

Rafferty's Journal.

BY S. J. ROW.

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THE "PEACE" MEN AND REBELS.

The Intimate Connection Existing Between Them Acknowledged.

Letter from Charleston—What one of our suffering soldiers in a Rebel Prison thinks of the Chicago Platform—Extracts from the Charleston "Mercury" and "Courier."

We received the following letter from Lieut. L. B. CARLILE, of the 145th Penn'a Vols., a son of JOHN CARLILE, Esq., of Troutville, Clearfield county, and who is now a prisoner in Charleston, among the number of those exposed to the fire of our batteries on Morris Island. Lieut. CARLILE has been in the army, almost from the commencement of the war, and a braver soldier or more worthy and reliable young man is not to be found any where. The letter was written in pencil, on a small scrap of paper, and the articles from the Charleston papers, look as if they were printed on a very inferior article of wrapping paper.

MILITARY PRISON.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Sept. 14, 1864.

FRIEND ROW:—Through the kindness of Maj. Harry White who has just been exchanged, I am enabled to forward you two articles from "our" Charleston papers. They are editorials, and if not already published by you, may serve as positive proof to your readers of the close alliance between those who semi-barbarian and inhumanity I am daily realizing, and the men who are equally the enemies of our country at the North. The prisoner here, notwithstanding his horrible condition, sends to his friends at home (discarding with disgust and contempt the Chicago resolutions) as a watchword for the right—stand firmly by "Honest Abe,"—that we may have none but true "Americans on Guard!" Then you may rest assured all will be well. Proclaim by your November Election that you will hold no parley with traitors in arms and then their last glimmering hope will have died away. Those who would be fit subjects for a mother's kind protection, and others whose limbs are tottering from age, are now compulsorily guarding our prisoners, while their War Department has just made a demand for that portion of the conscripts who were detailed as overseers for the negroes and to fill the work-shops.

Some of the officers of Sherman's Army have just been exchanged, and fortunately Maj. Harry White—their long cherished victim—is among the number. If he succeeds in getting through, I hope this will escape the rebel surveillance, and that you will get the newspaper articles enclosed. Please tell my friends that I am well.

Yours truly, L. B. CARLILE,
Lieut. 145th, Penn'a Vol.

[From the Charleston Mercury, Sept. 5, 1864.]
"The Resolutions of the Democratic Party at Chicago—Peace or War."

"The resolution, just passed by the Democratic party at Chicago, on the subject of peace, is quite as explicit as should have been expected. It declares that 'after four years failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, justice, humanity, liberty and the public welfare demand that 'immediate efforts should be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to the ultimate Convention of all the States, or other peaceable means, to the end that, at the earliest practicable moment, peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States.'"

1. First, "immediate efforts should be made," &c. This is a blow at LINCOLN'S Administration. The existing Government at Washington, only, can make the "immediate efforts" insisted on. The Democratic party, being not in power, cannot make them. 2. "Or other peaceable means." LINCOLN should not only make "immediate efforts" for a cessation of "hostilities, with a view to the ultimate Convention of all the States," but should use other means "to the end that, at the earliest possible moment peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States."

3. Here is all the committal of the Democratic party. It is committed to a peace policy and against the experiment of war to restore the Union; but beyond this all is implication. It lays down for President LINCOLN a certain course; and it may be implied that that course will be pursued by them, should they obtain power. But the obligation is merely inferential; and when reaching power, it will be easy to say that the time for its practicality, which Lincoln would not embrace, is passed by. They must do the next best thing—ENFORCE THE POLICY TO WHICH THEY ARE COMMITTED, EVEN THOUGH IT INVOLVES THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES.

4. Add to these considerations—the carefully exposed evils of the war to the people of the United States—"the Constitution has been disregarded in every part; public liberty and private rights alike trodden down; and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired—the usurpation of extraordinary power not granted by the Constitution, the subversion of civil law, the military arrests; the imprisonment, trial and sentence of American citizens in States where civil law exists in full force; the suppression of freedom of speech and the press; the unusual test oath and interference with and denial of the people

"to bear arms,"—and the inference appears to us to be irresistible, THAT THE ELECTION OF GEN. McCLELLAN UPON SUCH A DECLARATION OF WRONGS AND PLATFORM, MUST LEAD TO PEACE AND OUR INDEPENDENCE with one essential condition however, that for the next two months we hold our own and prevent military success by our foes. If we do this, there is every probability that McCLELLAN will be elected. The draft of 500,000 men, which Lincoln demands to carry on the war, must essentially aid McCLELLAN'S election. This is a practical evil, which will stir up women as well as men, against the war. In drawing our conclusions, however, let us never forget, that there is one All-mighty hand, which controls all, and may turn to nought, the wisest human anticipations.

[From the Charleston Courier, Sept. 7, 1864.]
The Fall of Atlanta.

The enemy has at last succeeded in accomplishing an important object of one of his campaigns. Another city has fallen into his hands, and a large, powerful, resolute army under a general of some measure of skill and endowed with uncommon energy and determination, holds a strong position in the heart of a wealthy and prosperous State, and menaces several vital points in our Confederacy. Such an event is a calamity. Had our loss in men, stores and ammunition been far lighter, the time of its occurrence makes that reverse no less than a calamity.

ALL OF US PERCEIVE THE INTIMATE CONNECTION EXISTING BETWEEN THE ARMIES OF THE CONFEDERACY AND THE PEACE MEN OF THE UNITED STATES. These constitute two immense forces that are working together for the procurement of peace. The party whose nomination and platform we are considering, are altogether dependent for success on the courage and resolution of our fighting men. If their generalship, sagacity, valor and vigilance are unable to obtain victories, and to arrest the progress of the invading forces, the existing Administration will laugh to scorn all the efforts of the opposition, and in spite of the most powerful combinations, will continue to hold the places they occupy. OUR SUCCESS IN BATTLE IS THE SUCCESS OF McCLELLAN. OUR FAILURE WILL INEVITABLY LEAD TO HIS DEFEAT. It is the victories that have crowned our armies since the war began, that have given existence, strength and harmony to that organization, which has arrayed itself with firm defiant front against the despot and his minions. It is our long unbroken series of splendid successes that has emboldened the few men of sense and honesty in Yankeeedom to raise their voices in denunciation of the unconstitutional, base, foolish measures adopted and enforced by their Government, and they have gathered around the banners of their exceptional men so large a number, as that they have good hope of being able to make head against the oppressor and tyrant.

This heavy reverse occurs at the infancy of that organization. It has not been but started in its career. It has not had time to mature its plans, and to develop and augment its actual strength. We are aware that that party, no matter how numerous, harmonious and powerful, engages in the contest with the party in power, under many and grave disadvantages. Even if the campaigns under GRANT and SHERMAN come to grief before the end of the present month, it is extremely doubtful whether LINCOLN, with the treasury at his command, backed by the army, supported by the thousands who are growing rich by the war and who are deriving their maintenance from employments of various sorts in his service, will defeat his rival, and replace himself in the Presidential Chair. If it is highly probable he will be able to retain the power he now holds, even in case we are altogether victorious, there is no ground for the hope that the opposition will succeed if our armies are visited with defeat.

Contemplating the fall of Atlanta from this point of view we are obliged to consider it a disaster of great magnitude.

What patriot can read the above extracts, and not feel his blood boiling with indignation—tingling to his very finger ends? Who can longer doubt the complicity of Northern Copperheads with Southern Rebels? Do you think the above are mere electioneering documents, got up for the occasion? Come to our office and examine the originals. Come and read the letter of the gallant young officer—inspect the articles he has sent—convince yourself of their genuineness, and then answer, before God, will you vote for McClellan and thus secure "the independence of the Confederate States?" Will you longer act with an organization "dependent for success on the courage and resolution" of rebels in arms against your government? Will you belong to a party whose "existence, strength, and harmony" depend on victories gained over your fathers, brothers and friends fighting the battles of the country?

That numbers of honest men will vote for McClellan we do not doubt. Would to God, they could be brought to realize the fearful consequences his success would bring upon the country! Would that their eyes could be opened to the overwhelming evidence that the object of Northern Copperheads and Southern Rebels is identical. If they could only bring themselves to reason upon the subject, their delusion would soon cease. They would speedily discover the "intimate connection" which the Courier declares exists between them. They would understand how Rebel "success in battle insures the success of McClellan," and Rebel "failure will inevitably lead to his defeat."

And they would cast off with loathing and scorn the harness of a party whose prospects brighten with disaster to our arms, and darken with the victories that perch upon our banners—a party that vampire-like, feeds on the blood of our soldiers, and prospers on the agony and tears of the widow and the fatherless.

GREAT TRUTHS!

Before Georgia succeeded, Hon. A. H. STEPHENS said, in her Convention,

"What right has the North assailed? What justice has been denied? And what claim, founded in justice and right has been withheld? Can either of you to day name one single act of wrong, deliberately and purposely done by the Government at Washington, of which the South has a right to complain? I challenge the answer!"

From Hon. S. A. DOUGLASS' last speech at Chicago, April 11, 1864:

"The conspiracy is now known. Armies have been raised. War is levied to accomplish it. There is only two sides to the question. Every man must be for the United States, or against it. There can be no neutrals in this war—only patriots or traitors."

JEFF DAVIS' last words to the Union Peace men, Jaques and Gilmore, 1864:

"We are not fighting for Slavery. We are fighting for independence, and that, or extermination, we will have. . . . We succeeded to rid ourselves of the rule of the majority. . . . Say to Mr. Lincoln from me, that I shall at any time be pleased to receive proposals for peace on the basis of our independence. It will be useless to approach me with any other."

The above extracts should be read by every Democrat of "Peace" proclivities, and then answer for himself the following questions: Has the South had a just reason to take up arms against the United States Government? And are the Rebels willing to lay down their arms and submit to the Constitution and Laws of our country, or not?

THE RESULTS OF THE WAR.

The war involves two classes of effects, the temporary and the permanent. Debt will be effaced by the prosperity of peace. Desolated fields will again teem with abundance. Hamlets and towns laid in ashes will be rebuilt. Business interrupted or diverted will return to and flow with increased tide in its natural channels. The mourners for the slain will sleep with the slain. The ranks of those maimed or mangled in war will be filled and indefinitely multiplied with sound and strong men. The current of life, wealth and improvement will move onward as full and as majestic as if "the great rebellion" had not even rippled its surface. But the political and moral results of this struggle will never pass away. The infancy of the rebel leaders will be ineffaceable. The examples of patriotism and virtuous heroism will be a deathless heritage, growing richer and holier, and bearing fresh harvests of noble lives and deeds while the earth endures. A grander halo will invest our free country's flag forever. The most far reaching and beneficent results are not immediately and physical, accrue when their cause is comparatively forgotten, taking the shape of other causes, silent and spiritual, that produce infinite and evidently varied blessing. The cost, toil, wounds, sickness, death bereavement and desolation of the war will become past evils. Its warnings, its teachings, its glorious memories, its guaranty of American nationality, its re-enthronement of the peaceful ballot box, its destruction of the last great foe of liberty among us, its impetus to the spirit of democracy in other lands, and its protecting shield over an ever aspiring civilization, will be eternal.

Baptist Loyalty.

At the annual meeting, held at Middletown, of the Miami Association, comprising the Baptist churches of Cincinnati and vicinity, were passed the following patriotic resolutions. The congregation rose en masse and sang:

"My country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet Land of Liberty,
Of thee I sing."

Resolved, That with the pronounced treason of the South, or with the more subtle and cowardly treason of the North, we have nothing to do, except only to fight them both, and that it is our christian duty to uphold our Government with every possible energy.

Resolved, That we give all gratitude and honor to our brave brothers in the field.

Resolved, That we hail with thanksgiving to the God of Battles our recent victories, and that we earnestly beseech Him to go forth with our armies until the rebellion is utterly broken.

Resolved, That while we desire and pray for peace, we wish peace which shall fulfill the scripture conditions of one, "First pure, then peaceable." That we can never compromise with slavery, for compromise with crime is crime.

Rev. Mr. Delano stated that similar resolutions had been passed in fourteen associations which he had recently attended.

MIDDLETOWN, OHIO, Sept. 29.

Thirteen battle-flags mostly belonging to Indiana regiments, were recently recaptured from a rebel messenger who was taking them from the west side of the Mississippi eastward. A very important mail was taken at the same time. It contained, among other documents, a complete account of the strength of the rebel forces west of the river, and a letter from the Governor of Louisiana, recommending Jeff. Davis to authorize the arming of negroes.

A STARTLING DEVELOPMENT.

For some time past certain leading copperhead newspapers have been industriously raising a clamor against the government for refusing to obtain the release of our prisoners in the rebel States, alleging that this refusal was caused by the fact that they were known to be for McClellan and Pendleton. They claimed that sixty thousand soldiers who would vote for McClellan were thus detained in the south as prisoners through the act of the National government, although they knew from rebel statements that there were not thirty thousand of our soldiers altogether held as prisoners. The mysterious persistence in this charge, coupled with the sudden efforts of the rebels to release on parole or effect the exchange of a portion of our unfortunate soldiers held by them as prisoners, has led to an inquiry into the matter, and as the first fruit of the investigation we present our readers with the subjoined affidavit:

"Montgomery County, ss.

"Personally appeared before me, a Justice of the Peace in and for said county, Franklin Schwenk, of Upper Providence township, Montgomery county, and State of Pennsylvania, a private of Company H, 13th regiment Pennsylvania cavalry, who on his solemn oath deposed and says, that on the 9th day of March, 1861, he was taken prisoner near Bristol Station, Virginia, and conveyed to Belle Isle Prison, and from thence to General Hospital No. 21, in Richmond, that on the last day of August, 1864, the Director of said Hospital visited on him and proposed to parole him and to permit him to return home if he would promise to vote for George B. McClellan at the approaching election; that he, the said Franklin Schwenk, in order to escape from starvation and rebel atrocity did make said promise, and therefore was paroled. The said Franklin Schwenk further says, under his solemn oath, that all prisoners of said Hospital who frankly and positively said that they would vote for Abraham Lincoln were not paroled, but retained in said Hospital. "FRANKLIN SCHWENK, Witness present: Dr. Warren Royer, Samuel Pennypacker.

"Sworn and subscribed to before me this 10th day of October, 1864.

"HENRY W. KRATZ, Justice of the Peace."

Here we have indisputable proof that by some secret means these copperhead friends of McClellan at the north must have managed to communicate with the rebel commanders and authorities at the south this charge about the imprisoned Union soldiers being held there because our Administration knew them to be in favor of McClellan. To prevent these votes from being lost to their friend Little Mac, the rebel authorities appear to have sent agents among them offering freedom to all who would promise to vote for McClellan. It appears that many prisoners, in order to escape death by starvation, did make that promise and were released, when they being the man who makes this sworn statement. It further appears that the men were not asked who they were for, but were merely offered freedom on condition that they should vote for McClellan. It also appears that many Republicans among the prisoners frankly said that they were for Lincoln for President, and they were not released. These men preferred death by starvation rather than a sacrifice of their principles. These statements do not rest upon hearsay testimony. They are made by a soldier under oath, who was one of the prisoners, and personally saw and heard all he speaks of. They exhibit the intense anxiety of the rebels for the election of McClellan. They also show the intimate relations which exist between the rebels in arms and the northern copperheads. This charge against the national government about the detention of the prisoners has scarcely appeared in print here before we find the rebel authorities applying the matter practically by offering freedom to all prisoners who would promise to vote for McClellan.

We have in this affair a fresh proof of the immense exertions now being made to cheat the Union men at the approaching election, and secure the election of a copperhead President by any means, however nefarious. The men who have managed this traitorous arrangement with the rebels, whereby they keep in rebel prisons all our soldiers at the south who will not vote for a copperhead President, are base enough to attempt any scheme. They are mere rebel janitors, devoid of national pride, patriotism, or high principles of honor. Look out for them, Union men. The conspiracy is worse, far worse, than you have been supposing. We have now the proof that they are in collusion with the enemy, and we ask all who have friends in rebel prisons to bear in mind that this testimony shows them to be held there through copperhead influences, because of their refusal to pledge their votes for a copperhead President.

HON GEORGE H. PENDETON, while a member of Congress, voted against the resolution of thanks to General McClellan for his promise of a victory in Virginia. Mr. Pendleton, doubtless knew McClellan so well that he understood that his promise would not be realized.

The Clerk of the Georgia House of Representatives Within our Lines.

Joseph Camp, late editor of the *Atlanta Confederacy* and the *Georgia Times*, and the present Clerk of the House of Representatives of Georgia, has arrived in Nashville, having been compelled to leave the south in consequence of the publication of an article advocating the restoration of the Union. Mr. Camp gives an interesting statement of the affairs in the south, which appears in the *Nashville Union* of the 6th. He says, "that a universal despondency exists throughout the south; at least three-fourths of the people believing that, as there is no hope for the success of the Confederacy, the sooner they return to the Union the better, as each day of hostility increases the difficulties which surround the making of peace. But it is impossible, at present for this sentiment to become demonstrative."

Jeff. Davis, he says, is the greatest tyrant living; and wherever his power extends there is neither freedom of speech nor freedom of person; and before a return to the Union is possible, the rebel army must be dispersed. He regards Hood's force no longer formidable, in a military point of view; is small in numbers, and is greatly demoralized; but it is yet sufficiently strong to intimidate unarmed people, especially as the male portion of these people consists of only decrepit old men, or young boys—every one capable of bearing arms having been sent to the army by the conscripting officers. Break the army of Lee, he thinks, and that of Hood will disperse, and there are no others worthy to be called a military organization east of the Mississippi river.

Mr. Camp states that the rebel leaders say that if McClellan is beaten they have no hope; that there is not sufficient vitality in the Confederacy to keep it alive. They, therefore, will look to eventual submission in case of the re-election of Mr. Lincoln; and since the fall of Atlanta they regard that certain; and they are, therefore, very anxious about the terms on which they would be allowed to resume their citizenship.

He adds that Governor Brown is for a reconstruction of the Union; he knows this, having recently conversed with him on the subject. It was because the Governor looked upon the cause of the Confederacy as hopeless that he had recalled the militia. They had been summoned to the field for home defense; but when Atlanta was captured the key was unlocked, and Georgia was at the mercy of Sherman; and therefore they could avail nothing, and the Governor believed that they would be more valuable as farmers than soldiers.

An Instance of Copperhead Heroism.

A shameful outrage was perpetrated upon the family of Mr. George Geiger, at Mahanoy city, Lancaster county, on Tuesday evening, October 11th. Mr. Geiger is a Democrat, but had been active at the polls during the day, in favor of Colonel Cskc. For this, the copperheads determined to have revenge; and accordingly a gang of about fifty of them went to his house, and not finding him at home, they took the crutches from his son, a badly wounded soldier, and beat him shamefully with them. His aged mother attempted to intercede for him, when they set upon her, and beat her also. They then went to a shed, and beat a cow almost to death. Comment upon this cowardly outrage is unnecessary—fifty full grown copperheads making a charge upon an old woman, a crippled son, and a cow! but if these are the kind of chaps who are going to make our streets run with blood, when President Lincoln is re-elected, why we don't think there is much cause for alarm. Two brothers, the ringleaders of the gang, were arrested and bound over for trial; one of them is a member of the Borough Council.

How Old Abe took his Nomination.

Mr. Lincoln was at Springfield, while the Convention was in session, at Chicago, that nominated him the first time. He had been in the telegraph office during the casting of the first and second ballots, but then left, and went over to the office of the State Journal, where he was sitting conversing with friends while the third ballot was being taken. In a few moments came across the wires the announcement of the result. The Superintendent of the Telegraph Company, who was present, wrote on a scrap of paper, "Mr. Lincoln; You are nominated on the third ballot," and a boy ran with the message to Mr. Lincoln. He looked at it in silence amid the shouts of those around him, then rising and putting it in his pocket, he said quietly: "There's a little woman down at our house would like to hear this—I'll go down and tell her."

A Horrible Expression.

ALEXANDER STARNE, is the Copperhead candidate for Treasurer of Illinois, and, true to his party and its principles, made this remark at a Democratic mass meeting at Winchester on the 5th instant:

"Five hundred thousand of our soldiers gone from the battlefield to hell, in order to free the nigger!"

The Winchester Democrat says: "What renders the expression still more revolting and heinous was the fact that it was addressed to the fathers and mothers, the brothers and sisters, the widows and orphans of many of those gallant and glorious men who have offered up their lives cheerful and willing sacrifices upon the altar of their beloved country!"

In Providence, Rhode Island, last week, some laborers who were digging a cellar turned up a piece of gold bar about three inches in length, weighing five and one half ounces, and three or four gold coins of a denomination of about twenty dollars each, two of which bore the date of 1698 and 1797. There were also two or three silver coins.

THE REBELS IN FAVOR OF THE OHIO-CAGO NOMINEE.

If McClellan's election would secure the Union, why is it that he is supported by all the disunionists in the country? Why are Harris, Long, Frank Hughes, and a host of other men who have advocated the right of secession, anxious to make him President? Why is he the candidate of men who have not only justified secession, but have urged that Pennsylvania should unite with the Southern Confederacy? Why is Pendleton, openly in favor of letting the Southern States leave the Union peaceably, his fellow-candidate on the Presidential ticket? Lastly, if McClellan is for the Union, why are the rebels his friends?

They are his friends. Precisely as he was praised by the rebel press when in command of our armies, as the greatest of all our soldiers, he is now extolled by it as the wisest of our statesmen. The cheers with which the rebel army at Richmond welcomed the news of his nomination have been re-echoed in every Southern city. If the suffering Southern Unionists desired his election, then his friends might make capital out of his popularity in the South. But these are not the men who long for his elevation to power, the rebel army and the rebel leaders are his friends, and the more intense their hatred of the Union the more earnest their desire that McClellan shall be President.

There is not a fiercer rebel, not a more furious enemy to the North, than Henry S. Foote, of Tennessee, ex-Senator of the United States. He was the man who wished to hang John P. Hale as high as Haman. He is now a member of the rebel Congress, and recently published in the *Richmond Whig* an address "to the free and independent citizens of the Confederate States," which ought to reveal to every freeman of the North that the safety of the Union demands that McClellan shall be defeated. Mr. Foote earnestly appeals to his fellow rebels to hold out until McClellan is elected on the Chicago platform, and predicts that then the war will be abandoned, and the rebel Government recognized. He founds this prediction on the declared principles of the Chicago party, and his knowledge of the men who control McClellan. It is thus that he explains the disgraceful surrender of the Jacksonian maxim—not the Union ought to be preserved—but the Union MUST and SHALL be preserved, which the Chicago Convention deliberately made:

"I hold it," says Mr. Foote, "to be most certain, whatever opinion may be uttered in certain quarters to the contrary, that the platform is in distinct and irreconcilable opposition to the further prosecution of the war for any purpose whatever; the second resolution of said platform is of unmistakable import, and how any man of discerning mind can entertain a different view of the matter, I am at a loss to conceive. The resolution referred to, in the most emphatic manner, denounces the experiment of war as a means of restoring the Union; declares that justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities," that though the most earnest desire is expressed for the restoration of the Union by peaceable means, THERE IS NOT THE LEAST HINT OF INTENDED RESTRAINT OF ANY KIND WHATSOEVER."

Again, speaking of the proposed Convention of States, he says:

"Surely this ought not at all to alarm us; no coercive instrumentalities are to be resorted to to compel us to a union; there is plainly no reason to be offended with the members of the Convention, because condemning this atrocious war, and sympathizing with us in our grievances under its operation, and pained at being as even they must suppose, separated from us forever by that very war, they yet deplore that separation, and are sincerely desirous of getting into friendly and advantageous association with us once more."

Nor must it be overlooked in this remarkable address that he utters no word of condemnation of McClellan, but cannot find language too strong to speak his detestation of the Government. The men who are at the head of the nation, the brave generals of our armies, are denounced by him as murderers, who will be brought to punishment when McClellan is elected and the Confederacy recognized:

"If McClellan and Pendleton are elected, outraged and indignant public sentiment will demand the arraignment, trial, and deserved punishment of the enormous traitors and murderers who are responsible before God and man for all the abominable crimes and mischiefs which this unpardonable war has produced, and they will, most naturally, aim to evade the menaced punishment."

Much more might be quoted, but this is more than enough to show that upon McClellan's election the hopes of the rebellion are founded. The Northern man who can now vote for the candidate of rebels, either in ignorance or folly seeks to accomplish a deed which the world could never forgive.—*Press.*

At a McClellan meeting in Cincinnati one of the banners represented McClellan and Jeff. Davis shaking hands—"exhausting all the arts of statesmanship."