

Support the Government

An Appeal to the Voters of the United States to Elect a War-Till-Victory Congress Next November

Issued by the LEAGUE FOR NATIONAL UNITY, January 30, 1918

1 Madison Avenue, New York City

The nation must be able to count upon both parties nominating men at the forthcoming Congressional Primaries who are whole-hearted and unequivocal supporters of the war aims of our government, and its purpose to prosecute the war to a successful termination. No man ought to be nominated by either party of whom it is not certain that if elected he will support the government in its high resolve to destroy Prussian militarism and establish a just and secured peace.

In order that the next Congress may be undividedly American and anti-Prussian it will not suffice for the nation to vote for a "better man" or the less disloyal of two candidates on Election Day. It will be the business of the two dominant political parties generally, whatever their natural divisions may be as to domestic policies, to ensure that whoever be elected, every American district will be represented by an American patriot. It will be disloyalty in either party to nominate or at the primaries to abet the nomination of any man whose support of the government's war program is reluctant or qualified.

In the interest of the nation we ask for more. If in any district it become likely that an anti-war candidate be successful, it is the imperative duty of the two

leading parties to effect a coalition against the non-American or anti-American candidate in order to make certain his defeat. An equitable arrangement should be effected between the two parties covering all such districts as require the expedient of coalition in order to avert the election of a disloyal candidate. A peculiar responsibility rests on parties in those districts which are preponderantly partisan, for either party is bound so to direct its affairs that the choice at the primaries, if it be equivalent to an election, shall be between absolutely loyal candidates.

If in any Congressional or Senatorial election there prove to be danger of the election of disloyal candidates, it will become the duty of Americans, regardless of party affiliations, to defeat such candidates and to set loyalty to the nation above personal loyalty to the party. The defeat of men supporting the Union in the Congressional election of 1862 did much to lengthen that war, and a like result in the elections of 1863 and '64 would have enabled the disloyalists to put the Union in peril.

Let no party nominate or elect to Congress any candidate on a so-called peace platform. The American nation, under the leadership of the President of the United States, Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, is for peace; but a righteous and enduring peace cannot be secured until America and the Allied Powers shall have achieved victory over the armies and governments of the Central Powers, or their peoples, having repudiated those who have been guilty of the crime of willing, initiating and carrying on the war, shall, in the interest of a just peace, have recovered their right to control their own destiny.

A Congress must be elected which shall signify to the whole world that the American people are indivisibly united in their determination to go on with the war

until its purpose shall have been accomplished. The voice of compromise must not be heard in the next Congress. Whether dominantly Republican or dominantly Democratic, the next Congress must be supremely American.

Every member of the next Congress, whatsoever his views on domestic questions, must be a war-till-victory American.

The pro-Germans and other seditious forces, lacking the courage of their disloyalty and hiding their treason behind the mask of pacifism, will not dare openly to frame an anti-American platform or frankly to name pro-German candidates. They will devise confusing issues. They will foment domestic strife. They will pretend to favor moderation in war and conciliation in peace. But their purpose will be to weaken the strength of our confidence in the victory of American arms and to shake our faith in the righteousness of the American aims.

Therefore we call upon our fellow-citizens throughout the nation to use their power alike at primary and election to the end that the next Congress, Senate and House alike, prove a mighty reinforcement of the will and strength that shall crown our just cause with victory.

(Signed)

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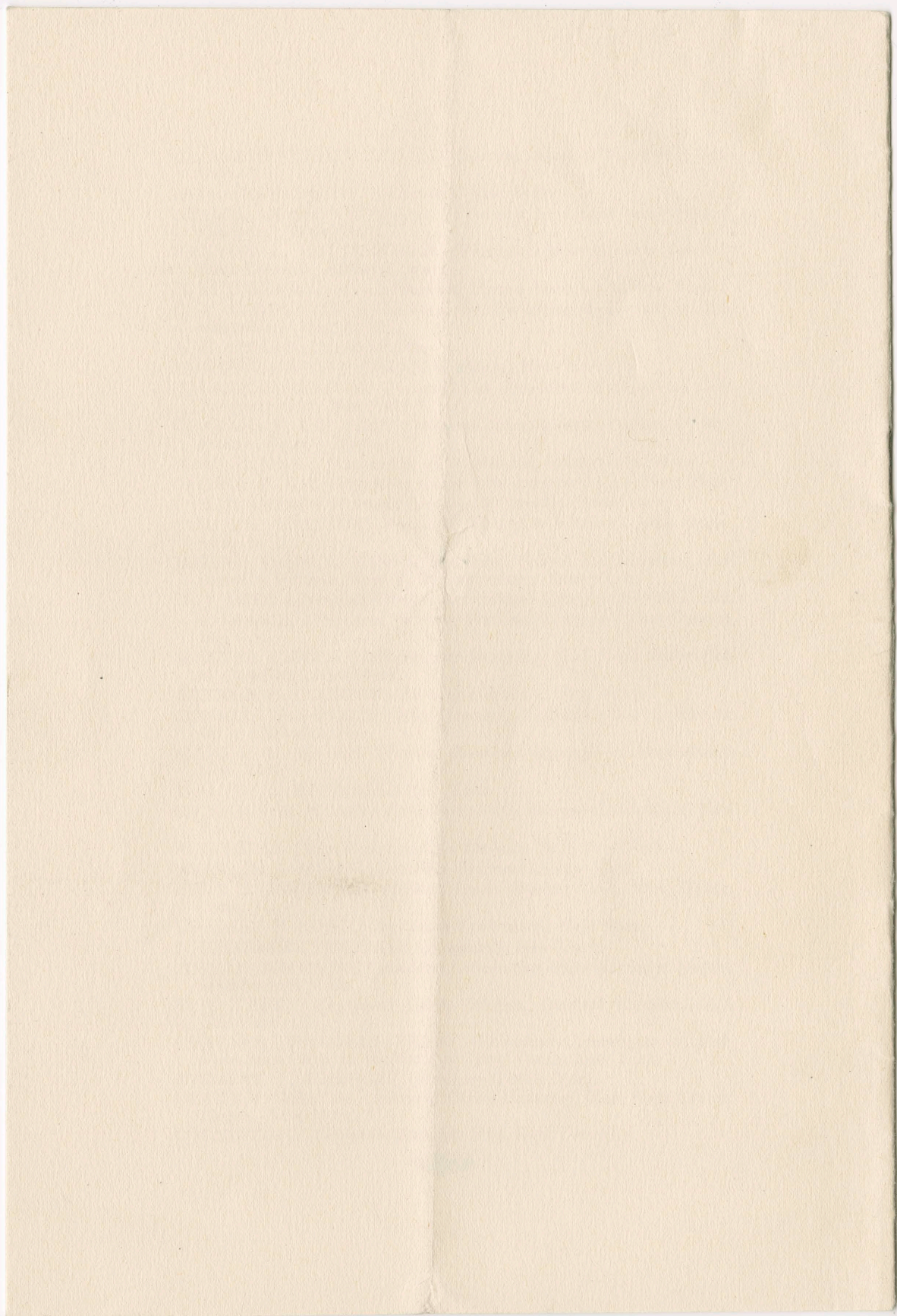
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Personal
 April 10, 1918.

Mr. Harry Pratt Judson,
 President University of Chicago,
 Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sir:-

Enclosed is a copy of the Appeal for a Win-The-War Congress, to which you recently authorized the signing of your name. Over a million copies of this Appeal are being sent to the agricultural, labor, commercial, and women's organizations of the country, as well as to the clergymen of all denominations, lawyers, physicians, school-teachers, and so forth.

It is proposed to make an especial appeal to the parents of the boys in the Army and Navy, to join in the work of electing a War-Till-Victory Congress. Naturally, these fathers and mothers will exert every influence to see that while their sons are at the front fighting the enemy in France, there shall be no skulking attacks from the rear, through the election of disloyal men to the House and Senate of the next Congress.

Will you help this movement, first by letting us know whether you yourself have any sons or near relatives in the Service; and second, by furnishing the League with the names of ten or more representative men who have sons in the Service and who are 100 per cent loyal to the United States and her allies?

Very truly yours,

R. M. Easley
 Director.

(Enc.)

OBJECT

TO CREATE A MEDIUM THROUGH WHICH THE LOYAL AMERICANS OF ALL CLASSES, SECTIONS, CREEDS AND PARTIES CAN GIVE EXPRESSION TO THE FUNDAMENTAL PURPOSE OF THE UNITED STATES TO CARRY ON TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION THIS NEW WAR FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF AMERICA, THE PRESERVATION OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND THE VINDICATION OF THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF HUMANITY.

AN ADDRESS TO THE PUBLIC

*(Unanimously Adopted at Meeting Executive Committee, League for National Unity
Washington, D. C., October 8, 1917)*

In an hour when our Nation is fighting for the principles upon which it was founded, in an hour when free institutions and the hopes of humanity are at stake, we hold it the duty of every American to take his place on the firing line of public opinion.

It is not a time for old prejudices or academic discussion as to past differences. Those who are not now for America are against America.

Our cause is just. We took up the sword only when international law and ancient rights were set at naught, and when our forbearance had been exhausted by persistent deception and broken pledges.

Our aims are explicit, our purposes unsoiled by any selfishness. We defend the sanctities of life, the fundamental decencies of civilization. We fight for a just and durable peace and that the rule of reason shall be restored to the community of nations.

In this crisis the unity of the American people must not be impaired by the voices of dissension or sedition.

Agitation for a premature peace is seditious when its object is to weaken the determination of America to see the war through to a conclusive vindication of the principles for which we have taken arms.

The war we are waging is a war against war, and its sacrifices must not be nullified by any truce or armistice that means no more than a breathing spell for the enemy.

We believe in the wise purpose of the President not to negotiate a peace with any irresponsible and autocratic dynasty.

We approve the action of the National Government in dispatching an expeditionary force to the land of LaFayette and Rochambeau. Either we fight the enemy on foreign soil, shoulder to shoulder with comrades in arms, or we fight on our own soil, backs against our homes, and alone.

While this war lasts, the cause of the Allies is our cause, their defeat our defeat, and concert of action and unity in spirit between them and us is essential to final victory. We, therefore, deprecate the exaggeration of old national prejudices—often stimulated by German propaganda—and nothing is more important than the clear understanding that those who in this crisis attack our present Allies, attack America.

We are organized in the interests of a national accord that rises high above any previous division of party, race, creed and circumstance.

We believe that this is the critical and fateful hour for America and for civilization. To lose now is to lose for many generations. The peril is great and requires our highest endeavors. If defeat comes to us through any weakness, Germany, whose purposes for world-wide dominion are now revealed, might draw to itself, as a magnet does the filings, the residuum of world power, and this would affect the standing and the independence of America.

We not only accept but heartily approve the decision reached by the President and Congress of the United States, to declare war against the common enemy of the free nations, and, as loyal citizens of the United States, we pledge to the President and the Government our undivided support to the very end.

Chicago, April 23, 1918

Dear Mr. Easley:

Thanks for your favor of April 10
with enclosure. I hope the appeal will meet with
results. I have a brother-in-law in the service,
Captain A. L. Underhill, Coast Artillery, stationed
at Fort Andrews, Boston Harbor.

Very truly yours,

H.P.J. - L.

Mr. R. M. Easley
The League for National Unity
1 Madison Avenue
New York City

Chicago, April 23, 1918

Dear Mr. Basley:

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H. P. J. - L.

Mr. R. M. Basley
The League for National Unity
1 Madison Avenue
New York City

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OLIVER WILSON (Grand Master National Grange), Peoria, Ill.
RABBI STEPHEN S. WISE (Free Synagogue), New York

12

The League for National Unity

1 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

| | |
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| GEORGE POPE, President National Association of Manufacturers, Hartford, Conn. | <i>Secretary</i> D. L. CEASE, Editor "The Railroad Trainman," Cleveland, O. |

February 19, 1918.

Mr. Harry Pratt Judson,
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sir:

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the League for National Unity held in New York City on January 30, the enclosed "Appeal to the Voters of the United States to Elect a War-Till-Victory Congress Next November" was unanimously adopted and ordered sent to the members of the organizations whose officers are on the Executive Committee of the League. These organizations, as you will note by this letter-sheet, comprise, broadly speaking, agricultural, labor, commercial and manufacturing bodies, clergymen, lawyers, physicians, women's clubs, fraternal organizations, etc., etc.

There is also sent you herewith some historical data referring to the anti-war campaigns of 1862, '63 and '64, which suggests certain parallelisms between that situation and the possible situation that may confront this country at the polls in the Congressional campaign next fall.

If the "Appeal" meets your views, may we include your name among its signers?

I am enclosing copy of a letter from Hon. Elihu Root, which is self-explanatory.

Very truly yours,

Ralph M. Easley
Director.

(Enc)

OBJECT

TO CREATE A MEDIUM THROUGH WHICH THE LOYAL AMERICANS OF ALL CLASSES, SECTIONS, CREEDS AND PARTIES CAN GIVE EXPRESSION TO THE FUNDAMENTAL PURPOSE OF THE UNITED STATES TO CARRY ON TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION THIS NEW WAR FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF AMERICA, THE PRESERVATION OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND THE VINDICATION OF THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF HUMANITY.

AN ADDRESS TO THE PUBLIC

*(Unanimously Adopted at Meeting Executive Committee, League for National Unity
Washington, D. C., October 8, 1917)*

In an hour when our Nation is fighting for the principles upon which it was founded, in an hour when free institutions and the hopes of humanity are at stake, we hold it the duty of every American to take his place on the firing line of public opinion.

It is not a time for old prejudices or academic discussion as to past differences. Those who are not now for America are against America.

Our cause is just. We took up the sword only when international law and ancient rights were set at naught, and when our forbearance had been exhausted by persistent deception and broken pledges.

Our aims are explicit, our purposes unsoiled by any selfishness. We defend the sanctities of life, the fundamental decencies of civilization. We fight for a just and durable peace and that the rule of reason shall be restored to the community of nations.

In this crisis the unity of the American people must not be impaired by the voices of dissension or sedition.

Agitation for a premature peace is seditious when its object is to weaken the determination of America to see the war through to a conclusive vindication of the principles for which we have taken arms.

The war we are waging is a war against war, and its sacrifices must not be nullified by any truce or armistice that means no more than a breathing spell for the enemy.

We believe in the wise purpose of the President not to negotiate a peace with any irresponsible and autocratic dynasty.

We approve the action of the National Government in dispatching an expeditionary force to the land of LaFayette and Rochambeau. Either we fight the enemy on foreign soil, shoulder to shoulder with comrades in arms, or we fight on our own soil, backs against our homes, and alone.

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We not only accept but heartily approve the decision reached by the President and Congress of the United States, to declare war against the common enemy of the free nations, and, as loyal citizens of the United States, we pledge to the President and the Government our undivided support to the very end.

(COPY)

ROOT, CLARK, BUCKNER & HOWLAND

New York

February 7, 1918.

My dear Easley:

I should be glad to have my name included among the signers of the excellent statement regarding the Congressional Elections by the League for National Unity which you enclose in your letter of February 6th, and I authorize you to sign my name to the statement.

I suggest a motto for the Congressional Campaign,- "LOYALTY FIRST FOR CONGRESS." If you can get something of that kind running in the public mind by putting it on letter-heads and in the newspapers and in speeches, it will suggest the test for nominations in a simple and effective way. Perhaps better forms of the same idea could be devised, but this will serve unless someone thinks of some other words superior in brevity and punch. Something of the kind is important. The controlling idea is that what we want for Congress is the quality of loyalty. Our present business is to elect loyal hearts. Names are merely for identification, and politics of trifling importance.

Faithfully yours,

(Signed) ELIHU ROOT

Ralph M. Easley, Esq.,
The League for National Unity,
1 Madison Avenue, New York City.

(COPY)

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Support the Government

An Appeal to the Voters of the United States to Elect a War-Till-Victory Congress Next November

(Issued by the LEAGUE FOR NATIONAL UNITY, January 30, 1918)

The nation must be able to count upon both parties nominating men at the forthcoming Congressional Primaries who are whole-hearted and unequivocal supporters of the war aims of our government, and its purpose to prosecute the war to a successful termination. No man ought to be nominated by either party of whom it is not certain that if elected he will support the government in its high resolve to destroy Prussian militarism and establish a just and secured peace.

In order that the next Congress may be undividedly American and anti-Prussian it will not suffice for the nation to vote for a "better man" or the less disloyal of two candidates on Election Day. It will be the business of the two dominant political parties generally, whatever their natural divisions may be as to domestic policies, to ensure that whoever be elected, every American district will be represented by an American patriot. It will be disloyalty in either party to nominate or at the primaries to abet the nomination of any man whose support of the government's war program is reluctant or qualified.

In the interest of the nation we ask for more. If in any district it become likely that an anti-war candidate be successful, it is the imperative duty of the two leading parties to effect a coalition against the non-American or anti-American candidate in order to make

certain his defeat. An equitable arrangement should be effected between the two parties covering all such districts as require the expedient of coalition in order to avert the election of a disloyal candidate. A peculiar responsibility rests on parties in those districts which are preponderantly partisan, for either party is bound so to direct its affairs that the choice at the primaries, if it be equivalent to an election, shall be between absolutely loyal candidates.

If in any Congressional or Senatorial election there prove to be danger of the election of disloyal candidates, it will become the duty of Americans, regardless of party affiliations, to defeat such candidates and to set loyalty to the nation above personal loyalty to the party. The defeat of men supporting the Union in the Congressional election of 1862 did much to lengthen that war, and a like result in the elections of 1863 and '64 would have enabled the disloyalists to put the Union in peril.

Let no party nominate or elect to Congress any candidate on a so-called peace platform. The American nation, under the leadership of the President of the United States, Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, is for peace; but a righteous and enduring peace cannot be secured until America and the Allied Powers shall have achieved victory over the armies and governments of the Central Powers, or their peoples, having repudiated those who have been guilty of the crime of willing, initiating and carrying on the war, shall, in the interest of a just peace, have recovered their right to control their own destiny.

A Congress must be elected which shall signify to the whole world that the American people are indivisibly united in their determination to go on with the war until its purpose shall have been accomplished. The voice of compromise must not be heard in the next Con-

gress. Whether dominantly Republican or dominantly Democratic, the next Congress must be supremely American.

Every member of the next Congress, whatsoever his views on domestic questions, must be a war-till-victory American.

The pro-Germans and other seditious forces, lacking the courage of their disloyalty and hiding their treason behind the mask of pacifism, will not dare openly to frame an anti-American platform or frankly to name pro-German candidates. They will devise confusing issues. They will foment domestic strife. They will pretend to favor moderation in war and conciliation in peace. But their purpose will be to weaken the strength of our confidence in the victory of American arms and to shake our faith in the righteousness of the American aims.

Therefore we call upon our fellow-citizens throughout the nation to use their power alike at primary and election to the end that the next Congress, Senate and House alike, prove a mighty reinforcement of the will and strength that shall crown our just cause with victory.

(Signed)

CYRUS ADLER (Acting President Jewish Theological Seminary of America), Philadelphia, Pa.

CHARLES S. BARRETT (President Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America), Union City, Ga.

JAMES M. BECK (Lawyer and Publicist), New York.

P. H. CALLAHAN (Chairman Committee on War Activities, Knights of Columbus), Louisville, Ky.

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT (President National American Woman's Suffrage Association, Washington, D. C.

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RALPH M. EASLEY (Chairman Executive Council, The National Civic Federation), New York.

JOHN H. FINLEY (New York State Commissioner of Education), Albany, N. Y.

MONTAVILLE FLOWERS (President International Lyceum Association), Monrovia, Cal.

Chicago, February 25, 1918

Dear Mr. Masley:

Yours of the 19th inst. is received.

I have no connection whatever with party politics, and have not had for years. The principles you propose, however, are those which I heartily endorse. I have no interest in the elections which are coming in anything but one question: Is the candidate for either House of Congress in hearty, unqualified sympathy with carrying on this war to a successful end? I have no use for any candidate on any party ticket who has any other platform. For this reason if you care to use my name as endorsing the principle, Loyalty First for Congress you may do so.

Very truly yours,

H.P.J. - L.

Mr. Ralph M. Masley
The League for National Unity
1 Madison Avenue
New York City

Chicago, February 28, 1918

Dear Mr. Haskley:

Yours of the 19th inst. is received. I have no connection whatever with party politics, and have not had for years. The principles you propose, however, are those which I heartily endorse. I have no interest in the elections which are coming in anything but one question: Is the candidate for either House of Congress in hearty, unqualified sympathy with carrying on this war to a successful end? I have no use for any candidate on any party ticket who has any other platform. For this reason if you care to use my name as endorsing the principle, Loyalist First for Congress you may do so. Very truly yours,

H.P.J. - L.

Mr. Ralph M. Haskley
The League for National Unity
1 Madison Avenue
New York City

Facts Concerning the Political Anti-War Movement against President Lincoln's Administration in 1862-'64

(Compiled by the League for National Unity, 1 Madison Ave., New York City)

Taking advantage of the reverses to Union arms in the summer and autumn of 1862, and of the depression which gripped the North, the radicals of the Democratic party waged against President Lincoln's administration a violent campaign demanding a termination of the war and peace with the Confederacy. The war had failed; therefore, their orators clamored, President Lincoln's administration had failed. They attacked what they called Lincoln's monarchical usurpation of power, and "the suppression of the right of free speech." Lincoln's assailants used identically some of the same arguments that are used by Socialists, pacifists and pro-Germans to-day.

While extreme war radicals in his own party attacked President Lincoln for inefficiency, and demanded a more vigorous prosecution of the war, the Democrats, aided and abetted by pacifists and outright Southern sympathizers, demanded of Lincoln a peace that would have meant nothing less than submission to the South. Throughout the entire North these malcontents carried on their propaganda, and through secret organizations engaged in sinister work designed to weaken the spirit of the North and the military strength of Northern arms. They opposed the war and encouraged soldiers to desert; they assailed the constitutionality of the draft, and in New York City in 1863 precipitated mob riots which lasted several days, during which the Colored Orphan Asylum and other property were destroyed and in which more than one thousand lives were lost. Here and there enrolling officers were assassinated. Many of these opponents to the war communicated with, and gave information to the enemy, and, entering into plots with Confederate agents in Canada, aided in incendiarism in Northern cities, poisoned wells and reservoirs and distributed clothing infected with disease. In trying to bring about a humiliating and disastrous ending of the war, they made criticism of the Administration an issue of partisan politics and sought political advantage thereby. There was an open threat of establishing a "Northwestern Confederacy."

On a platform of opposition to the Administration and the war, the Democrats in 1862 elected Horatio Seymour, who opposed both the war and the draft, Governor of New York State, carried the State of New Jersey and elected anti-war congressmen from Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana. In Illinois, President Lincoln's own state, nine opposition congressmen were elected against four loyal supporters of the Administration. While the Senate remained intact, and the Administration was supported by a majority in the House, the situation was one of utmost gravity, for if the ratio of losses to the opposition had continued the prosecution of the war against the South would have been jeopardized. In 1863 the anti-war party in Indiana gained sufficient control of the Legislature to embarrass Governor Morton.

The most notorious leader of the opposition was Clement Laird Vollandigham, member of Congress from Ohio—a man who might, in his very arguments, his bravado, his specious pacifistic "patriotism," his efforts to thwart the conduct of

the war and bring about a humiliating peace, be paralleled in our midst to-day; a man, who, like La Follette and Hillquit now, found among radicals, pacifists and enemy sympathizers a tremendous following, but whose name is to-day branded with opprobrium, and whose efforts, had they been successful, would have meant Northern submission to the South and disruption of the Union.

When the Civil War was first threatened, Vollandigham "made haste to profess himself opposed to any forcible execution of the laws. He declared the States of the Union the only judges of the sufficiency and justice of secession, and promised he would never vote one dollar of money whereby one drop of American blood should be shed in civil war." (Appendix, "Globe," Jan. 14, 1863, pp. 53, 54). Vollandigham was defeated by General R. C. Schenck in 1862 in his canvass for re-election to Congress. After his defeat he became increasingly bitter in his attacks upon the Government and its war policy.

A speech delivered by Vollandigham in the House of Representatives, January 14, 1863, reads like a curious echo in the past of the arguments of those who opposed our going to war with Germany. "I believed," he said, "that the South could never be conquered—never * * * I did not support the war, and to-day I bless God that not the smell of so much as one drop of its blood is upon my garments * * * Sir, history will record that, after nearly six thousand years of folly and wickedness in every form and administration of government, theocratic, democratic, monarchic, oligarchic, despotic, and mixed, it was reserved to American statesmanship, in the nineteenth century of the Christian era, to try the grand experiment on a scale the most costly and gigantic in its proportions of creating love by force and developing fraternal affection by war; and history will record, too, on the same page, the utter disastrous and most bloody failure of the experiment." In subsequent speeches Vollandigham accused the Government of not being willing to meet the Confederacy and arrange terms of peace, of acting unconstitutionally in enforcing the draft, and in making arbitrary military arrests and imprisonments.

General Burnside, at the head of the Department of the Ohio, on April 13, 1863, issued an order in which he said:

"The habit of declaring sympathies for the enemy will not be allowed in this department. Persons committing such offenses will be at once arrested with a view to being tried as above stated or sent beyond our lines into the lines of their friends. It must be distinctly understood that treason expressed or implied will not be tolerated in this department."

Vollandigham declared this order a "base usurpation of arbitrary authority." On May 1, 1863, Vollandigham addressed a meeting in Mount Vernon, Ohio. The audience, of large numbers, was loudly sympathetic with the South and antagonistic to the war. In his speech Vollandigham declared the war was "wicked, cruel and unnecessary;" "a war for the purpose of crushing out liberty and erecting a despotism." He stated "that if the Administration had so wished the war could have been honorably terminated months ago." He called the President, "King Lincoln," and speaking of the conscription act, said the people were not deserving to be free men who would submit to such an encroachment on their liberties.

Vollandigham was arrested May 4, and jailed in Cincinnati. He was tried by a military commission and found guilty of "publicly expressing,

in violation of General Order number 38, from Headquarters' Department of Ohio, his sympathies for those in arms against the Government of the United States, declaring disloyal sentiments and opinions, with the object and purpose of weakening the power of the Government in its efforts to suppress an unlawful rebellion." He was confined in Fort Warren.

His arrest and trial by military instead of by civil court, and sentence aroused an outcry of protest throughout the country, in which some of the most influential newspapers joined. The Democrats cried against Vollandigham's conviction, against "military usurpation" of power, and "the violation of the rights of free speech." So excessive was the clamor, that General Burnside resigned, but Mr. Lincoln refused to accept his resignation. The pressure of criticism and denunciation became so great that Mr. Lincoln . . . not desiring to see Vollandigham figure in the role of a martyr . . . commuted the sentence. He ordered him released from confinement and sent within the Confederate lines, a gift to the South. On May 25, 1863, Vollandigham was escorted by a small cavalry force to the Confederate line near Murfreesboro, and after a short parley, was accepted by a Confederate picket.

The Confederates treated Vollandigham as a friend, and facilitated his passage to Bermuda, and thence to Halifax, in Canada, where he established headquarters at Windsor, opposite Detroit. From Windsor he issued manifestos to Democracy.

The Democratic Convention of the State of Ohio, which met at Columbus, June 11, 1863, was completely under the control of those opposed to the war. The notorious Vollandigham was nominated candidate for the office of Governor. The Union party, meeting at Columbus, nominated John Brough, a war Democrat. Vollandigham conducted his campaign from Canada by letters. In one message he declared the North could not achieve victory.

"If this civil war is to terminate only by the subjugation or submission of the Southern forces in arms, the infant of to-day will not see the end of it," he wrote. "Travelling a thousand miles or more, through nearly one-half of the Confederate States, and sojourning for a time at widely different points, I met no one man, woman or child who was not resolved to perish rather than yield to the pressure of arms, even in the most desperate extremity."

Despite Mr. Lincoln's adroit disposition of Vollandigham, the Democrats were determined to make an issue out of the matter, and the New York Democrats, on May 16, and the Ohio Democrats, on June 26, while protesting their loyalty to the Union, condemned Vollandigham's arrest and petitioned Mr. Lincoln to restore the exile to his country. Addressing the New York meeting, Governor Seymour said of the arrest and conviction of Vollandigham:

"It is an act which has brought dishonor upon our country . . . The transaction involved a series of offenses against our most sacred rights. It interfered with the freedom of speech . . . It will not only lead to military despotism—it establishes military despotism."

President Lincoln, in letters written June 12 and 29 replied respectively to these protests. In these he declared:

"He who dissuades one man from volunteering, or induces one soldier to desert, weakens the

Union cause as much as he who kills a Union soldier in battle . . ."

"Mr. Vallandigham avows his hostility to the war on part of the Union; and his arrest was made because he was laboring, with some effect, to prevent the raising of troops, to encourage desertions from the army, and to leave the rebellion without an adequate military force to suppress it. He was not arrested because he was damaging the political prospects of the Administration or the personal interests of the commanding general, but because he was damaging the army, upon the existence and vigor of which the life of the nation depends."

Mr. Lincoln's letter, while assailed by the Democrats, appealed by its argument to the intelligence of the country, and in the Autumn elections Vallandigham was defeated by an unprecedented majority of 101,000 votes, of which 39,000 were cast by soldiers in the field.

In Pennsylvania Judge George W. Woodward, who, as one of the Democratic Justices of the Supreme Court of the State, had declared the enrollment law unconstitutional, had been nominated as a candidate for Governor by the Democrats. Woodward was defeated by Andrew G. Curtin, a loyal supporter of the war, who won by a majority of 15,000. A noticeable reaction had come against the peace movement, and in New York, which had given a majority of 10,000 to Seymour, the Republican ticket was elected by 30,000, and the State Legislature passed into the hands of the Unionists.

Despite the political turning of the tide, the pacifists continued their activities, and, like the Socialists and pro-German sympathizers to-day, held mass meetings and "peace conferences." In the summer of 1864 they held a big mass meeting at Peoria, Illinois, and on August 18—about the time General Sherman was capturing Atlanta—called a "peace conference" at Syracuse, N. Y. At this conference the following resolutions were adopted:

"Resolved that this country has been passing through one of those fearful political convulsions so frequent in history, when violence attempts to undo the work of sages and patriots, and thus by resort to the brute power of physical compulsion, subvert the fundamental principles of free government, created by divine inspiration and acting through the genius of man.

"Speaking for the many thousand here assembled, gathered together from every county in the State of New York, we believe that it is the duty of the coming Convention to meet at Chicago on the 20th of August, to give expression to this beneficent spirit of Peace, and to declare as the purpose of the Democratic Party that if it shall recover power, to cause this desolating war to cease by the calling of a National Convention in which all the States shall be represented in their sovereign capacity; and that to this end an immediate Armistice shall be declared of sufficient duration to give the States and the people ample time and opportunity to deliberate upon and finally conclude a form of Union." (See N. Y. Tribune, August 20, 1864.)

The "peace" elements carried the Democratic National Convention at Chicago, August 29, 1864, when they nominated Gen. George B. McClellan candidate for President.

The platform adopted by this convention was brief. The second paragraph declared:

"Resolved, That this Convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people, that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which, under the pretense of a military necessity or war

power higher than the Constitution, the Constitution has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private right alike trodden down, and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired—justice, humanity, liberty and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to the ultimate convention of the States or other peaceable means, to the end that, at the earliest practicable moment, peace may be restored, on the basis of the Federal union of the States."

In this may be noted a parallel with the present Socialist, pacifist and pro-German anti-war propaganda—the same outcry about the violations of the Constitution, the same declarations of the war's failure, the same demands for talking conventions.

The third paragraph of the platform declared for State's rights (just as the pacifists now want to return to the 1914 status), and held that "the Administrative usurpation of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by the Constitution—the subversion of the civil by military law in States not in insurrection; the arbitrary military arrest, imprisonment, trial and sentence of American citizens in States where civil law exists in full force; the suppression of freedom of speech and of the press; the denial of the right of asylum; the open and avowed disregard of State rights; the employment of unusual tests and oaths; and the interference with and denial of the right of the people to bear arms in their defense—is calculated to prevent a restoration of the Union, and the perpetuation of a government deriving 'its just powers from the consent of the governed.'" (See McKee's National Conventions and Platforms, pp. 121-123.)

At the Democratic convention Governor Horatio Seymour, of New York, one of the leading "peace" politicians, declared that the Convention of 1860, which had nominated Lincoln, "was blinded by intolerance and fanaticism." He went on to say in his speech:

"They (the Lincoln Administration) will not let the shedding of blood cease even for a little time to see if Christian charity or the wisdom of statesmanship may not work out a method to save our country. Nay, more than this, they will not listen to a proposal of peace.

"This Administration cannot save the Union. We can. Mr. Lincoln views many things above the Union. We put the Union first of all. He thinks a proclamation worth more than peace. We think the blood of our people more precious than the edicts of the President. * * *

"We desire union and peace. The Administration deny us union and peace, for they demand conditions and exact a price which they know will prolong the war; and war unduly prolonged becomes disunion." (See New York Tribune, August 31, 1864.)

About the same time the New York Sunday Mercury, a "peace" organ, said editorially: "We are weary of the war as Mr. Lincoln has managed it."

At a mass meeting of "peace" supporters, to endorse General McClellan's nomination, held at Tammany Hall, August 31, 1864, Lincoln's name was hissed. Ex-Judge Dean in his speech declared: "The present Administration is incapable of waging war, and without the ability to make peace; and it is time to inaugurate a movement to see if peace cannot be concluded on the basis of the Union in all its integrity."

Judge Voorhees, another speaker, concluded, said the New York Tribune, Sept. 1, 1864, "by

cursing Mr. Lincoln next November, curse him from the crown of his head to the soles of his feet; curse him in his body; curse him in his bones; and with George B. McClellan as their standard-bearer they (the 'peace' crowd) would next November march down to the sacred temple of the Constitution and overthrow the table of the money changers and turn out the thieves."

Throughout the summer of 1864 the Democrats assailed the Administration, declaring the war a failure. They said the nation was war-weary, and cried for peace and a settlement. In their arguments—such as the resolution adopted at Syracuse—they made appeals similar to those made by the Pacifists, Socialists and pro-Germans to-day. They harangued about the suppression of free speech, and held out promises of peace without any plan to achieve this without sacrificing the Union. In the Republican party itself their aims were fostered by antagonistic leaders, chief among whom was Horace Greeley, who advocated peace on almost any terms, and who proposed to buy from the South its slaves for \$400,000,000. Embarrassed by a peace clan in his own party, Mr. Lincoln's political prospects seemed dark, and the radical Democrats worked with the inspiration of anticipated triumph.

Even President Lincoln's confidence in his reelection was affected. He wrote a memorandum, which he submitted to his Cabinet, outlining the steps he would take in case McClellan was elected. But the North proved overwhelmingly against the attempts to defeat President Lincoln. Of the popular vote in the Northern States he received 2,223,035 votes against 1,811,754, giving a Union majority of 411,281. New York was carried by only 6,749 in a vote of 368,735 for Lincoln, against 361,986 for McClellan. But even if New York had been lost, the electoral vote of the loyal States would have been overwhelmingly for Lincoln, in all 212 votes being cast for him, and only 21 for McClellan, who carried but three States—New Jersey, Kentucky and Delaware.

If the Democrats had won on their pacifist programme, the decisive outcome of the Civil war would have been different from that which history records. "We accepted this war for a worthy object," Mr. Lincoln had said June 16, 1864, "and the war will end when that object is attained. Under God, I hope it will not end until that time." The re-election of Mr. Lincoln assured the continuance of the war until the goal to which his Administration was pledged was reached. The impregnable union of the States to-day is answer to his critics and opponents, as well as testimony to the justice and wisdom of his policy. In most human events history affords striking parallels. To-day, as in President Lincoln's time, the security and future freedom of this democracy is at stake, and only by a military victory shall we be guaranteed against the menace of the German aggression. The efforts to thwart this war and to bring about a peace with a status quo arrangement among the contestants, as has been shown, are amazingly paralleled in 1862-64. An examination of those events, and a consideration of what might have happened had President Lincoln's antagonists won, is adequate answer to the men who, acting directly or indirectly, in sympathy or in concert with socialists, pacifists, anti-English Irish and pro-Germans, now seek to thwart the Administration in its conduct of the war to a decisive military victory over Germany.