FREE SPEECH AND FREE PRESS.

EXCITEMENT IN CHICAGO.

GREAT FREE SPEECH MEETING.

Patriotic Addresses and Resolutions.

THE TIMES NEWSPAPER SUSTAINED.

PROCEEDINGS IN THE FEDERAL COURT.

GENERAL BURNSIDE'S ORDERS.

REPUBLICAN PETITION TO THE PRESIDENT.

MR. TRUMBULL'S SPEECH.

THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE IN DANGER,

&c., &c., &c.

The Order Suppressing the Times Newspaper.

GENERAL ORDER—NO. 84.
HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE OHIO,
CINCINNATI, Ohio, June 1, 1863.

I—The tendency of the opinions and articles habitually published in the newspaper known as the New York *World*, being to cast reproach upon the government, and to weaken its efforts to suppress the rebellion, by creating distrust in its war policy, its circulation in time of war is calculated to exert a pernicious and treasonable influence, and is therefore prohibited in this department.

II—Postmasters, news agents, and all others will govern themselves by this order, as any person detected in forwarding, selling, or in any way circulating the paper referred to will be promptly arrested and held for trial.

III—On account of the repeated expression of disloyal and incendiary sentiments, the publication of the newspaper known as the Chicago *Times* is hereby suppressed.

IV—Brigadier General Jacob Ammon, commanding the district of Illinois, is charged with the execution of the third paragraph of this order. By command of

Major General BURNSIDE.

LEWIS RICHMOND, Lieut. Col. and Ass't Adjt. Gen.
Official: D. B. LARNED, Captain and Ass't Adjt. Gen.

Secret Meeting to Save the Tribune, and Petition to the President.

So great, indeed, were the fears for the safety of the *Tribune* establishment that Judge Van Higgins, who is understood to be one of the largest stockholders, got together in the Circuit Court room a secret meeting of prominent republicans to consider what should be done in the premises. A number of democrats were called in, the doors were locked, and the meeting organized at half-past twelve P. M. by the appointment of Mayor Sherman (democrat) to the chair, and M. F. Tuley (democrat) Secretary. The following record of the proceedings is furnished for publication by the Secretary.

Remarks were made by Judge Van Higgins, Hon. Lyman Trumbull, Isaac N. Arnold, William B. Ogden, S. S. Hayes, James F. Joy, A. W. Arrington, Samuel W. Fuller, Wirt Dexter and others.

Hon. WILLIAM B. OGDEN presented the following resolution and petition:—

Whereas, in the opinion of this meeting of citizens of all parties, the peace of this city and State, if not the general welfare of the country, are likely to be promoted by the suspension or rescinding of the recent order of General Burnside for the suppression of the Chicago *Times*; therefore,

Resolved, That upon the ground of expediency alone, such of our citizens as concur in this opinion, without regard to party, are hereby recommended to unite in a petition to the President, respectfully asking the suspension or rescinding of said order.

The undersigned, in pursuance of the above resolution, respectfully petition the President's favorable consideration and action in accordance therewith. Which was unanimously adopted.

On motion the Chair appointed a committee of five to circulate and obtain signatures to the petition.

Chair appointed Messrs. Wm. B. Ogden, Van H. Higgins, A. C. Coventry, Judge Dickey and C. Beckwith, Esq.

On motion the persons present were requested to sign the petition.

Senator Trumbull and Representative Arnold announced their intention to telegraph the President to give this resolution his serious and prompt consideration.

The committee were directed to send the resolution and petition by telegraph to the President.

The proceedings of this meeting were ordered to be published in the morning papers.

The *Tribune* office still stands.

At one o'clock, Capt. Putnam, learning that the publishers intended issuing a supplement, arrived from the camp with forty men, and surrounded the office for the purpose of suppressing all issues.

Call for a Meeting.

All good, loyal citizens of Chicago, who are in favor of free speech and the freedom of the press, as guaranteed to us by the constitution we love and uphold, are invited to assemble in mass meeting, in front of the Chicago *Times* office, on Wednesday evening, June 3, at eight o'clock, to take counsel together in regard to the recent infamous order of General Burnside, suppressing papers always democratic, and consequently always loyal. Per order of THE COMMITTEE.

The Meeting.

[From the Chicago Times, June 5.]

Wednesday was a day for Chicago to be proud of. By the voice of her citizens she proclaimed to the world that the right of free speech has not yet passed away; that immunity of thought and discussion are yet among the inalienable privileges of men born to freedom. Unitedly her people raise their protest against the act sought to be enforced in their very midst, striking at their prerogatives, their birthright, their franchise; and, with the power which alone the popular voice can carry, sent out a warning which fanaticism may well heed. Twenty thousand bold men with one acclaim decreed that speech and press shall be untrammeled, and that despotism shall not usurp the inborn rights of the American citizen.

From early dawn, through the day, and far into the night, the streets were thronged with eager and earnest men whose words were those of deepest indignation and resentment at the blow so openly struck at their liberties. To do justice to the intensity of this feeling would transcend the limited space here afforded, and it must suffice to say that no event occurring in the history of the Northwest ever excited so general and so uncompromising a spirit of opposition. Even the aggressive boldness of that fanaticism which urged and applauded the measure quailed before this mighty popular demonstration, and sought protection in cowardly silence, or behind the sullen array of bayonets which alone, in obedience to authority, formed their bulwark. The lapse of hours brought no relief from excitement, and the announcement that a grand mass meeting of loyal citizens would be held in the evening was received with enthusiasm and fervor too intense to describe. Following this came the announcement of proceedings in the United States Circuit Court restraining arbitrary violence, and the whole capacity of power presses was not sufficient to supply the insatiable demand for details of the event. Thus the day passed in a fever of commotion, and night brought its thronging crowds to swell the great convention of freemen—a convention beside which the convocation of eminent men who assembled to discuss canal projects in another portion of the city, sank into insignificance. Randolph street was blocked by a dense living mass whose shouts and exclamations rent the air, and drew forth even their wondering and trembling antagonists as on lookers. Fanatics saw more than they ever dreamed of when this concourse moved up the street in almost countless numbers and took possession of the Court House square. For the first time they knew the strength of the opposition their reckless spirit has aroused. Full twenty thousand determined men assembled in and around the inclosure. The police stood by with leveled ranks, but there was no need of their attendance. Violence was not the intention of the concourse. They came to hear and applaud the truth, and, by their unanimous voice, to put the seal of condemnation upon unwarranted acts of oppression and tyranny. Speakers took the stand, and, in terms overflowing with boldness and eloquence, spoke of events past and future; of aggressions accomplished and yet to come; of freemen's rights, and of the sacred privileges of loyal and patriotic men. At times the audience gave way to the wildest tumults of applause, and the air rang as it never rang before, with the defiant shouts of loyal Americans in the sublime act of vindication. Throughout, the scene was one of excitement and intensity, and it only needed the reading of that telegraphic despatch from the noble democracy of New York, sending greeting and sympathy to their proscribed brethren of Chicago, to transform it into an exhibition of enthusiasm beyond the scope of description. It was grand and impressive. It was the unveiling of a power which will sweep like an avalanche through the land.

For hours this demonstration continued. When the night was far spent, and long after the mass meeting had adjourned, crowds lingered in the streets and proclaimed their sentiments to the world with lusty voices. Midnight brought no abatement of this extraordinary enthusiasm, and the small hours of the morning were resonant with notes of defiance and resentment. That all this should have occurred without disturbance or outbreak, speaks trumpet-tongued for the loyalty and discretion of the Chicago democracy. The men of yesterday were indeed the men of law and order—the men upon whom the burdens of a nation might rest in safety. Chicago is proud that she bears such citizens, for upon them she may rest with perfect reliance when the hour of need comes.

The reproduction of the speeches made at this grand demonstration will be received with pleasure by all loyal citizens who hold the good of their country and the sacredness of their rights inviolate. Their publication will serve as a monument and a memorial of this event, which is to constitute an important epoch in the history of Chicago. Let every man digest and treasure up their sound vindications.

The assemblage was called to order by ex Governor E. M. McCook, who nominated Hon. Samuel W. Fuller for President of the meeting.

The nomination having been confirmed Mr. FULLER came forward, and was greeted with a long continued outburst of applause. When the vast crowd ceased cheering he spoke as follows:—

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT.

Gentlemen, if you will be quiet we will try to make you understand the purpose for which we have assembled here. We have met to deliberate about matters of the highest importance to every one of us, to the city of Chicago and the State of Illinois, and to the whole country we love so well. We have met to say what is to be done in these extraordinary times in regard to an extraordinary arrest. An order was issued by General Burnside that the Chicago *Times* should be suppressed. (Cries of "Never, never.") This, gentlemen, was a military order issued by General Burnside. We have met here, gentlemen and citizens of Chicago, as democrats, as those who love their country and are willing to respect the conditions of the constitution, and determine what is best for us to do. (A voice—"Keep up the *Times*.") The proprietors of that paper have submitted their rights to the decision of a court. That court—(an interruption was here caused by some person in the crowd attempting to produce a disturbance. He was promptly arrested.) The speaker remarked—Let us be quiet, gentlemen, and set an example of order here. Other speakers will shortly address you; but I wish to say that our friends, the editors of the *Times*, have submitted the question which arises under this military order to the determination of a court, and that court is a court whose integrity has never been questioned, whose honor has never been assailed, whose integrity and uprightness has never been doubted. (Cheers.) It has always been a principle of democratic faith to uphold the constitution and the laws of the country. (Applause.) The court to which this question has been submitted will, I believe, do the same. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, this is what our friends have done. On the other hand, this matter has obtained, as it deserved, the highest consideration from those gentlemen differing from us in political sentiment at this day. They have consulted together and signified officially, presenting a request that this order be rescinded, unless from reasons that we do not now know of, and that these gentlemen be constituted in all their rights under the constitution and the law. Time has not yet passed in which we could hear of the action of the President, but the people believe that if he approves of the military order of General Burnside he will be in the wrong. We, the people of Illinois, consider that we are free to speak and to utter the sentiments which we believe to be true, as American citizens, and by all lawful means to uphold those opinions. (Great applause.) Now, gentlemen, the proprietors and editors of the Chicago *Times* have submitted their case to a court of law, and our friends of the republican party have asked the President to reconsider this matter. We have met here to night to give to the courts of the United States of America the cooperation of our opinion, saying that we will willingly uphold the constitution and the laws of the country in which we live; and in return we demand that our own personal rights shall be protected. (Applause.) I have now spoken all I desire to say. Able and prominent gentlemen will address you when the formal organization of the meeting is completed. Before I sit down I desire of you to be quiet, orderly, and to be obedient to the laws in every respect. (Cheers.)

At this stage of the proceedings three cheers for the *Times* were called for and given with a hearty good will.

Mr. F. TULEY then read the list of officers. For President—Hon. Samuel W. Fuller, and one hundred and thirteen Vice Presidents and Secretaries.

The list was submitted to the meeting and was unanimously approved.

The PRESIDENT remarked—I have the pleasure of introducing to you an old citizen and a good democrat, well known in the State of Illinois, General James W. Singleton, of Quincy, who spoke as follows:—

REMARKS OF GENERAL SINGLETON.

Having been for thirty years a citizen of Illinois, I come before you to-night, assembled as you are to perpetuate and resolve that the free citizens of Illinois shall have the right of free speech—the right of free printing. I have never seen an occasion when I have felt myself called upon to vindicate the right of any individual to speak or print what he thinks, except that occasion upon which we are now assembled. But we are not upon this occasion to permit passion to goad us to violence. We claim to be democrats; we claim to be a law and order-loving and law-abiding people. Such is the history of the democratic party; such is the great principle of that party. It is love of the constitution, love of law, love of order. They are people who profess to love the constitution and the laws, to be guided by them, to abide by them; and the democratic party, in all its history, have proven that they not only profess, but that they practice obedience to the laws. (Loud cheers.) We have much to irritate, much to annoy, American citizens, but we live in a land where law is supreme. Let us, as democrats, adhere to that form of government which our forefathers established; and let us look, as long as there is hope, to the principles inaugurated by our fathers. It is a dreadful calamity when we are reduced to act as we now act; let us postpone, until we know more, any violent action on this point. Don't let the democratic party initiate any precedent which is in violation of law and order, either in the State or in the city. Let us, then, consider calmly the grievances which have assembled us here to-night. In speaking of the *Times* I do but justice to that paper to say that it is the representative of the democratic party of the State of Illinois and the whole Northwest. (Applause). I do but justice to that paper whose circulation is suppressed in this State—the New York *World*—to say that it is the leading representative of those principles in the United States. (Cheers.) Here, then, is an attempt which is doing great damage to our rights as American citizens, and infringing upon our privileges as an intelligent people. Can we deprive them (the people) of this great privilege which we have hitherto enjoyed? Can we destroy the means which contribute to the general diffusion of that intelligence which is our pride, by wiping out the public press? Never. Never. (Great applause.) But let us bear in mind what is becoming of us—what are the duties of American citizens, living in a land that has boasted of its pure laws, of its equality, of its constitutional rights; let us endeavor, by the means which the constitution provides, to maintain those rights and privileges. (Cheers.) When all these means have failed, as a last and painful resort, it is then time enough for violence to ensue; but, my friends, till we have exhausted all the means which the laws place above disposal, should we resort to anything of that kind. (Loud applause.) Then, I say, so far as I see, the editors and proprietors of the *Times* newspaper are considered, they, like true, honest, honorable, patriotic men, have upheld the constitution and laws of this country by submitting their case to a judicial tribunal. (Cheers.) Let the courts decide the question when the law fails to do us justice, when the courts and all the tribunals of justice have turned against the public then the public must rise up and assert that supremacy which God has given to them—(immense applause)—which they have by inheritance. (Renewed applause.) I have no sympathy with the doctrine which says that the entire sovereignty of this country is vested in the federal government. (Cheers.) It is our heritage. (Applause.) Such a doctrine is one that would have disgraced any man, even the most humble in this our country, to have advanced at all before this present time. Who formed this government? The States formed it, and it is the majesty of the people that creates all sovereignty here. Call me King, call me Prince or Emperor—you may call me what you please, but I have no power of sovereignty; sovereignty is in the power of the people of this great country. (Cheers.) This government was created not to destroy the rights of men, but to perpetuate them and preserve them; and yet, freedom of speech has been violated in the person of Vallandigham. (Three cheers were called for Vallandigham and given with a will.) And now the freedom of the press is violated. (Some confusion now occurred in the crowd, and considerable disturbance resulted, which was finally quieted.) There are three rights dear to American citizens—freedom of speech, freedom of the press and purity of the ballot box. Two have been violated; but whatever there is done by the people to restore these rights, which are inherent in them, and which are guaranteed by our constitution without violence; when the ballot box is degraded then we have nothing else left. It is then time for us to consider what shall be our course in order to resist the oppressor's power. (Great applause.) Permit me to say to you that it does not become us as a party, having a just appeal to the law, having first appealed to the courts, to cause a doubt to be thrown over the sincerity of our principles, or to attempt to right ourselves in any other manner than by this appeal to law. Let us express our opinions freely and fearlessly as to our constitutional rights, and as to the duty of those who are our servants and not our sovereigns. (Loud cheers.) We recognize in no man, no set of men, the right, or rather the power, to deprive us of any of the privileges which are secured to an American citizen by the constitution. (Applause.) We ask nothing except that they give us the benefit of our constitution. (Cheers.) We are willing to bind ourselves and to throw ourselves upon the intelligence and patriotism of the country, and all the time we will abide by the constitution. We appeal to those in power, we ask them not to goad the people to violence, but to permit us quietly to pursue our avocations and to pay attention to our own affairs, without being irritated and goaded by prohibitive measures and unnecessary harshness. I may be permitted to say that for many years there were great principles upon which parties acted. Each party was then an organization, and upon the principles of such organization the party acted. There was a time when there were two great parties in this country; they were parties guided by principles; there was no disposition to oppression by one or the other; they were each actuated by the great principles of an honorable and glorious rivalry. That was a time when parties were known by principles and not by names. (A voice—"No party at all.") How have they acted since? They have actually attempted, everywhere, to deprive the people of their most sacred rights. You must bear in mind that any government is better than none. (Laughter.) We do not want, for God's sake, scenes of anarchy, as a result of this fast and bloody affliction of civil war. Let us endeavor to do our duty to our country, to the constitution. I do not believe there is a democrat in the State of Illinois who does not wish to do his duty to his country and to support laws and order in this trying hour. But, my fellow countrymen, do not permit your passions to guide you; now is the time to be quiet and cool, deliberate and calm. I have addressed you, not that I expected to do so, as others might, but because, being an old citizen of this State, I was anxious for the preservation of order, for the maintenance of law, and for the sustentation of the democratic party, to which the country must look finally for its own preservation. (Great applause.) The democratic party will emblazon on its banner the constitution and the laws of our country—(renewed cheers)—and when we have done that never let us be the violators thereof, but always the supporters of their authority and their supremacy.

The gentleman resumed his seat amid the most enthusiastic applause.

REMARKS OF HON. MOSES M. STRONG.

Hon. MOSES M. STRONG, of Wisconsin, having been introduced by the President, said:—Being here for the purpose of taking part in the deliberations of the Canal Convention, which had just concluded its business, and having been but this moment invited to do so, he could not decline the invitation to address the people with reference to the right of the freedom of speech and of the press. (Applause.) The call which had convened this immense concourse of citizens was addressed to loyal citizens of Chicago, and the fact of their presence in response to that call was evidence, if any were wanting, of the loyalty of every person present. (Cheers.) He knew nothing of some of the distinctions which some republicans attempt to set up between loyalty and disloyalty among Northern men. He assumed that every peaceable, law abiding citizen of the Northern States, not in arms with rebels, nor engaged in giving them aid and comfort, had no need to furnish evidence of his loyalty. Disloyalty implies crime, and no crime can exist where there is no criminal intention. Every man whose intention is loyal is loyal himself, and he must be the judge for himself of his intentions. No man with any propriety could say to another, you are a disloyal man unless he can convict him of disloyal practices. Men might differ in sentiment as to the mode of prosecuting the war, or even as to the necessity of the war, and still be loyal citizens entitled to the protection of their government. Individuals have a right to differ in reference to their political opinions, even upon the measures of the administration; and because a citizen of a Northern State entertains an opinion, and dares to express it, that any particular measure of the administration is not best calculated to restore the Union to its normal condition, it is no evidence of want of loyalty. And, if a man thinks this rebellion cannot be put down by war alone, he is not, therefore, disloyal. There was no just occasion for mutual charges of disloyalty amongst neighbors because they differ with reference to the great disturbing question of slavery. Mr. Lincoln himself had conceded this when he said; "If there be those who would not preserve this Union unless they could save slavery, I do not agree with them; and if there be those that would not preserve the Union unless they could destroy slavery, I do not agree with them." And if a man thinks this rebellion cannot be put down without suppressing every democratic newspaper in the land, and putting the gag in the mouth of every democratic lawyer in the land—if a man entain the opinion that this rebellion cannot be put down without resorting to these extreme measures—however foolish and fanatical he (Mr. S.) might regard the opinion, still he had no right even to say such a man is disloyal. (A voice—"What about the *Times*?") Then, gentlemen, he continued, we are all loyal; and it is proper and right that we should be here to-night. But being here, what shall we say? What shall we do? (A voice—"Say something about the *Times*.") With reference to that I can say but little. That matter, now agitating this whole community, from its centre to its circumference, is now in the hands of the courts, and there, I say, it ought to rest. (Applause.) What will be done with it by the court, when they get through, I do not undertake to express an opinion, because I trust in God, and have confidence in the integrity of the court and in the rectitude of the Executive whose duty it is to execute the order of the Court, that they will be executed in such a manner as to avoid conflict of authorities. But if, in the attempt to maintain the rights of the people, the military authorities should interfere and usurp them—if any such contingency should arise—my answer at this time is: "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof," and you yourselves are able to take care of your own rights.

REMARKS OF HON. E. W. M'COMAS.

Ex-Governor E. W. McCOMAS, having been called out and introduced, said:—Fellow citizens of Chicago, you have assembled together upon an occasion of very grave moment—a much more grave question, I apprehend, than many who now hear me believe. This country, after having gone on for seventy-five years in a career of prosperity, suddenly finds itself in the midst of a revolution which has no parallel in the history mankind—a nation that has every blessing that God Almighty confers upon humanity; a country broad enough for three hundred millions more people than inhabit it; a people with every right, every enjoyment, every blessing that man can conceive of—has suddenly been plunged into almost hopeless and irretrievable bankruptcy, bloodshed and ruin. Who are responsible for this awful condition of humanity upon this continent? (Voices—"Abolitionists," "Abe Lincoln," &c.) I know, fellow citizens, who are not responsible for it. I know that the Northern democracy have had no hand in that matter, and that their skirts are clear of it. (Applause and shouts.) You remember well how you and I were charged with being Union shrikers and Union savers two years ago. But I shall not talk of the loyalty of the democratic party or of my loyalty. Loyalty is a good thing when fighting in the cause of God and liberty—(cheers)—but loyalty is a damnable thing when it is fighting in the cause of tyrants. (Continued cheering.) You have, gentlemen, a government that has had various powers, with checks and balances. You have your State governments and your central government, and, on account of conflict between the authority of the State and federal governments you are involved in civil war. You have no conflict of powers between the executive, legislative and judicial powers. The legislative and judicial powers have been slowly giving way under the abounding power of the executive. This is the difficulty under which we now labor, and which we now have to dread. You have brought forth your treasure by millions, you have poured forth the blood of your sons upon every battle field of the war in the States of Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri and Virginia—what for? To maintain liberty. (Applause.) This war was started upon the ground that it was to be fought under the constitution, and for the constitution, and for the maintenance of the Union. Under this call the democratic party in the North rallied by thousands and hundreds of thousands. But the object of this war has since been perverted into a war for the emancipation of the negro. It has become a war that the democratic party did not bid for. ("Never!") It has become a war for trampling upon the rights of States, and that the democratic party never bid for. ("Never!") Now, when the democratic party, having indorsed, fought and bled under that act of Congress which declared that the object of the war was to unite the government under the constitution as it is, but now, if the members of that party choose to express the opinion that the policy of the administration is not calculated to produce the result of Union and harmony—are they to be throttled, their speakers imprisoned, and their newspapers suppressed? ("Never, never!") I tell you gentlemen, this question to night assumes precisely this form, and no more. You are already upon the eve of deciding the final question, not whether you will have Union or not, but whether your government shall override all the forms of law, and you will have a military despotism? I know not how the President of the United States is going to proceed upon this subject. I am not in the counsels of the administration. I only know that they have arrested men for being true men—ostracised them, as I think, without law and without reason. And now in your own midst this matter comes before you. The Chicago *Times*, published in your midst by a gentleman you yourselves know, whose tone, whose principles you know—aye, whose principles you have endorsed. (Cheering loud and long.) This paper not only represents you, but the people of the broad prairies of Illinois and the West—("The whole Union")—it has been milder in tone than many, it has not been scurrilous towards the administration; but it has simply indicated its views in opposition to the administration as to the best mode of preserving Union and liberty. ("That's so!") Now here lies the thing in a nutshell. If you can't have the right to get your news from the public papers free and untrammeled, you have no rights as freemen at all. We are told, gentlemen, that the last, best right of freemen is to vote. But I tell you, I would not give a farthing for the right to vote if I cannot speak and publish what I please; for how shall I get my information that shall inform me how to vote? Shall we get our information from the government telegrams? Are we to be fed with pap in this manner, at the leisure of the government, which is desirous of forming public opinion in its own way? (Applause.) Gentlemen, you are either freemen or slaves. But I am not here to count insurrection. I am not here to say anything against the laws of my country. I have loved my country (God witnesses) as I never loved wife or child; I have been proud of my country, but, above all else, I have been proud of freedom. You may tell me of the right to vote—you may tell me of union and loyalty, but I tell you, in the name of God, I am for liberty above all things. I care not what it involves. And so says Mr. Storey. He goes to a republican judge, to a republican marshal, in a republican city. (Cries of "Yes, that's played out," "Take that back.") Well, I'll take it back. (Cheers.) Mr. Storey has gone before a republican for judgment, and if Storey is a traitor we are all traitors (Cries of "Hurrah for Storey" and deafening cheers.) Storey's case is before Judge Drummond. The question involved is purely a legal question. The military have no right to interfere with Storey, having no power except what is delegated to them. They are mere servants of the people—Judge, President, Generals and all, and the people have put down in their constitution, their power of attorney, exactly what they have a right to do, in peace and war. There they have declared, and Mr. Storey declares, that the military have attempted to override the law, and to trample upon his rights and your rights. Mr. Storey appeals to the country for his rights. He stands where every man stands whose heart is loyally imbued with the principles of freedom. He will take off his hat and bow before that Judge, and receive the law. But, gentlemen, I will not suppose, when his decision is rendered, that the strong arm of military law will disregard it. I will not believe that the President of the United States will put his heel upon the last stronghold of human liberty and say, "I will override the rights of the people!" (Cheers.) I cannot believe that a man who has been born a poor man himself, who has lived among the people, can so far forget himself. I will not believe that a man who has lived so long in this country—who has grown up in it, who has grown old and gray in this country—can so far forget the rights of mankind and the memories of the great and good men who have fought and bled for this country, as to trample those rights down to destruction. I believe, before God and this people, he will not. I will not look beyond that. God forbid that I should have eyes to see beyond the time when it may not only be apparent that we are attempting to subjugate ten States, but that we are attempting to subjugate the liberties of Northern freemen! No, sir, I will not believe it. I will hope and trust and believe that the President will still respect the courts which the government of the United States has constituted to decide upon our rights. And when the time shall come of a full denial of those rights to us, then it will be time enough to look to God and the principles of eternal justice to right us. (Tremendous cheering.)

REMARKS OF WIRT DEXTER.

WIRT DEXTER, Esq., then came forward amid prolonged applause and spoke as follows:—Fellow citizens—While I shall mainly address myself, in the few remarks I make, directly to the question now agitating the public mind of this city, I shall expect from you the utmost toleration in regard to political differences; for a man who refuses to act in a crisis like this, because in so doing he may incidentally rescue his political opponent, is a demagogue and unworthy the name of citizen. I stand here as a republican, and I glory that I stand as a republican for the advocacy of what I deem higher and more sacred than any party, or all parties—the sacred right of free speech and free press. (Loud and long applause.) Now, gentlemen, I cannot agree, nor is it necessary that I should agree with the gentleman who has preceded me about the cause of this war. I think the democracy had something to do with it as well as the abolitionists; and I believe there is now in the State of Pennsylvania a miserable, infamous old man who was recently the democratic President of the United States, and who had about as much to do with the present state of affairs as anybody else. (Laughter.) But, gentlemen, what caused the war is not the question to-night, and it ought not to be brought here by anybody; and I am unwilling to believe that my friend who preceded me would willingly introduce any question of a partisan character upon this audience. For myself I claim the privilege of reading what I see fit to read, of hearing what I see fit to hear, and of speaking whatever I see fit to speak. Although it may not enhance the estimate many of you have of me, I will say that I have taken in my house for two years an abolition paper which had for the motto at its head these words, "The constitution and the Union are a covenant with death and a league with hell!" (Derisive laughter.) And I will say farther that Abraham Lincoln, to my certain knowledge, has taken that paper and read it. (Continued laughter.) Yet nobody thought of accusing him of treason, and I never was called to an account for it by any of my republican friends who came to my house. Now, gentlemen, what is this question we have thrust upon us here and now? Without this city being under martial law, without armies being in our immediate vicinity, there comes an order from General Burnside directing the suppression of a public newspaper—that is, he destroys their property, and our liberty of reading whatever we may choose to read, without due process of law, and without just cause. Gentlemen, there would have been just as much reason, prudence and regard for the constitution and the laws in suppressing a newspaper three years ago as there is to-day, because the condition of the country in relation to this question is not a whit different from what it was before the war. Martial law is a startling phrase in this country, and we also prize, as a people, the civil rights which we have to administer it. This State, with others adjoining it, have been incorporated into a military department which is under the command of General Burnside, which amounts to just this and no more, that General Burnside is to take charge of all military operations in such department; but no law or order has been made giving him the least control over the citizen or his property, and to exercise it in any manner whatever is as gross a usurpation as it would be for the commander of Camp Douglas to abrogate the courts of this city and issue his edicts involving the property and freedom of our citizens. What would my friends of the *Tribune* have thought if on a beautiful June morning some little upstart of a general, eminent by the magnitude of his blunders and notorious only by defeat, perfectly beside himself in admiration of his shoulder straps and regimentals—(prolonged laughter)—had marched up to that institution and said, "You will please retire through the back door; your principles are not healthy according to my standard," and according to something (God only knows what) he saw fit to call his military policy. (Continued laughter.) That is the question, gentlemen, and without any remarkable foresight, I can see that this thing may return to plague the inventors of it. I expect to live yet a few years, and I don't wish to see this kind of treatment turned upon the party of which I am a member; and I say to republicans to-night, gentlemen, be careful how you approach this abyss that opens before us, remember there is something more sacred in this question than party. I do not come here to night because I am one of the attorneys retained by the proprietors of the *Times*. Let not that be my plea for appearing before you on this occasion. Let it be said that I was here because I wished to add my humble voice in support of the liberties of my country. (Applause.) I take the responsibility of my presence here to-night, without reference to party; nay, defiant of party. (Continued applause.) Gentlemen, I hope the republicans who are here to-night will reflect upon this new tenure by which we are to hold our property and right of free press. It is the arbitrary opinion of an individual—to day a republican major general, perhaps to morrow a democratic major general. What is liberty worth if, when the citizen is charged with an offence, there is no tribunal to determine his case? To be in the hands of any one man, however good he may be, is despotism. The power he possesses and the possibility of its exercise is the destruction of liberty. When a republican says to me, "Dexter, you know these *Times* gentlemen are copperheads." I reply, "I think they are somewhat copperish, but, bounded by the laws of our country, they have a right to be so." That is, violating no law, they have a right to their opinion as to the war and all question connected with it. Treason is defined by the constitution and laws of our country. If Mr. Storey is guilty of treason, bring him into court. We have a republican District Attorney and republican courts which ought to be and are capable of vindicating the laws as though we had no war. The fact that Mr. Storey is not brought into those courts is a confession that he has violated no law—and hence, to suppress his paper, the mere irresponsible caprice of one man and the strong arm of force is brought to bear. It is possible that republicans will not see that despotic power is always established by supporting and advancing in the first instance the popular and prevailing opinions, and that to tolerate this usurpation on the ground that it is exercised for a good purpose, or one which the dominant party approves, is to fall an easy and silly victim to an absolute tyranny? Some one says that down South they pursue the same course Burnside is taking. We have not been particularly anxious to emulate the South, and, least of all, should we do so in this respect. In the South they have to day a military despot sun. I don't propose to imitate them. Those who do should support Burnside. Gentlemen, I am getting hoarse, and am afraid you can't hear me. (Voices, "Go on," "Go on," "Take a drink of water.") I will; but don't say of me as John Randolph once said of a country member of Congress who drank a pitcher of water while making a short speech, "He is the first windmill I ever saw go by water." Gentlemen, it is claimed this order of Burnside's is a necessary step in the war waged for the maintenance of our institutions. What are our institutions? First and dearest among them are free speech and free press. You say to the mother, give up the boy who is the light of your heart and the husband who is the support and prop of your life to fight and die for the assertion of liberty in Virginia and Tennessee, and while they are on that mission we will do our utmost to destroy liberty at home. Gentlemen, in looking over the past, you will find the establishment of a despotism often preceded by an attempt on the press. Thus, early in our colonial history, were papers suppressed in Virginia, Philadelphia and Boston. The fact that no one now intends to create a despotism in our midst will be a forlorn consolation, if, on any pretence of expediency, we give up those rights and privileges which compose the substantial part of our freedom, and I hesitate not to say that it is better for the people that the government should fail in any undertaking, whether of a warlike or peaceful character, which involves the destruction of a free press among twenty millions of free men. If this issue is pressed it will be resolutely met by the people of the Northwest and results in a division, and about an equal one, of these great States which have been so nobly united in the prosecution of the war, and the observations of all mankind, no less than our own three-quarters of a century of experience amount to the prophecy that the party which stands for free speech and free press must prevail. Gentlemen, this question has been submitted to the courts. You claim to be law abiding men rest quietly until you get the decision of the Judges. Show to the country that even now, when arbitrary force is to no small extent substituted for law, you can be excited, indignant, yet law-abiding citizens, reposing upon the remedies provided by the institutions of your country—to the last unwilling to believe that they are powerless for your protection. To republicans I say, if this is to remain a popular government, and our party is to stand or fall at the ballot box, let us insist that Mr. Lincoln and his administration thrust no such burden upon us as these arbitrary, unlawful acts of military officers. Their weight, if we assume them, will, and ought to, take our party, or any other that ever existed in a free government, to political perdition. (Loud and long-continued applause.)

REMARKS OF E. G. ASAY.

E. G. ASAY, Esq., then came forward, in obedience to the call of the President, and was received with the wildest applause. He said—You know what I have always been in politics, and it is not bad stock either; but on this question I have but one thing to say, and that is damnation to the man that invented it. (Cheers and cries of "good.") If one paper in our city can be suppressed by military authority, then every paper in every city all over this country can be. (A voice—"The *Tribune* too.") Aye, and not only the *Tribune*, but everything in New York—(a voice—"Not in New York")—and in Philadelphia, in Boston, and throughout the land. We will never get used to that kind of training, even under a Brigadier General. (Laughter.) Some of you may remember about a year ago that on this same platform with other gentlemen, I urged men to enlist and fight the battles of freedom, to secure to my children and yours and theirs, freedom of speech, freedom of the press and obedience to the laws. Now these soldiers we use to fill will be brought here to do what? To paralyze the freedom to tear down the liberty of the press? (Voices—"Never, never, never.") For one I will die first. (Voices—"That is so," "So will I.") In Chicago this question has assumed a very formidable aspect. The organ of the democratic party, if you will, has had a stopper put in its mouth for the hour—not many hours, I think. The next hour another party may sweep into power, and then where shall the stopper be put? (Cheers—"The *Tribune*.") Now, then, when we look at it here in our midst the question comes home to us, and we ask, "What has this man done that he is worthy of death?" I will not say that I have swallowed all that Mr. Storey has preached. A man would have to have the capacity of an immense jackass to swallow all any of these editors preach. The fact is, they are a good deal like us lawyers when defending a case against some of you knaves; they say a good many things they don't expect a sane man to believe, yet they hope there is some fool on the jury who will, and thus save their client from a severer punishment. (Laughter and a voice—"I repudiate that.") There are some lawyers back of me who say they repudiate that part of my speech; but I know what I say from experience. Well, if I can't believe all that Storey has said, in the name of God who can swallow all that Deacon Bross has said? (Laughter.) But I will tell you another thing. You remember a few months since when my old school-mate, George B. McClellan (cheers), was up here, who spoke words of treason then? The republican newspapers, that I loved, I confess, at that hour sometimes a little better than I did democratic papers, denounced his policy; and when, upon this very platform, I said that newspaper editors should not scatter distraction into the armies of the Union, I was called into class meeting the next day to give my experience on that point, and meekly asked by legal men who were making fortunes, while your sons and fathers were fighting and dying for your freedom, why I dare do that? Why? Because, they said, "If the newspapers keep quiet, how do you expect to build up and maintain our party in the army?" That man was John L. Scripps. (Laughter.) I return to the question to night, and feel that I am responsible for it. If news papers keep quiet, how do you expect to build up a government? That is the question of to-night, whether you will see in this city, right here in our midst, newspapers crushed, and the mouths of your speakers gagged? ("Never! Never!") Now, remember, if for one, these for others, and you for all, will stand by in the court room while the Judge reads forth his judgment, and we will abide the issue; but we want this people to understand throughout the land that the issue is, if it support the right of free speech, shall be upheld, though the military authorities send every soldier in the land here. (Three cheers.) I for one in this city, with my children around me, and my brothers around in yonder army, will ever stand by, so help me God, to keep me steadfast in this my resolution. I never will stand by and see an armed brutal soldiery tear down the liberties we have sworn still to protect. (Three cheers.) One word more, citizens of Chicago, and I sit down. That word is this: while Chicago in all her pride stands here upon the border of this beautiful lake, and Illinois in all her strength sends forth an army of soldiers to die for freedom—you and I would be worthy of an unmarked grave and an unwept funeral if we dared to sit by in this hour and say, "It is not our property; Mr. Storey and his paper may rise or fall; we will do nothing." But that is not our position. Let us stand firmly fixed upon the old rock of Plymouth—(cheers)—and as we plant our feet there let us say, "Hands off, this is holy ground. You shall not take from us this last best vestige of freedom—the gift of our fathers—the unshackled freedom of the press."

REMARKS OF R. G. CAULFIELD.

R. G. CAULFIELD, Esq., was then introduced by the President, and spoke as follows:—Fellow citizens, it is a late hour, and I shall detain you but a very few moments. Gentlemen, I am in favor of keeping the peace. I am in favor of law and order. I am in favor of sustaining every law so long as that law has the sanction of the courts. Whenever that law ceases to have the sanction of the courts I am opposed to that law; but until the disapprobation of the court is manifested upon that law I shall trust in it. I want my republican friends to do the same. We say to them, "Your property shall have the protection of that law, and we demand of you that the property of every other citizen shall have the same protection." I demand, and you demand, that the authority of the great fundamental law of the country—the constitution—shall and must be maintained. That constitution, gentlemen, guarantees to you the right of free speech, the right to print and the right of religion. (Cheers.) It guarantees to you the right to speak, your sentiments freely; it guarantees to you the right to print and to read, and to hear your sentiments read; and it guarantees to you the right to adore God according to the dictates of your own consciences. (Loud cheers.) But all these rights have been attacked. The right of speech has been attempted to be suppressed; the right to print is now the subject under discussion. And, gentlemen, if we permit these rights to be taken from us, I ask you what there is left to us of the right to adore God according to the dictates of our own consciences? If they have the right to interfere with one they have an equal right to interfere with the others. They have exercised, and claimed to have the right to interfere with the former, and I fear—I fear from the very depths of my soul—that if they are permitted to interfere on these two points, that liberty in matters of religion will go next. (Much feeling.) Why, they have attempted to interfere with that; they have taken down some preachers out of their pulpits because they would not pray to suit them. Some of them would not call on the Lord to have mercy on Abraham Lincoln. (Laughter.) They shall not find