand,) and Simon Cameron Secretary at War—found these men filling places that had been filled by Washington, by Madison, by Monroe and by many worthies of whose names an honorable record will be held by history forever.

Nor could I avoid reflecting that a little way north, beyond the limits of the free United States and under the sovereignty of the British Queen, there obtained as there has long obtained throughout the British empire, the absolute and unquestioned dominion of law. In fact Lord PALMERSTON, then, as now, first Minister of the Crown, could not have issued an order for the arrest of the humblest subject in the British dominions, or directed resistance to a writ of *habeas corpus* issuing from any Court, colonial or imperial, without being forthwith hurled from power and having his proud name stamped with enduring infamy and disgrace.

Such was the contrast presented between the administration of government in this country and its administration under a monarchial power. In the one case a rule of law, and in the other case a rule of men. In the one, security of private rights and prompt punishment for their invasion; in the other, insecurity of those rights and to their invader, impunity. The contrast was one of humiliation to an American, but that contrast yet exists. It has not disappeared. On the contrary its lines and shadows have steadily grown deeper and more strongly marked to this day.

Gentlemen; I made up my mind, at the time referred to, upon this whole business; and my conclusion was, that I would submit to a system of arbitrary government in this country; I would submit to hold my rights as a citizen of the United States subject to the mere pleasure of power, only so long as I could not prevent it; and that at the earliest possible moment I would unite with those of my fellow countrymen who should be like minded with myself, to reduce our government from the control of arbitrary principles and restore it to its former course of just administration.

That time has now come, and for this among other reasons, I sit and before you to-night an earnest advocate of the election of General MCCLELLAN as President of the United States. But it will be most convenient to present this great question of the liberty of the citizen in connection with other questions involved in the election; thus obtaining completeness of view and certainty of conviction, upon the whole issue before us.

Now what do we desire? What are the capital or chief objects upon which our attention may be fixed at this time? Let us get a little outside the circle of passion about us, away from the petty debates which fill our ears as we pass to and fro in our daily walks and in our daily associations. Conceive Gentlemen, a man crossing a dangerous stream upon a narrow footway which oscillates beneath him. He is troubled of heart, for dangers encompass him—destruction yawns at his feet. He hesitates in bewilderment, unable to proceed and scarcely able to stand. He sways to either hand and is almost lost! But in that momentful extreme pang let him lift his eyes from the dangers which surround him and place them upon some conspicuous, permanent, fixed object a little way off upon the shore, and what is the result? Why there come firmness to his footsteps and courage to his heart, his nerves are braced again to steady exertion, and he passes on in safety over the tossed and turbulent waters. Firm land is soon reached and danger left behind him.

The terror of an earthquake—the greatest of physical commotions known to us, reaches its highest point when we come to observe the insability of *all* objects within the range of vision; not merely those upon the surface of the earth but the earth itself. For nothing escapes the power of the "earth storm," which moves forward with universal effect and irresistibly, in its course of destruction.

Now Gentlemen, in our present situation of great embarrassment and peril, when we are bewildered and alarmed by what is occurring around us, when it appears impossible to go back and unsafe to go forward, and our hearts are troubled and almost fail us, fortunately there are objects upon which we can look and gain composure and confidence from their contemplation. In considering them, and proceeding toward them, we may feel thoroughly assured that a safe and plain path will open before us in which we need but walk to insure our speedy deliverance from danger.

Let us withdraw our eyes from objects on either hand which would divert our attention and hinder or prevent us from securing our national salvation at the earliest possible moment. Let us fix our eyes upon UNION, LIBERTY, and PEACE, as our capital objects and the things to be attained; not at the end of long wars, not by by-roads of emancipation, not by plundering hostile populations, not by an iron rule of lawless power under plea of necessity, nor by the aid nor upon the policy of fanatics and selfish and brutal men; but directly, speedily, honestly; by the union of just men upon a policy at once sure, sensible and magnanimous.

Turn yourselves wholly away from these miserable disputes about "loyalty", about what your neighbor shall be called and what he shall call you, and look to those great objects which I have mentioned and to the appropriate means for securing them. They are the capital objects of desire: for which the hearts of the people should yearn, and to attain them—not one but all of them—every man's arm should be lifted and every man's mouth opened.

Now what is proposed in the election of Gen. GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN and in the elevation to power along with him of the organization or party with which he is identified? We desire to obtain the very objects just named which combine everything of excellence and of blessing which the public heart at this time can desire.

In the first place, by Gen. MCCLELLAN's election we seek to restore the Union which was broken in consequence of the elevation of the existing Administration to power. That Administration has failed to restore the Union; its true character and incapacity have now become known to us, and the time to pronounce judgment of condemnation upon it has arrived. Observe, no objection can now be made to those who criticise Mr. Lincoln and oppose him before the people upon the ground urged two or three years since when we were told that power being actually lodged in his hands, he being the actual depositary of the public authority, he was fairly and reasonably entitled to the support of the people, that we ought to unite together, in some extent to ignore party at least so far as would enable the Administration to possess the necessary means and influence to execute its policy and to exhibit its merits before the Country. But the requirements of that argument were fully met. Consider the course of the people of the United States, including most of the Opposition, toward Mr. Lincoln's administration. Did they not give to it all the aid, all the assistance that could be required for a full trial of its policy? Were men withheld from the armies controlled by it? Was money withheld from the public treasury, or appropriations of that money refused? Was there resistance even to taxation to raise monies for public use beyond the enormous sums raised by the negotiation of loans? No, Gentlemen; men were not withheld from the Administration, nor was money withheld. Nay, in the earlier periods of the war, men went willingly to the conflict: They took their lives in their hands and shouting to the music of the Union they advanced to support a cause which had charms for them and which they believed would be prosecuted in good faith in accordance with the policy announced in the outset and upon which the war was begun—a policy adopted by Congress, endorsed by the Administration, and accepted by the American people and by foreign nations as the policy of this government in the great social struggle which had broken out among us. Mr. Lincoln and his party have had a fair trial. They have had, if ever any Administration had, a fair, full and complete trial before the Country with reference to the merits of their policy in restoring the Union, in bringing back to us the blessings of peace, and in securing to us and to those who may come after us that constitutional system which was committed to their management by the people. And now, at the end of their four years—because we have nearly reached the end of that period—how do they stand before us? Take their case as described by men of the Republican party itself: Take the character of Mr. LINCOLN's administration as drawn by the pen of JOHN C. FREMONT, the candidate of Mr. LINCOLN's party in 1856 for the Presidency. He says that Mr. LINCOLN's administration has been a failure in both its military and civil policy, and that its assumptions and abuses of power have come so far that we have now to inquire not so much who shall be elected to office as whether we shall have candidates and elections at all in this country in future. Again, take Mr. LINCOLN's administration as depicted by Senator WADE and Representative DAVIS, in a recent manifesto issued by them as members of the Federal Congress and as members of the political party to which the President himself belongs. Do they not describe in terms of just indignation his usurpations, his abuse of public authority and his contempt of Congressional jurisdiction, and denounce leading measures in his policy as unconstitutional and fraught with peril to the country?

Thus stands the case in the year 1864, and we are obliged to consider the question how it shall stand during the four years immediately impending and which must run their course before the Administration now to be elected shall conclude its course of its functions. Gentlemen, you are to decide. If you desire Union, to General McClellan you have a candidate whose only condition of peace is Union. He tells you so himself in explicit language, and you have reason to believe that declaration and its endorsed by those who support him.

Do you desire Liberty? You will secure that in General McClellan's election—the dominion of law over this country—no arbitrary arrests—no French Bastiles imported across the Atlantic for use in free America—the end of these things will be at hand, may will have arrived, when GEORGE B. McClellan is inaugurated. [Applause.] Yes! you will secure liberty! not the *ignis fatuus* of an equality of races but the liberty of your own race; your complete and uninterrupted enjoyment of that constitutional freedom which came to you as an inheritance from your fathers.

Do you desire peace also? That will be a natural result of restoring just, liberal, free principles in your government. Do you not know that one of the obstacles in the South to the return of the people to their allegiance to the Government of the United States, is the character of this Lincoln Administration; that it is the chief reason why they do not yield the contest, the chief reason why we cannot make agreement with them? *There* is the obstacle and you people of the North put that obstacle there. It stands half way between the North and the South, hindering us from coming together, from building up the old Union and being again one people as we were for seventy years. Remove that obstacle and you have Peace, and along with it you have Union and Liberty also.

We believe these things and therefore we seek for triumph. We believe these things and therefore we support our candidates. On the other hand, we know that evil has come in upon us as a flood under this man from the banks of the Sangamon—this despiser of liberty—this trampler upon the Constitution—this man who has insulted all American history seated though he be in the seat of Washington. We would be blind and deaf indeed if we did not both see it and hear of it. Let us end it. Let us select a man for President in whom we have confidence, who has military ability for war if war should unfortunately continue, who has abilities for a state of peace and high honor and intelligence and a loathing and utter detestation for smutty jokes, and hypocrisy, and all forms of despicable meanness.

Gentlemen, I have spoken without premeditation, but I have spoken out of the depths of a sincere and honest heart. I speak as one wounded and offended in spirit by the gigantic evils and abuses which now have course among us under favor of power; I speak as one who has read the history of his country and been proud of its past glory; as one who has studied its laws and revered its Constitution and the memories of the men who made it. And I conceive it my duty at this juncture, unpleasant as the task may be, to denounce the men who compose the existing Administration as men who have prostituted their high powers; who have brought upon the country the horrors of a war they might have averted; who have taken our brothers by thousands and sent them to fields of slaughter; who have loaded us with thousands of millions of debt; who have broken the laws our fathers gave us and sent insolent hirelings to seize our people; who have repeated here the abuses of the despotic and wicked governments of the old world, and who yet, notwithstanding all this, have the supreme and unexampled impudence to come before freemen asking to be re-elected to the offices which they have disgraced.