

AMERICAN CITIZEN.

"Let us have Faith that Right makes Might; and in that Faith let us, to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it"—A. LINCOLN.

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THE ISSUE.

Great Speech of General Logan.

At Chicago, Tuesday Evening, Aug. 14.

CONTINUED FROM LAST WEEK.

You may pass free thro' the world until your time shall come to be called hence, but during that time you may have this consoling reflection, if it is any consolation to you, that your own hands were reddened by the blood of your own brethren for the purpose of destroying this country, and that you yourselves have written in blood the verdict against you, and that verdict is that this mark of treason shall remain upon you so long as you live, and never again shall you be intrusted with public or political trust by the people of the United States Government. That belongs to loyal men, not to you.

Then, my fellow-countrymen, we presented the issue on our side in the form of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The Congress of the United States have examined this question for some eight months—and they did wisely to deliberate in reference to it—have presented, according to the forms of the Constitution, a proposition for its own amendment. That proposition, when it becomes a part of the Constitution, is the fixed law of the land. The bare majority of Congress cannot repeal it. No President can veto it or revoke it. It becomes then a part of the law he has sworn to support, that he has sworn to execute and maintain, and the cold vote power cannot then be employed by the man who is so faithful to the exercise of that power which is delegated to him.

What are these propositions? The first one is, that all persons born in this country, except Indians not tax payers, shall be citizens of the United States, as well as those born in foreign lands who come here and take the oath of allegiance.—We are all citizens. A citizen is entitled to certain privileges and rights. Those rights are called civil rights. Certain other rights can be conferred upon them, called political rights. This fact of being a citizen gives him the right of free locomotion, to own property, to sue and be sued, and have his rights decided the same as anybody else in this country. I believe there is no man in this country who lives and is a man of proper feeling, who would object to any man (no matter what his color might be) woman or child, being a citizen of the United States, and having a right to claim that protection of that sturdy old emblem of the unity of our great and glorious country. [Cheers.]

This first section of this amendment confers this right upon the people, except upon Indians not paying taxes. And now it does seem to me that a man who could in his heart say that a poor man, because he was a colored man, that served faithfully in the army of the United States, should never be called a citizen; should never have the right to go into the courts of his country and there contend for his rights as other men; should never enjoy the privilege of going from one State to another; should never have the privilege of collecting his debts; should never have the security of life or the protection of his property and the rights that are cast upon a citizen by his merely being a citizen. The man who would refuse that to one who had sustained the flag and the Constitution of his country—that man is fitted for an association of traitors, with Andrew Johnson at his head. [Cheers.]

The next proposition in this amendment to the Constitution of the United States is this: It is equalizing the representation between the different States. According to our present basis of representation, each State is now entitled to representatives according to its population, counting one member to every 125,000 voters. That is the number, I believe, Judge Trumbull? [A little over that, I believe.] Well, we will say over that. I think it is a little something over, but say upon that basis, they, the rebels, have gained, in their representation, by the rebellion. Because, while slavery existed, the slaves counted as only three-fifths. Five slaves counted as three white men in the basis of representation. But now, inasmuch as slavery is abolished, under the present law and under the present Constitution, unless that Constitution is changed, the representation is upon the whole population. The five slaves who counted only as three white men will now count as five white men.—Now we propose to change that Constitution so as to make the representative basis equal.

But let us see how it will be done. In Illinois, in 1860, we had seventeen hundred thousand population, I believe. In South Carolina they had a little over seven hundred thousand population. In South Carolina, according to the basis of representation now, that seven hundred thousand population, they would be entitled

to six representatives in Congress.—Take the seven hundred thousand of our population—don't count the seventeen hundred thousand, but count seven hundred thousand, so as to make us equal—how many representatives would that give us? It would give us six; and we would have six, and the State of South Carolina six. But out of our seven hundred thousand population they would all be white people. We only had seventeen thousand colored people in 1860, in the whole State of Illinois, out of nearly two millions of people. Our seven hundred thousand would be nearly all white men. Out of that take the voters—one voter to every five—and we would have twenty thousand voters to each hundred thousand of the population. Then, out of seven hundred thousand of population, we would have one hundred and forty thousand voters, because our people all vote—all the white people.

But in the State of South Carolina how would it be? In South Carolina they had over four hundred thousand blacks, and a little over two hundred thousand whites. Now, the blacks don't vote! Count your two hundred thousand whites over, and how many do you have? Counting, as before, twenty thousand voters to each one hundred thousand of their voting population, you would have forty thousand voters. They have, then, forty thousand voters in the State of South Carolina, and they would elect six Representatives to Congress. And Illinois would have one hundred and forty thousand voters, and would elect six Representatives in Congress. It would take then the votes of one hundred and forty thousand men—loyal men of the State of Illinois—to count for as much as the votes of forty thousand traitors in the State of South Carolina.

Now, tell me, where is the loyal man in this country, I don't care whether he calls himself a Democrat or a Republican if he means to be a loyal man, who will tell me he don't think his vote ought to count as much in electing members of Congress as the vote of a rebel in the State of South Carolina? If there is any Copperhead in the city of Chicago who says this, if he will own to being a traitor, I am perfectly willing he shall reconcile that to his own conscience.—[Cheers.] And the man in this country who is opposed to this provision of the amendments to the Constitution, that man says by his opposition to it,—"I am not as good as a traitor." That is the reasoning, and they cannot get out of it; because, there is the proposition; there are the proofs. You take the census and examine it. There is the basis of representation. These are the facts. If the Democrats in this country think the rebels are so much better than they that they take seven Democrats to make one rebel, we say that there are not Democrats enough in South Carolina to make one good loyal man in Illinois. [Cheers.]—And we propose that the Constitution of the United States shall not be a slander for the Northern people. [Cheers.] It shall not stand there and say to us and to the loyal people of the country, "You saved the country in its terrible trial!"—You have ever stood by the Constitution and the Union! You have sustained the flag! You have poured out your blood and treasure freely for the preservation of the Government! But, although you have done all that, yet you are not going to count as much as a traitor who sought to destroy the country, when you come to vote for member of Congress and when you come to have your votes in the Electoral College counted; when you come to have your votes counted for the President of the United States. I know it would be a very nice thing at the next election, provided these States are allowed to vote. I don't know whether they will be or not. That is a question for Congress to determine, according to my judgment.—They may be, and they may not be entitled. [Cheers.] But if they do have the opportunity of voting, why I suppose that those who are friends of the Copperheads, and friends of the rebels, and friends of the President, would like very well to count South Carolina six votes in the Electoral College, when, according to a fair count, she would be entitled to but two. I suppose Andy would like very well to count forty thousand rebel votes against one hundred and forty thousand loyal votes. I suppose he would be against the one hundred and forty thousand loyal votes. They would be against him. [Cheers.]

Now, this is the only reasoning there is about it. Every one knows there is no fairness in this species of representation as it exists now, and there is not a Democrat in this land that can deny it. There is no man can say it is just. He cannot do it in any community where the people have any sense of justice. He cannot say so. If he says he is opposed to this constitutional amendment, it is because he knows the loyal people of this country are more than the traitors, and they must count the rebels three times as much as they are, or else their cause is decided against them, and they go out of court. [Cheers.] Now, what are their reasons for opposing this amendment? How do they oppose it? Well, the President of the United States opposed it by saying, "Well, I don't think it is a good time to amend the Constitution just now." Well, just before a Presidential election perhaps it would not be, if he expected to be a candidate. It perhaps is so. [Cheers.] The rebels say, "Well, the constitution is good enough as it is."

Well, I suppose that is a fact. One of the Cabinet said that the men who wanted to amend the Constitution were "Constitution thinkers," and all such talk as that. Well, now, that is the argument they make against these Constitutional amendments. They don't come up and face the matter and discuss it fairly, but they say it is no time to amend the Constitution of the United States—that we had better get through with our little troubles first, and then amend the Constitution of the United States. Why, my fellow-countrymen, the way to get thro' this trouble is to amend the Constitution of the United States, and to amend the Constitution so that we shall never again have any troubles as we have had during the past four years. [Cheers.] I want to know if there is a soldier in this house to night [Cries, "Plenty of them!"] who served four years for his country [Cries, "Plenty of them! Plenty of them!"] who is willing to admit for one moment that he shall not count as much as a traitor. [Cries, "Not one, no one."] I want to know who he is. If there was a soldier of that kind who served under me I want to see what kind of a looking man he is. [Cheers.] I know that no soldier served under me—and in this war I commanded over sixty odd thousand when it ended, as good men as ever shouldered muskets—I know there is not one. I don't care who he is or what his name may be—who has not forgotten himself, who has not lost his manhood entirely, but what to-day can stand out boldly and defiantly before the country and before his God, and say I performed my duty to my country, and he who attempts to make a traitor to the land my equal in the Government, that man does me an injury that I can never forgive! [Prolonged applause.]

The next proposition or amendment to the Constitution that is proposed, is in reference to the leading rebels of the South holding office, either State or Federal, hereafter. It proves that no person who had taken the oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and afterward, I believe, voluntarily entered into this rebellion, or gave it aid, comfort or assistance, shall ever hold office under the State or Federal authority. Now, I want any man to tell me why he is opposed to this part of the constitutional amendment. Has a man by serving in the rebel army four years qualified himself to be an officer of the U. S. Government? It seems to me that that is a poor school to go to for the purpose of becoming qualified to be a member of Congress! I think so. Why then is it that our opponents defend him and say he is entitled to hold office—that he has a right to participate in the affairs of this Government? What has he done since this rebellion is over in order to give him an claim upon the people of the United States for this great trust that they are to impose upon him? Why, it does seem to me that the man who has been loyal throughout all this struggle is a better qualified man to hold the offices of the country than the man that has been a traitor throughout the struggle. [Cheers.] It seems to me so. We then propose to act according to the plan of Andrew Johnson when he said to the people of Tennessee that "None but loyal men shall vote, none but loyal men shall hold office." That is what he said. He said so to Gov. Holden, of South Carolina, when he gave him his instructions—that none but men who had been loyal to the United States of America should be members of their State Convention.

He gave this kind of instructions, and we are willing to take that part of Andrew Johnson's platform to stand on.—We propose to do it. We say none but the loyal in this land shall place their hands upon the Bibles of this Government again to take the oaths of office, or have charge of its affairs at any time.—[Applause.]

But Mr. Orr says that "we loyal men," that is, we rebels who have become loyal very recently, that these men are to come forward to be placed in office. As I said in the commencement of these desultory

remarks of mine, we believe this Government must be placed in the hands of the men who saved it—the civilians at home and the soldiers in the field. [Applause.] The people of this country shall be forever placed beyond the reach of traitors, or men who have conspired to destroy it. You have soldiers in the field, you have civilians at home, whom you can trust, you can always find soldiers you can trust. [Cheers.] We have plenty of loyal men, both civilians and soldiers, who did save the country once, and can save it again, at home and on the battle field. These are the men we propose to trust, and we propose by this constitutional amendment to say so to Jeff. Davis, and to Robert E. Lee, and Beauregard, and Alexander H. Stevens—the man that is put up by the Copperheads now—a days as a man who is loyal to the Union of the United States. He is held up as a paragon of perfection—he is the man from whom you are to learn loyalty; the Vice President of the pretended South-Confederacy; he and Toombs, Silldell, Mason, and Breckinridge, who was Vice President of this noble Government once—he who forfeited his oath, his life, and everything else, according to the laws of the land, and escaped from his country to be a man hated and despised in all the nations of the earth, wherever he may go. And our Copperhead friends here say we must not place any restriction. There must be no conditions precedent. These men are loyal now. Why? Because they are not in rebellion. Why, they are obeying the laws just the same as anybody else.—They are quiet, are they not? Yes, very quiet. Very quiet down in New Orleans a few days ago—quiet at Memphis; in quiet a number of places they have been peaceable and quiet. They say they are not arming themselves against the Government now; they are not rebels now.—They have laid down their arms; hence, they are civilians; they are citizens; they are loyal men because they obey the laws of the land. Well, you obey the laws of the land too. You are a loyal man without having been a rebel. You have been a loyal man all the time. You have obeyed the laws all the time, and I would like to ask some of these Copperhead friends this question: Suppose a man steals a horse to-day and you send him to jail to-morrow, is he any less a horse thief to-morrow than he was to-day—[laughter and cheers]—I would like to know? He obeys the law. He is in jail and he cannot violate it. [Great laughter.] He obeys the law just precisely as these rebels do. They laid down their arms. Why? Because they loved the Constitution of the United States?—[laughter.] We think not. Because they loved it? It seems to me if they had they would have had it in place of their own. Was it because they loved the Government of the United States? If they had, they would not have tried to establish one of a different form. Why was it they laid down their arms?—Just as the horse thief went to jail—because he could not help it! [Cheers.]—Hence, they obey the law because they are compelled to obey it—not because they love it. They obey the edicts of this country, not because they love the country, but because they cannot help it. That is the only reason. They are loyal, our Copperhead friends say, because they obey the law. We don't exactly understand it in the same light they do. We have obeyed the law all the time. We are making these chaps obey the law.—They cannot help themselves; and we propose to keep on making them obey the law until they come to be very good law abiding citizens. We will let them know if we have any use for them, and if we have anything in Congress for them we will send them word and give them notice. [Laughter.]

Why, Jeff. Davis is a good, loyal man now, according to the Copperhead idea, and according to Mr. Johnson's theory. While a man obeys the law he is a loyal man. Jeff. is obeying it, I believe.—I have not heard of any disobedience while he has been down there. He submits not very willingly, but yet he obeys because he cannot help it. Well, according to this theory, Jeff. is a good loyal man. That looks very strange. If that theory is correct, and another rebellion comes up in this country, you had a great deal better be a traitor than a loyal man. Why? Because if you are a loyal man, and fight for your country you gain no credit for it. If you are a rebel, and fight and win, you are all safe. If you lose you have lost nothing, because as you are whipped you lay down your gun and you obey the law, and you become a loyal man. Then you are entitled to all the rights and privileges that those men are who have been fighting against you. The rebel comes up and says, "I am as

loyal a man as you are; you whipped us that is true; there was more of you than there was of us, you know. After you whipped us we submitted, we accepted the situation." This is the language of all these Southern chaps. "We accept the situation. O yes, we accept it, we are willing to obey the law, and we are as loyal as anybody." I want to know what a disloyal man loses? He fights for four years to create an independent government. So soon as he loses the fight, what does he forfeit? According to the theory of Mr. Johnson and the Copperheads he loses nothing the very moment he lays down his arms.

At this stage of the proceedings Gov. Oglesby appeared upon the platform, and was greeted with enthusiastic cheers.—Gen. Logan resumed as follows: My fellow citizens, as I was remarking the man who is a rebel, if this new theory that we have heard is to be carried out, he loses nothing, if he wins, he wins all. But if he loses, he loses nothing; he can lay down his gun to-day and be made a loyal man to-morrow; be elected to Congress the next day, and, if Mr. Johnson has his will, he will be received and sworn in and assist to make laws to govern you, and be received in five days after laying down his arms as a rebel.—He may one day, according to his theory, enter the rebel army, and the next day be elected to the rebel Congress, and perhaps the next day a battle may come off and the rebel army may surrender, and as soon as it surrenders he may be appointed a Governor of a State or elected to Congress, and in less than six weeks may be a representative in the Congress of the United States, then a commander in the rebel army against the Government, then in the Confederate Congress, making laws for rebels, then a Governor of a rebel State; from that he can step into Congress and make laws for the loyal people of the country, all in the space of six or eight weeks, according to the machine that Mr. Johnson runs.

Now I do not like this kind of a mill; I think it grinds out loyal men a little too fast out of these men, and we do not propose to settle it but one way, and that is, we propose to adopt this amendment, as I have stated, that proscribes these men and says to them, "You have been leading traitors, holding office under this Confederate Government, having taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States. As a punishment for your treason and to make treason odious, we will brand you by the Constitution of the United States, and mark you so that you will go about the country marked, and branded, too, with treason's strongest brand, so that each and every man, woman and child may know you as you pass by the wayside." [Applause.]

That is our side of the question, and what we propose to do. We say, "We have seen these men tested before; when they were tested they proved traitors to the land, and we never will trust them again, nor allow them to govern us.—Now I want to ask you, the people of Chicago, one question. Two years ago, suppose some man should have got up in Chicago and said that Alexander H. Stephens, the Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy, would be a Senator in the United States Senate within two years how long do you think that man would have lived here? Now your feelings were in such a condition that no man could have said to you that he intended the President to make United States Senators of such men as Alexander H. Stephens, as Mr. Orr and such men as Mr. Johnson wants to be received into the United States Senate. No man could have come into the city of Chicago and advocated any such doctrine two years ago, in my judgment; but yet, to-day, the great head of the nation attempts to enforce and impose this doctrine upon the people of the United States of America. [Cries of "They can't do it!"] It seems to me, it is a little too heavy a dose. I do not think they will take it. I do not think we will do it. If the Copperheads want us to agree to that proposition, we will tell them this: "Whenever we get out of loyal men in the country, then perhaps we will agree that you may send a few of them in; but not before, and as they must wait until we do it. As long as loyal men can be found to govern it, disloyal men shall not govern this country. That is what we say. We say to these people that 'this war has cost too much; we have shed too much blood; we have incurred too heavy a debt; and we have evidence throughout this land of what treason has done too great to allow us to accept such a proposition.' We say, when you ask us to allow the leading rebels to come into Congress and make laws for us. 'It surprises us as being such an astounding thing that it is revolting to our senses. We cannot agree to any such proposition.'

No, sir, we say that we intend to put this amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and we intend to stand by it, saying that no man who was one of the leading rebels shall ever be one of the Leaders in the Legislative department of our Government, or be in the Judicial department, or in the Executive department. [Cheers.]

We say farther, that after we pass this amendment to the Constitution, and excludes these men, what else will we do? We will keep upon our statute books an oath that every man must swear to when he enters the portals of the Congressional Hall of the United States, as a proof that he never has aided or encouraged this rebellion, or held office or sought office under it; and we will make him swear. Loyal men have to take that oath. We have to take it. So we will require these gentlemen to take it; and if they come up there and do take it, and commit perjury, knowing that they do commit perjury, what else will we do? [Hang them.] If we know that they were in the rebel army, or commit perjury right there before us, what will we do? Why, the Congress of the United States will expel such men because they are not fit to have seats in the councils of the nation.

There is another thing proposed as a part of this amendment. That is this: the people shall never be taxed to pay the rebel debt. You and I shall never pay any portion of that indebtedness that any of these rebellious States contracted with Great Britain or France, or with anybody else, to assist them in destroying the Government of these United States. By this declaration we say this: We say to England, "You shall not be paid;" and we say to the rebels, "You shall pay her." They were willing to assist the rebel armies against this Government; furnished their arms and munitions of war. Now let them go and take it out of the effects of Jeff. Davis, or take it out of the rebel bonds if they can find they can make money out of them. We do not care to tax the people to pay it, and we have more respect even for rebels than to allow them to be taxed for it [laughter]; but we do say to Mr. Rebel, that "you have got to pay this little debt up here. You have caused us to incur it on account of your treason. You claim to be citizens now; we are going to tax you, and we are going to make you help us pay the debt that you caused us to become liable for; we have that much respect for you that we intend you to assist in maintaining the Government. You say that you are loyal; we propose to have you help, inasmuch as you receive protection. We are going to protect you against England in collecting this debt of yours; we are not going to allow her to do so, but you must help to pay our debt; it is part of your debt, and it is part of our debt, and if they do not do it willingly we have a way of sending a man round and collecting the taxes. We will make them do it. There is no use in being mealy-mouthed about these things, you know. There is no use in dodging the question; we might just as well make them do it as to say we will try to make them do it, because we intend it shall be done.—We have the power, and we intend to exercise it, and intend they shall be made to pay it; at least this is my opinion.

Now, I want to know where is the loyal man who is not in favor of these four sections, which make up this amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Where is the man an object to them?—This is the issue before the people. We have made it our platform. We are going to stand by it. Our members of Congress were eight months in presenting it to the people. I tell you that I think they did wisely in delaying it, so that they might mature their plan and study it well before they presented it to the people. I think it is a good plan, I think it is a just one, I am in favor of it, and there is no loyal man in the land who can refuse to support and sustain it, so as to make it a part of the Constitution of the United States.

It may not be quite as far in some particulars as we would desire it to go, but yet it went so far, and only so far, that we could concentrate the whole force of the Union party in favor of it, hence it is the best thing that could be adopted. I think it is a very wise thing too, for the reason that the Copperheads and oppositors are against it, and that is the issue, my fellow citizens, that we have to decide this fall, whether or not loyal men shall be considered better than traitors; whether loyal men shall control the government, or disloyal men, which is a better term, or whether they shall rule it, whether our debt shall be paid and the rebel debt shall not be paid; whether or not the representation of this country shall be so equalized that each and every man

in the North shall count for as much as a man in the South, that the advantage shall be on neither side, but that one shall be considered as good a voter as another. We say to these men at the South, we intend to amend the Constitution in this manner, and if you desire more representation the Constitution gives it to you. There is a way by which you can have it. How is that? Make more voters, and then you will have more representation. You can do that by enfranchising certain men. If you do not, it is none of our business. You have a right to do so, or not, just as you see proper. If you enfranchise your negroes they will have representation. If you do not, you are entitled to the same representation precisely as the people of the North are, according to the number of votes polled at the election—no more.

And this is the issue upon which we propose to make fight. Now, my fellow citizens, can there be a question as to which side we ought to be on in this great time? Why, it does seem to me that there can be no doubt at all as to the side which the people of Chicago ought to take. This constitutional amendment is in favor of loyalty as against treason, in favor of justice as against wrong, why then ought not each and every man to do for it? It seems to me that no soldier ought to hesitate for a moment which side of the question he would be on. I want to ask a soldier who has fought in this war, who has crossed many bloody plains, and stormed many a rugged height, who has planted the banner of his country upon any rebel stronghold, well fortified, and held by rebel guns, why he could be opposed to this proposition that we present as the platform of the party. Sir, if you were a soldier, with whom do you act, whom do you support, is it your brothers in arms and the loyal men who stood by you while you were sleeping on the cold ground, while you were penetrating thickets, marching through pines, in the storms which came from the heavens day after day; while you were on the battle plains; while perhaps your blood was flowing freely, while perhaps you were raising the flag that your brother had dropped because his last blood was issuing out of his veins? The men that prayed for you, sympathized with you, wept when you wept, and sang songs of joy when you achieved a victory; who glorified in your success and wept at your defeat, and over the graves of your fathers and brethren, are the men to-day standing by this proposition and this constitutional amendment—they are the ones.

Why is it then that the soldier at this time has doubts as to where his duty calls him? Why is it that he can ask for a moment where he shall go? Will that brave man who was willing to risk his life that the country might live, turn his eyes to the White House to-day and say, "Perhaps if I turn against my friends, if I repudiate the men who stood by me in my hour of trial, in the lonely moment when I had none to console me, a commission may be placed in my hands by which, if kept for some fleeting years, I may be Postmaster at two cross roads, a collector, or an assessor. But shall I, a war-worn veteran, repudiate the principles for which I fought, and the interest that I have in my friends, and grasp for the shadow of power when the substance is not there?"

I say no, I believe no soldier will do it. They may accept office. Of that I do not complain. They can do that if they choose, but at the same time the true veteran soldier says, when he comes to the ballot box and goes to vote, "I vote as I fought—on the side of loyalty against treason." He can say that, but he can say nothing else.

There is no reason why we should not succeed and insure the triumph of the right. We can do it. If that policy of right conquer—if we go forward in the same line that we have marked out for ourselves—then we will finally attain the glories I have described. Let us then go forward. Let liberty, freedom, and civilization, intelligence and Christianity, be our watchwords. Let us take no steps backward, and at last we will reach the climax; so that each and every man, and each and every nation, shall view our condition, and wish that all the nations of the earth were similarly situated.

Let, too, that monument to liberty in this land that we commenced to rear when we killed treason, and when its last agonies of death were over, and its shrieks were heard long and far, go on, and let each of us bring a particle to make this monument still higher. Let it be more beautiful as it goes higher, until finally, it shall kiss the clouds, and receive the smiles and the blessings of Heaven. Then will its light be so brilliant that all the civilized nations of the earth shall be attracted thereto, and shall draw inspiration therefrom until the fires of universal liberty shall burst forth in the bosom of every man, woman and child throughout the world until thrones shall totter and be crushed beneath their own weight, and a cry shall go from the ends of the rivers to the ends of the earth, "Freedom, freedom to all mankind!"

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Now, I want to know where is the loyal man who is not in favor of these four sections, which make up this amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Where is the man an object to them?—This is the issue before the people. We have made it our platform. We are going to stand by it. Our members of Congress were eight months in presenting it to the people. I tell you that I think they did wisely in delaying it, so that they might mature their plan and study it well before they presented it to the people. I think it is a good plan, I think it is a just one, I am in favor of it, and there is no loyal man in the land who can refuse to support and sustain it, so as to make it a part of the Constitution of the United States.

It may not be quite as far in some particulars as we would desire it to go, but yet it went so far, and only so far, that we could concentrate the whole force of the Union party in favor of it, hence it is the best thing that could be adopted. I think it is a very wise thing too, for the reason that the Copperheads and oppositors are against it, and that is the issue, my fellow citizens, that we have to decide this fall, whether or not loyal men shall be considered better than traitors; whether loyal men shall control the government, or disloyal men, which is a better term, or whether they shall rule it, whether our debt shall be paid and the rebel debt shall not be paid; whether or not the representation of this country shall be so equalized that each and every man

in the North shall count for as much as a man in the South, that the advantage shall be on neither side, but that one shall be considered as good a voter as another. We say to these men at the South, we intend to amend the Constitution in this manner, and if you desire more representation the Constitution gives it to you. There is a way by which you can have it. How is that? Make more voters, and then you will have more representation. You can do that by enfranchising certain men. If you do not, it is none of our business. You have a right to do so, or not, just as you see proper. If you enfranchise your negroes they will have representation. If you do not, you are entitled to the same representation precisely as the people of the North are, according to the number of votes polled at the election—no more.

And this is the issue upon which we propose to make fight. Now, my fellow citizens, can there be a question as to which side we ought to be on in this great time? Why, it does seem to me that there can be no doubt at all as to the side which the people of Chicago ought to take. This constitutional amendment is in favor of loyalty as against treason, in favor of justice as against wrong, why then ought not each and every man to do for it? It seems to me that no soldier ought to hesitate for a moment which side of the question he would be on. I want to ask a soldier who has fought in this war, who has crossed many bloody plains, and stormed many a rugged height, who has planted the banner of his country upon any rebel stronghold, well fortified, and held by rebel guns, why he could be opposed to this proposition that we present as the platform of the party. Sir, if you were a soldier, with whom do you act, whom do you support, is it your brothers in arms and the loyal men who stood by you while you were sleeping on the cold ground, while you were penetrating thickets, marching through pines, in the storms which came from the heavens day after day; while you were on the battle plains; while perhaps your blood was flowing freely, while perhaps you were raising the flag that your brother had dropped because his last blood was issuing out of his veins? The men that prayed for you, sympathized with you, wept when you wept, and sang songs of joy when you achieved a victory; who glorified in your success and wept at your defeat, and over the graves of your fathers and brethren, are the men to-day standing by this proposition and this constitutional amendment—they are the ones.

Why is it then that the soldier at this time has doubts as to where his duty calls him? Why is it that he can ask for a moment where he shall go? Will that brave man who was willing to risk his life that the country might live, turn his eyes to the White House to-day and say, "Perhaps if I turn against my friends, if I repudiate the men who stood by me in my hour of trial, in the lonely moment when I had none to console me, a commission may be placed in my hands by which, if kept for some fleeting years, I may be Postmaster at two cross roads, a collector, or an assessor. But shall I, a war-worn veteran, repudiate the principles for which I fought, and the interest that I have in my friends, and grasp for the shadow of power when the substance is not there?"

I say no, I believe no soldier will do it. They may accept office. Of that I do not complain. They can do that if they choose, but at the same time the true veteran soldier says, when he comes to the ballot box and goes to vote, "I vote as I fought—on the side of loyalty against treason." He can say that, but he can say nothing else.

There is no reason why we should not succeed and insure the triumph of the right. We can do it. If that policy of right conquer—if we go forward in the same line that we have marked out for ourselves—then we will finally attain the glories I have described. Let us then go forward. Let liberty, freedom, and civilization, intelligence and Christianity, be our watchwords. Let us take no steps backward, and at last we will reach the climax; so that each and every man, and each and every nation, shall view our condition, and wish that all the nations of the earth were similarly situated.

Let, too, that monument to liberty in this land that we commenced to rear when we killed treason, and when its last agonies of death were over, and its shrieks were heard long and far, go on, and let each of us bring a particle to make this monument still higher. Let it be more beautiful as it goes higher, until finally, it shall kiss the clouds, and receive the smiles and the blessings of Heaven. Then will its light be so brilliant that all the civilized nations of the earth shall be attracted thereto, and shall draw inspiration therefrom until the fires of universal liberty shall burst forth in the bosom of every man, woman and child throughout the world until thrones shall totter and be crushed beneath their own weight, and a cry shall go from the ends of the rivers to the ends of the earth, "Freedom, freedom to all mankind!"

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