

GRAND RATIFICATION.

Full Proceedings of the Great Meeting in Indianapolis on the Evening of June 28, 1880.

Speeches by Governor Hendricks, Mr. English, Senator McDonald, Senator Voorhees,

Hon. Franklin Landers, Candidate for Governor, Hon. David Turpie, Hon. David S. Gooding and Colonel J. B. Maynard.

Great Enthusiasm, the Most Intense Battle Fought, and a Manifest Determination to Win the Fight in the Coming Election—Ratification Speeches in Full.

Long before the time fixed for the meeting at the Wigwam great crowds gathered in front of the building and in all the streets leading to it. It was manifest that the meeting was to be an immense success, and subsequent events were such as to carry proof of this expectation. Some time before the meeting, cannon belched forth their congratulations, and as the time approached fire works were sent up in front of the building. At 8 o'clock the building was full, and at 8:20, when the meeting was called to order, it was crowded in every available inch of space and on the outside there were probably 2,000 people who were unable to gain admission, and were compelled to go away unsatisfied.

The meeting was called to order by General John Love, who introduced Ex-Governor Thomas A. Hendricks as President. When he appeared he was accorded a very warm greeting, and after the applause had subsided he made the following speech:

GOVERNOR HENDRICKS' SPEECH.

MY FELLOW-CITIZENS—It sometimes happens to a man that the obligations which rest upon his fellows are so great that he cannot command language to express his appreciation, and that in his position in standing before you to-night, I have received so many favors from the Democracy of Indiana that I only can thank them. For many years you and I have fought together in the cause of Democracy. In former times, when sometimes it was defeat, when sometimes it was success, always we stood together; when the storm was the highest and the wildest, and the sunshine gave them success, you and I were together, not for any personal cause, not for any personal advancement, but because you and I believed in the principles of the Democratic party—the principles that maintained the rights and prosperity and welfare of all the people. Now, my fellow-citizens, we have presented to you a ticket for our consideration, and for our support. That ticket was made last week at Cincinnati; and the question is shall it be elected? Of the result, I say to you to-night, I have no doubt that General Winfield Scott Hancock and William H. English will be elected. Why, if I had a doubt before I could have ladies and men here to attest their appreciation of the strength and excellence of that ticket. General Hancock is distinguished in war as he is distinguished in peace. As a warrior he was distinguished in Mexico; as a commander he was distinguished in the late war. No man stands above him as a military chieftain, and when the war was over and the Administration sent him down to New Orleans in command of Louisiana and Texas, he attested his qualifications as a civil ruler. General Hancock, in 1867, about the month of November, was sent to New Orleans to aid in the cruel work, as desired by the Northern extreme and Radical party to oppress still further, to subjugate and almost destroy that free people; and when he assumed the command he asserted the sentiments and principles of American Democracy in the orders which he then issued. In the paper of this evening I observe the first order and the second and the third of the important orders issued by General Hancock at New Orleans. While I read briefly from those orders, because I desire you to understand that General Hancock is much more than a mere military commander, however great he may be in that respect, I want you to understand that he has those sentiments of free government and that quality and fit him to be ruler of a free people. In the order No. 40, issued in November, 1867, at New Orleans, General Hancock uses this language:

"The General commanding is gratified to learn that peace and quiet reign in this department of things. As a means to this great end he regards the maintenance of the authority in the faithful execution of the laws as the most efficient under existing circumstances. In war it is indispensable to position to lawful authority. But when insurrectionary force has been overthrown and peace established, and the civil authorities are ready and willing to perform their duties, the military should cease to lead and the administration resume its natural and rightful dominion. Solemnly impressed with these views, the General commanding announces that the great principles of American liberty are still the lawful inheritance of this people and ever should be."

I shall not detain you to read the balance of the order. It is in accordance with the spirit of so much as I have read. But his orders did not stop there. It turned out that one of his predecessors had established rules for the selection of juries that were intended to convict all that the party in power did not like, and to acquit all who were the favorites of that party in power, and General Hancock at once said that these restrictions upon the jury should be abrogated. He did not stop there. Thinking men, I dare say many of you have thought that the contest for fair elections was made first at the extra session of Congress last year. In that you are mistaken. The fight for free elections is more than a century old among English-speaking people, but in the politics of this country it is older than the extra session; it is found for the first time in Louisiana and Texas, where General Hancock made the contest for free elections. In his order issued in 1867, he declared the military power in Texas and Louisiana should not at all interfere with the elections, and went further, and directed that no soldier should approach the voting place, unless to exercise the lawful right to vote himself. And when any Republican asks me why I support Winfield S. Hancock, he being a

military man, I say that in the civil Government which he maintained in Louisiana and Texas he did assert those principles that will preserve the liberties of the whole country. My fellow-citizens, this election is a very important one here in Indiana. We are an October State, as it is called, we are to vote first in October—and also Ohio—and it is of prime importance that Indiana shall speak boldly, plainly and strongly in October, so that all the other States that are to follow in November may know how the men of Indiana stand in this contest. We have got to fight the battle first. We have got to fight the officers of this Administration. Under the pretense that it will not allow its officers to interfere in political affairs it does most corruptly—I believe more corruptly than any Administration the country has ever known—interfere with all its office-holding army. That army is now a hundred thousand strong. A hundred thousand partisans under pay already. They have been called upon to contribute their twenty-four dollars apiece. Already the order has gone forth to contribute this enormous sum of money. When it is known that the Presidential election does turn upon the pivotal State, Indiana, how much of that money is to come here to corrupt our free election? Oh! I trust to you, men, you have stood up in the spirit of persecution when they have prevented our civil and business relations, because of your democracy. You have stood up when soldiers were here to threaten and disturb you; and now, when they send money to influence the election in Indiana, I trust with the greatest confidence that we will maintain a pure election, and the supremacy of the Democratic party. Shortly after General Hancock issued these orders in the name of popular liberty, they turned him out of command and supplied his place with commanders that would serve their purpose better. They turned him out from the command in Louisiana and Texas because he was the stalwart champion of popular rights, and the American people will put him back in power because he is the champion of popular rights. I now introduce to you Mr. English, our nominee for Vice President.

HON. WILLIAM H. ENGLISH'S SPEECH.

MY FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS—I need hardly say that I am glad to see you, and that I fully appreciate and cordially thank you for your friendly greetings.

I attribute your enthusiastic demonstration mainly to a desire to express in an emphatic manner, your faith and confidence in the great cause I have in part been chosen to represent—a great cause, before which the petty ambitions and jealousies of men shrink into utter insignificance. I also attribute the remarkable unanimity with which I was nominated to the second highest place in the gift of the people not so much to any merit of my own as to the confidence and admiration which the National Convention entertained for the State of Indiana, which was known to be my native State, and a State pre-eminent for her unswerving fidelity to the great principles of Constitutional liberty advocated by the Democratic party.

Such a nomination was none the less a compliment to me personally, and it fills me with the profoundest gratitude, but it was at the same time a compliment to every Democratic Indian, and to some extent to every citizen of the State, for whatever reason I am I am still an Indiana production—a growth of Hoosier soil—a native member of the great Indiana household—and I believe there is high authority for saying that he who provideth not for his own household is worse than an infidel; so, I confidently rely upon the sympathy and support of my native State.

Gentlemen, if I were to consult only my ease and comfort and my interests, I should decline this nomination, and there are those within the sound of my voice who know well that, as far as had any political aspiration, it was not in the direction of a place on the Presidential ticket.

I stood with the Democracy of my State at Cincinnati earnestly and in good faith, as everyone there will testify, in favor of the nomination of our beloved fellow citizen, Thomas A. Hendricks, for President of the United States. We were young men together at the same college; we were together in the Convention which formed the Constitution of this State; we entered Congress together over a quarter of a century ago, and I know him to be as pure a man as lives in this or any other land. Circumstances, which are not at all to Governor Hendricks' discredit, but which no agency of ours could control, prevented his nomination. It was not his fault, or the fault of any of his Indiana friends. But his not being nominated has not hurt him in the least, and he stands today higher enthroned than ever in the hearts of the people, and will undoubtedly stand high in the confidence of the next Democratic Administration.

After his name had passed from before the Convention, and not before, was my name presented for Vice President. How unimportant it was approved, you all know, and I am proud to know that it was most cordially approved by Thomas A. Hendricks himself.

Having thus been so nominated, I feel that the unanimous voice of the representatives of a majority of the American people is not a voice to be disregarded by any mere personal considerations.

Therefore I choose to say frankly to you, my neighbors and friends, that when the nomination is formally tendered I expect to accept it, and I have not one particle of doubt that I shall be elected. If I am, I shall attend to public affairs as zealously as I ever attended to my own, and it will be the aim of my life to discharge every duty honestly, faithfully and to the very best of my ability, not as a bigoted partisan, but in that broader and better sense of partisan statesmanship which labors always for the right—always for the maintenance of the correct principles of Jeffersonian Democracy; always to promote the happiness and prosperity of the people. I believe that the best way for a party or a man to achieve success is to deserve it, and that the secret of his party best who serves his country best.

For myself, I hope the canvass will be conducted in that decency and order befitting an enlightened, law-abiding, liberty-loving people. I hope we shall have a fair and honest election, and that the fairly expressed will of the people may be faithfully carried into execution.

That General Hancock will be the choice of the people for President I have no question whatever. He will be elected because he is the best man in every way fitted for the exalted position. He has a record as pure as the untrodden snow upon the mountain top. He is a grand, clear-headed, clean-hearted man; a brave soldier, a great commander, a respecter of law and order and civil rights. You could not be in his presence five minutes without feeling that

here is a man fit to be the ruler of a great people. The only charge the Republicans have made against him is that they imposed a painful duty upon him, and he performed it, as it was his sworn duty as an officer to do. And that is all.

We not only have the right man for the place, but the time has come when there ought to be a change in the Administration. The Republicans have been in power sixteen years with the approval of the people, and nearly four years under Hayes without their approval. Twenty years would be long enough to corrupt any party.

We have no law of entail here which perpetuates wealth in any family, or power in any one man, or in any one party. The great and good men, who formulated our system of government, and our traditions were jealous of strong governments and long leases of power.

A change now could not fail to be beneficial to the people. The day General Hancock is elected the gospel of sectional hate and jealousy, so long preached by the demagogues of the Republican party will be forever closed—the hateful bloody shirt will be buried beyond the power of resurrection, and the bright and glorious banner of peace and good will throughout all the land will float on every breeze.

General Hancock not only ought to be elected but he will be elected. Greater harmony exists in the Democratic party now than has ever before for a quarter of a century.

We were badly discouraged and disheartened here in 1876, and yet we carried this State—and that election by over a quarter of a million votes, although we were cheated out of the fruits of our victory. Yes, if history records the truth, it will go into history and down the stream of time to future ages that two Democrats, the peers of any statesmen in any land, were fairly elected President and Vice-President by the people; that they were cheated out of their high offices, and the places were held for four years by men who were not the choice of the people; that the men who perpetrated this great fraud were in vast numbers rewarded for their corrupt and disgraceful acts with offices which right belonged to others and to better men. The worst political crime of the age, this smirch upon the fair fame of our institutions must forever rest upon the Republican party, and it is the business which the 5,000,000 Democratic voters of the United States now have in hand to rebuke the authors of this great fraud, and to make its repetition at the next election impossible.

You need have no fears that the men you elect next time will not take their seats. When they do, you will have a pure, economical, constitutional Government, and I trust, a prosperous and happy people.

Senator McDonald next called out and addressed the audience as follows:

SENATOR McDONALD'S SPEECH.

FELLOW CITIZENS OF INDIANAPOLIS—On last Tuesday the representatives of the Democracy of the entire Union assembled at Cincinnati for the purpose of publishing to the world the principles of the Democratic party and of selecting standard-bearers that are to lead us in the great political contest of 1880. Those representatives were honest men, selected from the best men in the land and they met there simply to inquire what was best to be done, and after a three days' session in which as far as it was possible, conflicting personal interests and personal ambitions were reconciled, they produced and announced to the world the Democratic ticket for 1880. For President, Winfield Scott Hancock, and for Vice President, William H. English. It would have better pleased us if they had honored our distinguished Chairman, who sits here, with the place that properly belongs to him—at the head of the ticket—but it was no fault of any Indiana man that he did not receive that high honor. Dissensions in other sections of the country that were held up perhaps threatening the success of the ticket, induced hundreds who were his friends to turn their faces to other candidates, and finally the instinct of that immense Convention selected General Hancock as our standard-bearer, and for you, fellow citizens, that one fact contributed more than any other to his selection was, that when in New Orleans, placed there as a military dictator over the people, he issued orders embracing the principles of civil liberty which your Chairman has read in your hearing. These orders went forth as seed sown in good ground. Years afterward the people came up to Cincinnati to remember with gratitude the liberty he had extended to them on that occasion. Our adversaries say that he have selected the wrong chief and they have put before the country a man known for his statesmanship, who has also been a warrior in defense of his country. Now, fellow citizens, I have nothing to say by way of detracting against General Hancock. I never advance my standard by detracting from my adversary, but I stand here to-day to say that General Hancock's record as a civilian and a statesman furnishes no illustration of sound statesmanship that can be compared with the short order that General Hancock issued as a military commander from his place in New Orleans. There is more statesmanship in that order to be found in the whole life of Garfield, because it announces to the people of this country the great principle that governs and controls this great Nation, and that is, that the military is to be at all times subservient and subordinate to the civil authority, and the military man who understands that principle and theory of our Government, I care not how much he may have been a military man, he still has the true principles of Democracy sufficient to administer the affairs of a Government like ours, and the selection made at Cincinnati last week we are not only ratifying now, but Indiana will ratify it by an overwhelming majority at the October election.

Fellow citizens, the hour has come when this Republican party must be defeated, and will be. It has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. The handwriting is on the wall, and thus early you are joining your voices with shouts of gratification, with the same kind of shouts that are going up from all over this land. The Democratic thunder is reverberating through the hills and valleys, and the Democratic lightning is flashing all around, and the Republican party know their hour has come. As a citizen of this great State of Indiana, I am proud of the fact that the great charge that is to annihilate the Republican party, to break and to scatter it like chaff before the wind, has been entrusted to the Democracy of Indiana. In October we will lead the charge upon the enemy's center, and, like my namesake under the great Napoleon, who led the charge at Wagram, the Democracy of Indiana will

lead it in this great contest. Don't you all begin to feel how good it will be when we have triumphed over our enemies? And we will take precious good care of them. After we have done it we will not oppress them, and we will give to them the same principles of civil liberty that we claim for ourselves. But it will be high gratification for the Indiana Democracy to lead in the great contest of breaking the enemy's ranks and compelling the retreat. We are bringing up once more that old ship of state of ours. We have the constitution for its chart, and the broad land for its grand sea, and this great commander who understands so well the principles of civil liberty for its commander. All who want to get on board had better come now. We shall have a restoration of the country, and once more a union of hearts and a union of hands throughout this whole land of ours, and all who desire to come with us are passengers of the first class, for we have no second-class passengers. Now is the time to get on board, singing hosannas to our Ship of State.

"Hail on, oh, Union, strong and great—
Humanity, with all its fears,
With all its hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless in thy fate."

He was followed by Senator Voorhees, who was received with demonstrations which continued for some time, and made the following address:

SENATOR VORHEES' SPEECH.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—I would be much more or much less than human if I did not respond with heart full and overflowing with the deepest gratitude for such a reception as this. I feel that Indianapolis is as much my home as any place in the State, and I feel strong in the ties that binds you and me together as constituent and as representative. I have a few words to say, and not many to-night. I went to Cincinnati, my friends, with my heart determined on a result that did not happen. I went to Cincinnati with an earnest, deep-rooted purpose of many years, and I felt, and I feel still that I would have given years of my life—shortened my existence—could I have brought that which I desired. I desired to put in the hands of the most distinguished son of Indiana the banner which we are following here to-night. It was not to be. It was no fault of his, and it was no fault of his friends, and in thinking over the events of history illustrative of this position which we occupy to-night, I draw some consolation. Those who have been fit to be President, as I ventured to assert on the behalf of Indiana's favorite son at Cincinnati, have not always been President. Henry Clay was not President of the United States, although no man had more devotion than he had in endeavoring to make him such. Daniel Webster often presented and often balloted for, was General Lewis Cass, and was President; Thomas H. Benton was not President; and in that great galaxy—I speak for myself, not venturing to speak for another—I would be prouder to be placed than to be placed with those who have occupied that high and exalted position. However, my fellow citizens, when that high honor was not given to Indiana, I am very frank to say to you that the first man my heart reached out to outside of its borders was General Hancock. I know the man well; I have known him long years; I have known him to be the soul of chivalric honor, and I know him to be merely a high and gallant soldier, as has ridden along the line of battle with thundering artillery belching on his front and the hot rattle of musketry all around at a time when those who now malign him in the columns of the newspapers, crouched in the rear. I know him well as such a man as that, and I know him as something more; I know him as a statesman by intuition. Educated at West Point let him be; having a career of a soldier, so be it; in camp, all right, but with the instinct of popular liberty, the first time the question of constitutional government, the rights of the citizens, free speech, trial by jury, habeas corpus even come to him, he knew them, as a mother knows her child, by instinct. Some men have to be educated to questions of that kind. Some men of great honor gain them, because, after long years of civil service, they know the questions by heart. He knew, these questions the moment they were presented to him at once. Is not such a man as that fit to be President? He perceived their true relations, and announced them at once. My fellow citizens, I witnessed the Cincinnati Convention. It was a wonderful event. I never saw its like before. I never shall see its like again. We had longed for Union soldiers of the Union, fought for the Union. I saw a union in the Cincinnati Convention. This great soldier and statesman when his name was presented, attracted around him those elements which, for the first time since the close of the war, proclaimed that the war was done. I saw a sight there which I never witnessed before, and which I never expect to again. When it became evident that the nomination of Hancock was a foregone conclusion, I saw the States gathered up close together in a little circle like this before me; some of them were borne by one-legged Confederate soldiers, who had fought Hancock at Gettysburg; who had fought him in the Wilderness; men I knew personally. I saw them walking on one leg, some bearing the banner in one hand. I saw soldiers from the North, too—from the various Northern States, coming down to the front, and as they put their banners together it seemed as if those banners kissed. I saw General Butler, of South Carolina, limping on one leg, the other he had lost on the field of battle fighting Hancock, placing his banner close up to the banner of Massachusetts. It seemed to me that the millennium of the Union had come, and come in fact at last. Where is the man that talks to-night about the disloyalty of the South to the union of the States? When I saw this going on I thought: Can it be possible that I witnessed such a sight? But there arose before me sights like this I saw. As I have often talked with Hancock and others that were with him, I saw a line of battle fixed by him at Gettysburg. I saw him ride, coolly, bareheaded, down his line, and I saw, or I seemed to see, at the head of the opposing line Gordon and Pickett and Longstreet and Lee, the tide of battle charging against each other. I seemed to see him march in the strongest position in the wilderness, 28,000 muskets at the shoulders of the troops. I saw that terrible conflict of battle between the gray, commanded by Longstreet, and the blue, and when the leader hail fell like raindrops, and I saw at the head of the surviving shock of battle crowned with laurel wreath of scenic glory a man whom they have now chosen to be the Chief Magistrate. Is that a disloyal people? Is that no act of self-sacrifice? Is that no act of glory on their part? You tell me that

his nomination was a pre-arrangement of the party. I stand as your representative to tell you that no arrangement was made for General Hancock's nomination; no bureau represented him; nobody came there opening rooms and heralding his nomination in advance on the country. It commenced with a little cloud not bigger than a man's hand. It came from Louisiana and Texas, who, in their down-trodden condition, felt first his uplifting hand, and heard first his kind words years ago. They came there doubtless not expecting to nominate the man who had done so much for them, but desiring to evince their love and affection. It spread like the wind all over that vast hall, and from mouth to mouth, from tongue to tongue, and from hand to hand the voice went forth that here is a man—great for the Union; a soldier with a sword in his hand—great for liberty.

Senator Voorhees concluded his speech with great applause, by showing in his inimitable way how the Republicans of the part of the State received the news of the nomination of Hancock and English.

Following Senator Voorhees came Hon. Franklin Landers, Democratic candidate for Governor, with this speech:

MR. LANDERS' SPEECH.

I am much gratified to see such a large turnout of Democrats here to-night. When I was at Cincinnati laboring in the interest of Mr. Hendricks I feared, when we would call a ratification meeting here, that it would not be well attended, but I am gratified to know that the enthusiasm that sprung up at Cincinnati has found its way to Indianapolis. Some of the speakers have attempted to describe it, but I tell you, gentlemen, that language would fail to describe the scene that was witnessed in the hall at Cincinnati when General Hancock was nominated. His nomination meant victory for the Democratic party, and why? Because his nomination meant New York. His nomination meant 138 votes from the South. His nomination meant New Jersey for the Democratic party, and Connecticut for the Democratic party, and Indiana for the Democratic party. This caused the great enthusiasm. If he said we have a strong General, a military man. If we have a soldier and a military man, we have a soldier that does not fight in time of peace. We have a soldier who knows the use of the military. The only use that he had for the military was to restore civil authority. We have many soldiers in this country who belong to the home guards, who are fighting a war that has been over for fifteen years. General Hancock is not one of them. He, like Washington when the war was over, was ready to beat his sword into a ploughshare or pruning-hook and resume the civil avocations of his life. He was ready to say that the civil was superior to the military authorities of the country. We expect to elect General Hancock and when we elect him we expect to inaugurate him. Let me say to our Republican friends we will not ask for his inauguration unless he is elected, but if he is elected let me say to you, if necessary, the qualities that have heretofore been exhibited in General Hancock will be displayed unless he is inaugurated. If fraud and bribery is attempted after the election of our ticket we will call upon him for a display of his military ability. We expect to carry this election, and why? Because the Democratic party will go before the country and show the people that since the Democratic party has had control of Congress they have economized in every department; they will show the people that they have saved over \$30,000,000 per annum in expenditures; and that, too, without any detriment to the public service. We will show the people of Indiana that in our own State Administration we have saved many thousands of dollars to the people, and a more economical administration we have never had. Is not that what the people want? Do you not want economy? Do you not want your business transacted in a way that is in the interest of the whole country? In business affairs we want a management of our business that is most successful for the least expense. We will show that the Democratic party is a party of rigid economy in the management of the affairs of the Government. Moreover, gentlemen, we expect to claim for the Democrats what belongs to them. We expect to show to the people of Indiana that the reason why their furnaces have been started up, the reason why the laboring men are employed is because of Democratic legislation. Gentlemen, business was paralyzed when the Democratic party adopted their policy in Congress. It restored the silver dollar, and said to the people, no more greenbacks should be destroyed. Their confidence was restored immediately, and the smoke was revived in the stacks, and the laboring men of this country found employment. Notwithstanding these facts, the Republican party has claimed throughout the country that all this revival of business was due to its policy. Can they point to a single financial measure of theirs that is in existence to-day? That party demonetized your silver dollar; that party passed a law through Congress for the destruction of your greenbacks. The Democratic party remonetized your silver dollar, and passed a law for the reissue of your greenbacks, and thereby prevented their destruction. In this canvass we will not be like the Republican party. We will not claim for the Democracy that which does not belong to them. Our platform is right upon that question. We give the Lord the credit that is due Him. He has blessed us with abundant crops, and that and the blighting of crops abroad has done more than all the political parties to revive the business interests of this country. In view of the fact that we expect favors in the future, we will not claim for our party that credit which is due to the Lord. Why was it that John Sherman was only third in the race at Chicago, when one year ago he would have been nominated by the Republican party for President? It was because the people of this country found out that his claim was fraudulent; that the prosperity of the country was not due to his policy, and as his flag went down the Democratic flag went up. At times, in hearing Mr. Sherman make his speech in Ohio, I thought of the devil. You will recollect that on one occasion the devil had the impudence to carry Christ on the top of a very high mountain, and claim that all the world belonged to him, and proposed to give it to him; that if he would fall down and worship him, when at the same time he owed a foot of territory he was pointing out. The claim of the devil on that occasion was as valid as the claim of John Sherman that his policy restored prosperity to this country. I have no fear in this contest. Let me say to you, the enthusiasm that is here to-night is spreading all over the country. It was at Cincinnati, and it is visible everywhere since the nomination of Hancock and English.

Hon. David Turpie was next introduced, and spoke as follows:

JUDGE TURPIE'S SPEECH.

I am here, like the distinguished gentlemen who have addressed you, to exchange congratulations with you and the people of the whole country upon the result of the labors of the Cincinnati convention. In my judgment it is as certain as anything in the course of human events that the gentlemen there nominated will be the next President and Vice President of the United States. One is a soldier, known to the entire country by his distinguished achievements in the tented field against foreign foes as well as to domestic enemies. The other is a civilian—a native citizen of your own State, of long experience and tried ability in the public service. Both of these men are such, as to their record in the past, that if Abraham Lincoln were alive he might vote for them, without any disparagement of that sentiment which is called loyalty, and without any disparagement of that principle which is greater and better than any sentiment—fidelity to the Constitution and the Union of the States. The nominee of the Democratic party is a soldier, but he wears a sword unstained by rapine or plunder, bright with honor as with victory—a soldier who has made the guiding rule of his public life the maxim that in this free Government of ours the military should always be strictly subordinate to the civil power. I would sooner vote for a soldier who so defined and defended the principles of constitutional liberty than for a civilian who claims that the army is above the law; that it may be used to control elections and the polls, to subject the law makers and the law itself to the orders of a military dictatorship. I care not what specious pretenses may be invoked to conceal the purpose of such a measure. The party which claims that military power may be used to supervise and inspect the voter will at last do all the voting itself, and the bayonet, pure and simple, will take the place of and become the law—the law of death to the Republic and of damnation to all of its supporters and defenders. I was profoundly gratified the other day, as every friend of liberal institutions must be, to read the letter of General Hancock to Governor Pease, refusing to appoint military commissions for the trial of offenders, and giving the reason for that refusal. In my judgment that letter was a better exposition of civil liberty than anything that has fallen from the lips or pen of his distinguished competitor. It was a great letter—the letter of a soldier in defense of civil liberty and the constitutional rights of the States and the people to a civilian who was eager to abandon and willing to betray both. It is no wonder that the people of Texas and Louisiana, by their representatives at Cincinnati, presented the name of General Hancock for the Presidency of the United States. Even enemies of the man and his cause, the Union, must have felt the highest admiration for his sincere devotion to civil liberty, and his disinterested and impartial use of the power committed to his hands. It was this nobility of character and greatness of mind which won his way to the affections of the Southern people, and will win it to the love of all people everywhere who are loyal to freedom. The armed head and hand of rebellion surrendered at Appomattox. The heart of secession surrendered at Cincinnati to the hero of Gettysburg—subdued not less by generosity than by the value of his conquest. It is peculiarly proper that General Hancock should succeed General Grant to the Presidency. We owe it to the world and the history of our own future to show the marked contrast between a President who was merely and only a soldier, and a President who was a citizen as well as a soldier and a citizen before he was a soldier. General Grant in his long public career has never remembered, and General Hancock, in his public life, has never forgotten that he was a citizen, as well as a soldier. Every man who is a citizen of the United States, and owes his allegiance at his birth to the Constitution and laws of the Republic, the reigning sovereign of this great democracy, when he becomes a soldier takes upon himself additional obligations, but he is not thereby released from his obligations as a citizen. General Grant was the great war President of the Republican party. He was encamped at Washington eight years. He commanded there as General-in-Chief at headquarters. As a magistrate under the law he governed not at all. His first administrative act was an attempt to violate the plain law of the land; the second was an attempt to ignore it. His last action was an effort to trample under foot a sacred tradition—an unwritten law as old as the administration of the first President, so justly called the Father of his Country. This country needs no stepfather like General Grant. It needs no step-son like General Garfield. It calls to its high service a true son from the lineage and loins of liberty, willing to walk in the paths of the great fathers and to harken to the voice of their commands. I have said that it was exceedingly proper that General Hancock should succeed General Grant in the Presidency of the United States. You will observe that I have taken no notice of Mr. Hayes. His term of semi-official service, whatever it may be named, can not be called a Presidency. He was never chosen to the position—this term is not a Presidency. It is simply a sort of political parenthesis, attached to the last administration of General Grant. You all know what a parenthesis is. It is very much like one of the spurious messages of the pseudo President, a cluster of words between two brackets which you can read or not, as you please. It is not necessary to complete the sentence or the sense. Its entire omission affects nothing. It is very evident that General Grant took this same view of the service of Mr. Hayes, for he tried the other day at Chicago, and thought that he would be allowed, as a matter of course, to take up the sentence where it was left off without any regard to what had happened in the interim. His own political friends prevented that, and the people of the whole country have concluded to read no further in that direction. This is a new book which they present to the public, containing easy lessons for the American people in the science of personal absolutism and central usurpation; and they have a late edition of it just published at Chicago, with Garfield as author instead of Grant. It is beautifully illustrated with pictures of General Grant's foreign travel and the armorial bearings and costume of the anticipated imperial dynasty; illustrated still further with elegant engravings of the delicately associated pavement of De Golyer and charming etchings in dissolving views of the ravishing dividends of the quondam Credit Mobilier. But it will not do. The people discard this new book and these new-fangled masters that come along with United States Marshals and musketry, to teach the boys the rules of the school. Do you think the people of this great Nation are freshmen in the university of civil and political freedom? They have been students, careful and diligent.