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THE LIFE,

BRILLIANT MILITARY CAREER,

—AND—

PUBLIC SERVICES

—OF—

GENERAL WINFIELD SCOTT HANCOCK.

AN EXTREMELY INTERESTING BIOGRAPHY AND A USEFUL TEXT BOOK,

Dedicated to the People of our Country, who will surely elect him

THE NEXT PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

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GENERAL HANCOCK'S LIFE.

PREFACE.

THE nomination of General Hancock may have been the result of accident, but it was as discreetly done as if it had been the consequence of sage counsel and of deliberate consideration. There is no deference to statesmanship in the selection. General Hancock is a soldier—gallant and most successful. He was one of the heroes of the war of the rebellion, and served the cause of the Union with unshrinking bravery and success. He has been as prudent since the conclusion of the contest, in his conduct, as he was brilliant previously in his career as a soldier. Hancock is a man to hurrah for—just as Jackson, Harrison, Taylor, Pierce and Grant were hurrahed for, and shouted into the Presidential chair. There have only been two instances of a soldier nominated by one of the great parties of the country failing to reach the White House: General Winfield Scott was vanquished by General Franklin Pierce; General McClellan was nominated as a candidate against Lincoln in the second term of the latter, because he was a soldier, and for the alleged reason that he had been badly treated by the Administration. But he failed miserably, and thereby was enforced a principle of policy necessary to be understood in American politics for all time to come; and that is, that a soldier disgraced, even under circumstances which might be greatly unjust, is not the proper man to be a candidate while war is raging against the Administration of the country. It was a fearfully bad blunder which nominated McClellan in 1864, and the result which followed has not yet been overcome.

General Hancock's record as a soldier is unstained. It is more brilliant than that of General Garfield—for the reason that while Garfield was a volunteer, without previous military training (but was brave and successful), Hancock was a soldier by education, and most thorough in his profession. Years ago the election of General Jackson was declared to be the beginning of a bad system by the introduction of military heroes, rather than statesmen, into the Presidential chair. The old Whig party professed to be opposed on principle to military heroes. Yet it sacrificed those professions in the nominations of Harrison, Taylor, and Scott; and, when the Republican party succeeded, the nomination of Grant seemed thoroughly natural and to be expected.

Hancock was promoted to captain and assistant quartermaster in the fall of 1855, and served on the staff of General Harney during the Florida war, and subsequently in Kansas and Nebraska during the memorable political troubles of twenty years ago. Afterwards he went with Harney to Utah, and rode overland across the continent to the Pacific coast. He was stationed in California for several years and until the outbreak of the rebellion. When the news of the firing on Fort Sumter reached his distant post he sent a request to the Governor of his State for assignment to a command of volunteers. There were many discordant elements in California at that time, and a manifest sympathy with secession, which threatened to overmaster the sentiment of loyalty and isolate the Golden State from the Union. While awaiting a reply from the Governor of Pennsylvania he took an active part in encouraging and organizing the loyal sentiment. His first speech in public was a patriotic appeal at a meeting called in Los Angeles at that period. His influence in Southern California was of signal service in finally saving the State to the Union. Impatient at delay in hearing from the Governor, he applied to General Scott to be ordered East for active duty. His request was granted, and on reporting at Washington he was assigned as chief quartermaster on the staff of General Robert Anderson, the hero of Fort Sumter, who was organizing an army at Louisville, Ky., but before entering on those duties he was appointed by Mr. Lincoln a brigadier-general of volunteers and assigned to a command in the Army of the Potomac. The four regiments composing his brigade were the Fifth Wisconsin, the Sixth Maine, the Forty-ninth Pennsylvania, and the Forty-third New York. In the spring of 1862, embarking with his brigade at Alexandria, he accompanied the Army of the Potomac to the Peninsula and was actively engaged in the siege of Yorktown during the month of April. On the 5th of May, after the evacuation of the works, he followed the flying enemy, and on the same evening, with a detached command of his own brigade, an additional regiment of infantry and two batteries of artillery, by a skilful exterior manœuvre he gained an important position on the enemy's flank and rear, and led the brilliant forward movement which resulted in the withdrawal of the enemy from the whole line of works at Williamsburg. For his gallantry and splendid success on this occasion he was specially complimented in the despatches of the Commanding-General of the Army. The phrase, "Hancock was superb," ran throughout the country from Maine to California. His subsequent conspicuous services at Golding's Farm, Garnett's Hill, White Oak Swamp, and other engagements during the Seven Days' fight which closed with the victory at Malvern Hill, led the General-in-Chief to urge his promotion to major-general of volunteers. Besides, he was recommended for promotion, by brevet, as major, lieutenant-colonel, and colonel in the regular army for gallant and meritorious conduct in that

campaign. In the fall of 1862, after the return of the Army of the Potomac from the Peninsula, he took part in the movement on Centreville, Va. In the Maryland campaign of the same year he commanded his brigade at Crampton's Pass, South Mountain, on the 14th of September. Three days afterwards, on the battle-field of Antietam, he was placed in command of General Richardson's division when that gallant officer fell mortally wounded in that memorable action. He was afterwards, as he had been before, engaged in conducting several important reconnoitring expeditions requiring tact, discretion, and ability to handle troops. He was then commissioned a major-general of volunteers. At the battle of Fredericksburg, in December, he led his division in the assault on Marye's Heights, where he lost half his command in killed and wounded, and where he and all his aides were wounded. At the battle of Chancellorsville, in May, 1863, in command of his division, he covered the roads leading towards Fredericksburg, where amid surrounding disaster, although constantly attacked, his troops maintained their position to the last, and formed the rearguard of the army in moving off the field. The General's horse was shot under him in that battle. Early in June he relieved General Couch in command of the Second Corps, and later in the same month was assigned by Mr. Lincoln to be its permanent commander.

Hancock guarded the rear of our army on the march to Gettysburg. Reynolds was in advance in command of three army corps, and after he had fallen on the first day, General Meade sent Hancock forward from Taneytown (whence his grandfather had started one hundred years before to escort the Hessians of Burgoyne to Valley Forge), to take command of all our forces on the battle-field. Upon his arrival he checked the enemy's advance, and occupied the ground upon which the Army of the Potomac gained its greatest victory. This accomplished, he sent word back to General Meade that our position should be held, as, in his opinion, Gettysburg was the point where the great impending battle should be fought. In accordance with these suggestions General Meade hurried forward all his forces. On the second day Hancock commanded the left centre of our army, and reconstructed the line of battle pierced by the enemy in many places, so that at night our position stood intact as in the morning. On the third day it was his high fortune to repulse the assault of General Longstreet. The enemy preceded the assault by an artillery attack of two hours and a half, during which 150 guns poured a continuous stream of shot and shell upon the left centre of our line. Under cover of this fire Lee was concentrating and forming the flower of the Confederate army for the final assault, on the result of which depended the future hopes of the Confederacy. Amid this storm of shot and shell General Hancock rode up and down his lines, inspiring confidence in his troops and preparing them to resist the infantry attack

which he knew to be impending. At length, after this cannonade, Longstreet hurled the whole of his command, numbering 18,000 men, upon Hancock's line connecting Round Top with Cemetery Hill. The assault was finally repulsed, but only after a contest of the most stubborn and sanguinary character. Five thousand prisoners, thirty-seven stand of colors, and many thousand stand of arms were among the immediate trophies of this victory. The issue of the day was the salvation of the country. At the moment of his triumph Hancock fell desperately wounded. While lying on the ground on his line of battle, the enemy retreating in confusion from the field, he sent an aide with the following message to General Meade, commanding the Army of the Potomac: "Tell General Meade," he said, "the troops under my command have repulsed the enemy's assault, and we have gained a great victory. The enemy is now flying in all directions in my front." The officer who conveyed this message to General Meade added also that General Hancock was dangerously wounded. "Say to General Hancock," said General Meade, "that I am sorry he is wounded, and that I thank him for the country and for myself for the service he has rendered to-day." By a joint resolution of Congress General Hancock received the unanimous thanks of that body for his "gallant, meritorious, and conspicuous share in that great and decisive victory" at Gettysburg.

After the battle he was borne to the field hospital and thence to his father's home at Norristown, Pa., where he lay for many weeks and suffered great agony from his wound. The bullet was finally extracted, but he was unfit for duty until the following December. During this forced retirement from active service he was received with great enthusiasm wherever he appeared. In December, although his wound was still unhealed, he reported at Washington for active duty in the field. At this time, after the battle of Mine Run, he was prominently talked of in Cabinet councils for the command of the Army of the Potomac, and was retained in Washington with that view, but with characteristic nobility and magnanimity he disclaimed all desire for the position and urged the retention of General Meade. Resuming command of the Second Corps, which was now in winter-quarters, he was soon requested by the authorities at Washington to proceed to the North to recruit the decimated ranks of that celebrated corps preparatory to the ensuing spring operations. Accordingly he established his headquarters at Harrisburg, and visited other States in enlisting volunteers. His high reputation and great popularity made him eminently successful in this service. While discharging this duty the City Council of Philadelphia tendered him the honor of a reception in Independence Hall, and he also received the hospitalities of New York, Albany, Boston, and other cities.

In March, 1864, he returned to the field and assumed command of his corps, whose numbers had been augmented to 30,000 by consolidation

with the gallant old Third Corps. He was a prominent figure in the battle of the Wilderness, where, at the crisis in the fight, he commanded, in addition to his own corps, parts of the Fifth, Sixth, and Ninth, amounting in all to fully 60,000 men. When the enemy had planted his colors on a portion of our breastworks, General Hancock, accompanied by his staff with swords unsheathed, rushed forward with his troops and was largely instrumental in securing the success which beat back the foe and regained the line. On the 10th of May he commanded the Second and Fifth Corps at the battle of the Po. On the 12th the Second Corps, after a midnight march, pounced upon the enemy's fortified position near Spottsylvania Court-House, in a dense fog, at the hour of daylight in the morning. Hancock commanded his corps in this renowned assault, by which he captured the enemy's works, nearly 5,000 prisoners, twenty pieces of artillery, more than thirty colors, several thousand stand of small arms, and other paraphernalia of war. This was undoubtedly the most brilliant and bloody operation of the Army of the Potomac during the campaign of 1864, and had it taken place separately from the other actions of that season would have been considered one of the most decisive battles of the war. He again assaulted the enemy's position in front of Spottsylvania, May 18th, and on the 19th successfully repulsed an attack made upon one of his divisions by Ewell's corps. He was an active participant in the engagements at North Anna, Tolopotomy, and Cold Harbor, and in the earlier and later operations of the army near Petersburg that year. During all this time he was suffering severely from the wound received at Gettysburg, which had never fully closed, compelling him to often leave his horse and ride in an ambulance until contact with the enemy again summoned him to the saddle. For ten days his wound forced him to relinquish the immediate command of his corps, although still continuing with his troops, but at the expiration of that time he was again at its head, actively participating in the Petersburg operations. Meanwhile he was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general in the regular army. On the 27th of July, 1864, he crossed to Deep Bottom, on the north bank of the James river, and in conjunction with Sheridan's cavalry he attacked and carried a portion of the enemy's works, capturing, among other trophies, four pieces of artillery. In August he made a second expedition to Deep Bottom in command of his own corps, the Tenth Corps, and Gregg's division of cavalry. In these operations, which continued a week, he had a series of sharp engagements, during which he broke the enemy's lines and carried off more of his artillery. Having been again recalled to the lines in front of Petersburg, he skilfully withdrew his forces and, after a weary march of more than twenty miles that night, arrived in time to witness the explosion of Burnside's mine. On the 25th of August, two divisions of his corps were sent to destroy the railroad at Reams's Station, thirteen miles distant

from the established lines of our army at Petersburg. The remainder of his troops held their assigned position in the general line. Anticipating trouble at that separate operation, Hancock was not easy until he had proceeded to join that portion of his command in person. The issue showed that his anxiety was justified. By withdrawing troops from the intrenchments at Petersburg and sending them round to the railroad the enemy concentrated in his front, soon outnumbering our forces three to one. Here Hancock fought another heroic fight at close quarters, his horse being shot from under him in the assault. Two months later he fought the battle of the Boydton Road, where he captured a thousand prisoners and several stand of colors.

At the request of Secretary Stanton, and by order of the President, he was then ordered to Washington to recruit and command an army corps of veterans, to consist of 50,000 men. While the recruiting was in progress he was once more summoned to the front, and assigned to the command of the Middle Military Division, with headquarters at Winchester, Va. This command included the Department of West Virginia, the Department of Pennsylvania and the Army of the Shenandoah. A movable force of 35,000 men of all arms was at once organized for the purpose of moving upon Lynchburg in case Lee should retreat to that point, or to embark on transports to join General Sherman on the Southern sea-coast in case Lee should fall back on Danville, but the surrender of Lee, and the capture of Richmond, removed the necessity for any such contemplated movements. Having been already brevetted major-general in the regular arms for gallant and meritorious services at Spottsylvania, he was afterward promoted to the full rank of major-general for the brilliant part he bore in the rebellion. General Meade paid the following tribute to his services: "No commanding general ever had a better lieutenant than Hancock; he was always faithful and reliable."

After the close of the war, in 1865, General Hancock was assigned to the command of the Middle Military Department, with headquarters at Baltimore, and in August, 1866, to the command of the Department of Missouri. In the latter capacity his services were of great importance, under the direction of the Government, in harmonizing the conflicting elements in Missouri, arising out of the occupation of the State by troops under the State authorities and the presence of the men of the Southern Confederacy who had just returned to their homes. While still in the Southwest he was also engaged in a campaign against hostile Indians in Kansas and Colorado.

At this time it was intended to place him in command of one of the military districts of the South created under the Reconstruction acts of Congress. By remaining in the field, and taking no part in political affairs, Hancock, although conservative in his views, had won the good-

will alike of Republicans and Democrats. The desire to retain it was more inviting to him than the opportunity to wield unlimited power which the suggested assignment presented. Hence he sought to be excused from such duty in the South, and at first his inclinations were respected. Subsequently, however, in opposition to his wishes, in the latter part of 1867, he was assigned to the command of the Fifth Military District, comprising the States of Louisiana and Texas, with headquarters at New Orleans. Congress had invested such commanders with despotic powers, and it was easy for them to fall into the temptation of exercising their prerogative and to issue military mandates in the decision of all important questions, civil or military, involving the rights and interests of citizens, instead of following the more circuitous but more clearly constitutional course of civil methods. In this crisis he was called upon to decide for himself whether in his administration he would use the civil authorities, or, entirely discarding them, resort instead to military commissions for the trial of all offences. It is not too much to say that many civilians placed in similar positions, with unlimited authority and command of money, might have been carried away by the temptations to use despotic power which were presented to him; but he, though educated a soldier, thrust aside all arbitrary methods, and insisted that the peaceful operation of the civil authority should be maintained where its officers were ready and willing to perform their legitimate duties. Instead of a spirit of Cæsarism he showed profound respect for the majesty of the civil law, a wise consideration for the rights and interests of the citizen, and a sincere affection for our republican institutions. His predecessor in this command had construed the Reconstruction acts to give the commander of that district absolute power in the States of Louisiana and Texas. Hancock held to the supremacy of the civil over the military authority, and in accordance with these principles his first official act upon assuming the command was to issue his celebrated Order No. 40, which is as follows:

HEADQUARTERS, FIFTH MILITARY DISTRICT.
NEW ORLEANS, LA., November 29th, 1867.

GENERAL ORDERS, No. 40.

1. In accordance with General Order, No. 81, Headquarters of the Army, Adjutant-General's Office, Washington, D. C., August 27th, 1867, Major-General W. S. Hancock hereby assumes command of the Fifth Military District and of the department composed of the States of Louisiana and Texas.

2. The General commanding is gratified to learn that peace and quiet reign in this department. It will be his purpose to preserve this condition of things. As a means to this great end, he regards the maintenance of the civil authorities in the faithful execution of the laws as the most

efficient under existing circumstances. In war it is indispensable to repel force by force and overthrow and destroy opposition 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 power should cease to lead and the civil administration resume its natural and rightful dominion. Solemnly impressed with these views, the General announces that the great principles of American liberty are still the lawful inheritance of this people, and ever should be. The right of trial by jury, the *habeas corpus*, the liberty of the press, the freedom of speech, the natural rights of persons and the rights of property must be preserved. Free institutions, while they are essential to the prosperity and happiness of the people, always furnish the strongest inducements to peace and order. Crimes and offences committed in this district must be referred to the consideration and judgment of the regular civil tribunals, and those tribunals will be supported in their lawful jurisdiction. While the General thus indicates his purpose to respect the liberties of the people, he wishes all to understand that armed insurrection or forcible resistance to the law will be instantly suppressed by arms. By command of

MAJOR-GENERAL W. S. HANCOCK.

Throughout the whole of General Hancock's command of the Fifth Military District his course was uniformly consistent with the sentiments set forth in the order above quoted. Although in supreme command, he sustained the jurisdiction of the civil courts and the purity and independence of elections by the people. He refused to organize military commissions to supplant the judiciary of the State, and avoided all military interference with the administration of civil affairs. Under a rule so beneficent there was no necessity for the exercise of arbitrary power, for obedience to the laws was the homage the people voluntarily rendered to an administration so purely and wisely devoted to the public good. The following are extracts from some of his orders covering the most important cases.

ON THE STAY OF CIVIL PROCESS.

THE HON. E. HEATH, MAYOR OF NEW ORLEANS:

SIR: In answer to your communication of the 30th ult., requesting his intervention in staying proceedings in suits against the city on its notes, the Major-General commanding directs me to respectfully submit his views to you on that subject, as follows: Such a proceeding on his part would, in fact, be a stay-law in favor of the city of New Orleans, which, under the Constitution, could not be enacted by the Legislature of the State; and in his judgment such a power ought to be exercised by him, if at all, only in case of the most urgent necessity. It does not, therefore, seem to the Major-General commanding that there is an urgent

necessity which would justify his interference in the manner required. Besides, the expediency of such a measure is more than questionable; for, instead of reinstating the confidence of the public in city notes, it would probably destroy it altogether.

REFUSING A MILITARY COMMISSION FOR OFFENDERS AGAINST STATE LAWS.

To His Excellency E. M. Pease, Governor of Texas:

Sir: Brevet Major-General J. J. Reynolds, commanding District of Texas, in a communication dated Austin, Texas, November 19th, 1867, requests that a military commission may be ordered "for the trial of one G. W. Wall."

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It is true that the third section of "An act to provide for the more efficient government of the rebel States" makes it the duty of the commanders of military districts "to punish, or cause to be punished, all disturbers of the public peace and criminals;" but the same power from its very nature should be exercised for the trial of offenders against the laws of the State only in the extraordinary event that the local civil tribunals are unwilling or unable to enforce the laws against crimes. At this time the country is in a state of profound peace. The State Government of Texas, organized in subordination to the authority of the Government of the United States, is in the full exercise of all its proper powers. Under such circumstances, there is no good ground for the exercise of the extraordinary power vested in the commander to organize a military commission for the trial of the persons named.

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REVOKING A SUMMARY REMOVAL MADE BY HIS PREDECESSOR.

2. Paragraph 3 of Special Orders No. 188 from these headquarters, dated November 16th, 1867, issued by Brevet Major-General Mower, removing P. R. O'Rourke, Clerk of Second District Court, Parish of Orleans, for malfeasance in office and appointing R. L. Shelly in his stead, is hereby revoked, and P. R. O'Rourke is reinstated in said office. If any charges are set up against the said O'Rourke, the judicial department of the Government is sufficient to take whatever action may be necessary in the premises. By command of

December 4th, 1867. Major-General Hancock.

REVOKING ORDER OF HIS PREDECESSOR ON JURORS.

The Commanding General has been officially informed that the administration of justice, and especially of criminal justice, in the courts is clogged, if not entirely frustrated, by the enforcement of paragraph No. 2 of the military order numbered Special Orders 125, current series,

from these headquarters, issued on the 24th of August, A. D. 1867, relative to the qualifications of persons to be placed on the jury lists of the State of Louisiana. The Commanding General, in the discharge of the trust reposed in him, will maintain the just power of the judiciary, and is unwilling to permit the civil authorities and laws to be embarrassed by military interference. It is ordered that said paragraph, which relates to the qualifications of persons to be placed on the jury lists of the State of Louisiana, be and the same is hereby revoked.

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By command of MAJOR-GENERAL HANCOCK.

December 5th, 1867.

TO PREVENT MILITARY INTERFERENCE AT THE POLLS.

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IX. Military interference with elections, "unless it shall be necessary to keep the peace at the polls," is prohibited by law, and no soldiers will be allowed to appear at any polling place, unless as citizens of the State they are registered as voters, and then only for the purpose of voting; but the commanders of posts will be prepared to act promptly if the civil authorities fail to preserve peace.

December 18th, 1867.

DISCLAIMING JUDICIAL FUNCTIONS IN CIVIL CASES.

Applications have been made at these headquarters implying the existence of an arbitrary authority in the Commanding General touching purely civil controversies.

One petitioner solicits this action, another that, and each refers to some special consideration of grace or favor which he supposes to exist and which should influence this department.

The number of such applications and the waste of time they involve make it necessary to declare that the administration of civil justice appertains to the regular courts. The rights of litigants do not depend on the views of the general; they are to be adjudged and settled according to the laws. By command of

January 1st, 1868. MAJOR-GENERAL HANCOCK.

ON REMOVALS WITHOUT JUDICIAL INQUIRY.

HIS EXCELLENCY B. F. FLANDERS, GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA:

GOVERNOR: I am directed by the Major-General commanding to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 11th instant, with papers and documents accompanying the same, charging the police jury, Parish of Orleans, right bank, with appropriating to their own use and benefit the public funds of said parish, and with being personally inter-

ested in contracts let by them, and recommending the removal from office of the President and members of said police jury, and, in reply, to state that these charges present a proper case for judicial investigation and determination; and, as it is evident to him, that the courts of justice can afford adequate relief for the wrongs complained of, if proved to exist, the Major-General commanding has concluded that it is not advisable to resort to the measures suggested in Your Excellency's communication. I am, Governor, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. G. MITCHELL, Brevet Lieut.-Col. U. S. A.,
Secretary for Civil Affairs.

December 30th, 1867.

THE LETTER TO GOVERNOR PEASE, OF TEXAS.

On the great and the overshadowing question of the restoration of the Southern States, General Hancock was equally specific and clear in his letter of March 9th, 1868, to Governor Pease, of Texas. Governor Pease having addressed a letter to General Hancock commenting on Order No. 40, the General replied in his own defence in an able state paper, of which the following are extracts:

"As respects the issue between us, any question as to what ought to have been done has no pertinence. You admit the act of Congress authorizes me to try an offender by military commission or allow the local civil tribunals to try, as I shall deem best; and you cannot deny the act expressly recognizes such local civil tribunals as legal authorities for the purpose specified. When you contend there are no legal local tribunals for any purpose in Texas, you must either deny the plain reading of the act of Congress, or the power of Congress to pass the act.

"You next remark that you dissent from my declaration 'that the country (Texas) is in a state of profound peace,' and proceed to state the grounds of your dissent. They appear to me not a little extraordinary. I quote your words: 'It is true there no longer exists here (Texas) any organized resistance to the authority of the United States. But a large majority of the white population, who participated in the late rebellion, are embittered against the Government, and yield to it an unwilling obedience.' Nevertheless, you concede they do yield it obedience. You proceed:

"'None of this class have any affection for the Government, and very few any respect for it. They regard the legislation of Congress on the subject of reconstruction as unconstitutional and hostile to their interests, and consider the Government now existing here under authority of the United States as an usurpation of their rights. They look on the emancipation of their late slaves, and the disfranchisement of a portion of their own class as an act of insult and oppression.'

"And this is all you have to present for proof that war and not peace prevails in Texas; and hence it becomes my duty—so you suppose—to set aside the local civil tribunals and enforce the penal code against citizens by means of military commissions. My dear sir, I am not a lawyer, nor has it been my business, as it may have been yours, to study the philosophy of statecraft and politics. But I may lay claim, after an experience of more than half a lifetime, to some poor knowledge of men and some appreciation of what is necessary to social order and happiness. And for the future of our common country, I could devoutly wish that no great number of our people have yet fallen in with the views you appear to entertain. Woe be to us whenever it shall come to pass that the power of the magistrate, civil or military, is permitted to deal with the mere opinions or feelings of the people. It would be difficult to show that the opponents of the Government in the days of the elder Adams, or Jefferson, or Jackson, exhibited for it either 'affection' or 'respect.' You are conversant with the history of our past parties and political struggles touching legislation on alienage, sedition, the embargo, national banks, our wars with England and Mexico, and cannot be ignorant of the fact that for one party to assert that a law or system of legislation is unconstitutional, oppressive and usurpative is not a new thing in the United States. That the people of Texas consider acts of Congress unconstitutional, oppressive or insulting to them is of no consequence to the matter in hand. The President of the United States has announced his opinion that these acts of Congress are unconstitutional. The Supreme Court, as you are aware, not long ago decided unanimously that a certain military commission was unconstitutional. Our people everywhere, in every State, without reference to the side they took during the rebellion, differ as to the constitutionality of these acts of Congress. How the matter really is, neither you nor I may dogmatically affirm. I am confident you will not commit your serious judgment to the proposition that any amount of discussion, or any sort of opinions, however unwise in your judgment, or any assertion or feeling, however resentful or bitter, not resulting in a breach of law, can furnish justification for your denial that profound peace exists in Texas. You might as well deny that profound peace exists in New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, California, Ohio and Kentucky, where a majority of the people differ with a minority on these questions; or that profound peace exists in the House of Representatives, or the Senate at Washington, or in the Supreme Court, where all these questions have been repeatedly discussed and parties respectfully and patiently heard.

"You next complain that in parts of the State (Texas) it is difficult to enforce the criminal laws, that sheriffs fail to arrest, that grand jurors will not always indict, that in some cases the military, acting in aid of the civil authorities, have not been able to execute the process of the courts;

that petit jurors have acquitted persons adjudged guilty by you, and that other persons charged with offences have broke jail and fled from prosecution. I know not how these things are, but admitting your representations literally true, if for such reasons I should set aside the local civil tribunals and order a military commission, there is no place in the United States where it might not be done with equal propriety. It is rather more than hinted in your letter that there is no local State government in Texas and no local laws outside of the acts of Congress which I ought to respect, and that I should undertake to protect the rights of persons and property in my own way and in an arbitrary manner. If such be your meaning, I am compelled to differ with you. After the abolition of slavery (an event which I hope no one now regrets), the laws of Louisiana and Texas existing prior to the rebellion, and not in conflict with the acts of Congress, comprised a vast system of jurisprudence, both civil and criminal. I am satisfied, from representations of persons competent to judge, they are as perfect a system of laws as may be found elsewhere, and better suited than any other to the condition of this people, for by them they have long been governed. Why should it be supposed Congress has abolished these laws? Why should any one wish to abolish them? Let us for a moment suppose the whole civil code annulled, and that I am left, as commander of the Fifth Military District, the sole fountain of law and justice. This is the position in which you would place me.

"I am now to protect all rights and redress all wrongs. How is it possible for me to do it? Innumerable questions arise, of which I am not only ignorant but to the solution of which a military court is entirely unfitted. One would establish a will, another a deed; or the question is one of succession, or partnership, or descent or trust; a suit of ejectment or claim to chattels; or the application may relate to robbery, theft, arson or murder. How am I to take the first step in any such matter? If I turn to the acts of Congress I find nothing on the subject. I dare not open the authors on the local code, for it has ceased to exist. And you tell me that in this perplexing condition I am to furnish, by dint of my own hasty and crude judgment, the legislation demanded by the vast and manifold interests of the people! I repeat, sir, that you and not Congress are responsible for the monstrous suggestion that there are no local laws or institutions here to be respected by me, outside the acts of Congress. I say unhesitatingly, if it were possible that Congress should pass an act abolishing the local codes for Louisiana and Texas—which I do not believe—and it should fall to my lot to supply their places with something of my own, I do not see how I could do better than follow the laws in force here prior to the rebellion, excepting whatever therein shall relate to slavery. You are pleased to state that 'since the publication of (my) General Order No. 40 there has been a perceptible increase of crime

and manifestation of hostile feeling towards the Government and its supporters,' and add that it is 'an unpleasant duty to give such a recital of the condition of the country.'

"You will permit me to say that I deem it impossible the first of these statements can be true, and that I do very greatly doubt the correctness of the second. * * * But what was Order No. 40, and how could it have the effect you attribute to it? It sets forth that 'the great principles of American liberty are still the inheritance of this people, and ever should be; that the right of trial by jury, the habeas corpus, the liberty of the press, the freedom of speech, and the natural rights of person and property must be preserved.' Will you question the truth of these declarations? Which one of these great principles of liberty are you ready to deny and repudiate? Whoever does so avows himself the enemy of human liberty and the advocate of despotism."

General Hancock left New Orleans at his own request. The General-in-Chief of the Army having been given unconstitutional control over matters in the South, superior to the prerogatives of the President, who chose to submit to that domination, Hancock applied to be relieved, desiring to avoid any further connection with political complications. He was then, March, 1868, assigned to the command of the Military Division of the Atlantic, with headquarters at New York. In the National Democratic Convention of that year, although himself not an aspirant for the place, he received nearly a controlling vote for the nomination for President of the United States. He remained in New York until he was assigned to the Department of Dakota, with headquarters at St. Paul, Minn., in November, 1869. After the death of General Meade he was recalled from the Northwest and placed in command of the Military Division of the Atlantic, with headquarters at New York, in which position he now remains. At the Pennsylvania State Convention of 1869 he was tendered by his numerous friends the Democratic nomination for Governor of his native State—an honor which he then and has since declined. In the National Democratic Convention of 1872 he was again prominently mentioned for President of the United States, until it was decided to nominate a Liberal-Republican. It has fallen to the lot of few men to render such valuable services to his country as General Hancock has done. Upon all occasions and under all the different circumstances in which he has been tried he has been distinguished by remarkable judgment, discretion and force of character.

[In the convention of 1876, on the first informal ballot, General Hancock received seventy-five votes and was third on the list of nominees. During the past four years he has remained in command of the Department of the East, and during the past two months he has been acting as President of the Court of Inquiry which was called to consider the conduct of Major-General Warren at the battle of Five Forks.]

HANCOCK'S SAYINGS.

Extracts from his Orders that show what kind of a man he is.

"The true and proper use of the military power, besides defending the national honor against foreign nations, is to uphold the laws and civil government, and to secure to every person residing among us the enjoyment of life, liberty, and property."

"The right of trial by jury, the habeas corpus, the liberty of the press, the freedom of speech, the natural rights of persons and the rights of property must be preserved."

"Tell General Meade that the troops under my command have repulsed the assault of the enemy, who are now flying in all directions in my front."

"Power may destroy the forms but not the principles of justice. These will live in spite of even the sword."

"The great principles of American liberty still are the lawful inheritance of this people and ever shall be."

"Armed insurrections or forcible resistance to the law will be instantly repressed by arms."

"Nothing can intimidate me from doing what I believe to be honest and right."

"Arbitrary power has no existence here."

THE PLATFORM.

The Doctrine of the Democrats for the Coming Campaign.

Following is the platform adopted by the National Democratic Convention at Cincinnati:

The Democrats of the United States in convention assembled declare:

FIRST. We pledge ourselves anew to the constitutional doctrines and traditions of the Democratic party, as illustrated by the teaching and example of a long line of Democratic statesmen and patriots and embodied in the platform of the last National Convention of the party.

SECOND. Opposition to centralization and to that dangerous spirit of encroachment which tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create—whatever be the form of government—a real despotism. No sumptuary laws; separation of Church and State for the good of each; common schools fostered and protected.

THIRD. Home rule; honest money, consisting of gold and silver and paper convertible into coin on demand; the strict maintenance of the public faith, State and national, and a tariff for revenue only.

FOURTH. The subordination of the military to the civil power and a general and thorough reform of the civil service.

FIFTH. The right to a free ballot is the right preservative of all rights, and must and shall be maintained in every part of the United States.

SIXTH. The existing administration is the representative of conspiracy only, and its claim of right to surround the ballot-boxes with troops and deputy marshals to intimidate and obstruct the electors, and the unprecedented use of the veto to maintain its corrupt and despotic power, insults the people and imperils their institutions.

SEVENTH. The great fraud of 1876–77—by which upon a false count of the electoral votes of two States, the candidate defeated at the polls was declared to be President, and for the first time in American history the will of the people was set aside under a threat of military violence—struck a deadly blow at our system of representative government. The Democratic party, to preserve the country from the horrors of a civil war, submitted for the time, in firm and patriotic faith that the people would punish this crime in 1880. This issue precedes and dwarfs every other. It imposes a more sacred duty upon the people of the Union than ever addressed the conscience of a nation of freemen.

EIGHTH. We execrate the course of this administration in making places in the civil service a reward for political crime, and demand a reform by statute which shall make it forever impossible for the defeated candidate to bribe his way to the seat of a usurper by billeting villains upon the people.

NINTH. The resolution of Samuel J. Tilden not again to be a candidate for the exalted place to which he was elected by a majority of his countrymen, and from which he was excluded by the leaders of the Republican party, is received by the Democrats of the United States with sensibility, and they declare their confidence in his wisdom, patriotism and integrity, unshaken by the assaults of a common enemy, and they further assure him that he is followed into the retirement he has chosen for himself by the sympathy and respect of his fellow-citizens, who regard him as one who, by elevating the standards of public morality and adorning and purifying the public service, merits the lasting gratitude of his country and his party.

TENTH. Free ships and a living chance for American commerce on the seas and on the land. No discrimination in favor of transportation lines, corporations or monopolies.

ELEVENTH. The amendment of the Burlingame treaty. No more Chinese immigration, except for travel, education and foreign commerce, and therein carefully guarded.

TWELFTH. Public money and public credit for public purposes solely, and public land for actual settlers.

THIRTEENTH. The Democratic party is the friend of labor and the laboring man, and pledges itself to protect him alike against the cormorants and the commune.

FOURTEENTH. We congratulate the country upon the honesty and thrift of a Democratic Congress, which has reduced the public expenditure $40,000,000 a year; upon the continuation of prosperity at home and the national honor abroad, and, above all, upon the promise of such a change in the administration of the government as shall insure us genuine and lasting reform in every department of the public service.

PLATFORM AND CANDIDATES.

If it were not that all precedents made it necessary to adopt a platform, the Democratic Convention would doubtless have adjourned without this formality. As it was, the platform received little attention from the delegates, who were sufficiently satisfied that their candidate's record gave them a better platform than they could make for themselves, and it will probably receive as little from the public. There have been years when a strong Democratic ticket was defeated by a weak platform; but in the present state of popular sentiment the candidate is more important than a ream of resolutions.

As platforms go, this one is not without its merits. It has the very great advantage over that adopted by the Republicans at Chicago in being short and intelligible. Quite one-half of the entire space is occupied by the "fraud issue," which is presented with sufficient distinctness to satisfy even Mr. Tilden, who gets a complimentary resolution all to himself—a compliment that certainly was due from a party that owes its present hopeful attitude so largely to Mr. Tilden's organization four years ago. There are some passages in these fraud resolutions more remarkable for vehemence than for perspicacity. Thus the demand for "a reform by statute which shall make it forever impossible for the defeated candidate to bribe his way to the seat of a usurper by billeting villains upon the people" is certainly expressed with sufficient force, if not with elegance, but it might have been more satisfactory if a draft of the proposed statute had been incorporated in the resolution. However, if there is any one subject that justifies strong language from a Democratic Convention, it is this.

Coming down to more general issues, the principles of the party are affirmed with little or none of the customary equivocation. The platform is distinctly for free trade—"a tariff for revenue only"—and "free ships and a living chance for American commerce." As the Chicago Convention, in the course of a rambling essay upon things in general, suggested that "the duties levied for the purpose of revenue should so discriminate as

to favor American labor," there would seem to be something like an issue between the parties at this point. But apart from the vagueness of this proposition, which a Democrat scarcely would dispute, the fact that the Republicans put a free-trader on their protection platform, while the candidate on the free trade platform comes from a high tariff State, will make it difficult to get up a very lively controversy on this issue. So, too, with the question of "free ships," which is one of the things that the Chicago platform neglects to mention. Cincinnati reaffirms the traditional Democratic doctrine, but it is doubtful if either party, as now constituted, could be held strictly to its record upon any of the questions of this class. The currency is another subject upon which the Chicago platform expressed no opinion; but here the Cincinnati resolutions are directly to the point—"honest money, consisting of gold and silver and paper convertible into coin on demand." This is much sounder doctrine than was ventured upon at St. Louis, even under Tilden's lead, and it stamps out the last trace of the soft-money heresy. For the rest, this platform is mainly noteworthy for enunciating clearly and distinctly a variety of undisputed principles which the Republican platform conceals in a mass of verbiage. Even the Chinese plank is more intelligible, and if the declaration that "the Democratic party is the friend of labor and the workingman" do not profoundly impress the reader, there is at least some amusement to be derived from the pleasingly alliterative antithesis of "cormorants and the commune."

Altogether, this is a very fair piece of platform-making, with some bad planks as well as good ones, and a fair allowance of clap-trap, but with much less than the usual amount of sheer nonsense. If anybody attached importance to documents of this class, it would be possible to ascertain from this one what the Democracy believes, which is much more than could be ascertained as to the Republicans from the platform adopted at Chicago. But, after all, the differences between the two parties at this time can hardly be expressed in a series of resolutions. They are much better expressed by the candidates and their surroundings, and it is over the candidates, and not over the platforms, that the battle will be fought.

WINFIELD S. HANCOCK, 705!

Nominated for President With a Rush on the Second Ballot.—The Party's Choice.—A Scene of Great Enthusiasm.—The Spectators in the Hall Running Wild With Excitement.—Speaker Randall's Speech.—The Philadelphia Delegations United.—The Two Clubs Joining in the Great Hurrah for the General.—A Love-Feast Among the New Yorkers.—Tammany and Anti-Tammany Agree to Shake Hands Over the Result.

Pennsylvania bore off the first honor of the National Democratic Convention of 1880. The great wave of enthusiasm which swept so com-

pletely over that assemblage left the wreck of many a prominent candidate in its path, but Winfield Scott Hancock was not among these. Him it brings within reach of the highest place in the nation. Really, there were only two regular ballots, one for President and the other for Vice-President. That taken on the previous night was only the throwing out of a skirmish line. It served to show exactly where the strength and weakness of the contesting forces lay, and who was best fitted to lead them against the common enemy.

THE POPULAR FAVORITE.

How it came about that even before the issue was fairly joined it was apparent that Hancock was the popular favorite for the Presidential nomination has been told. Weary of discussion of the comparative availability of candidates whose merits were either too positive or too negative, there suddenly arose a common impulse to lay hold upon the one of them all whose claims no efforts were necessary to establish, and in whose efforts there was the least mechanical pressure upon the convention. It was a boom from within, not from without. If there was ever spontaneity in political movements it was found here. Dan Dougherty's speech was a great one, and so was Daniel's, and so was Hubbard's, but they told the convention nothing that they did not know already. The delegates and the galleries caught the point before Dougherty struck the name of his candidate. His oratory voiced the popular demand and kindled the popular imagination, and then the work was done. When the convention adjourned on the previous day the furore for Hancock spread like wild-fire to the streets and over the country. So the night wore on. Tidings of reinforcements came from every State delegation, and telegrams of encouragement poured into Cincinnati. Hancock was in the air. Hasty attempts were made to combine the opposing elements of opposition. All night this business was going on. Tilden made a last effort to rally his forces, and played last of all the trump cards which he should have played at first, in directing his friends to present the name of his most loyal and most popular adherent, Samuel J. Randall. It was a great thing thus to put one of Pennsylvania's favorite sons against another, the statesman against the soldier-statesman; but it was too late, too late. The stars in their course fought for the hero of Gettysburg and New Orleans, Dougherty's "Hancock, the superb!"

THE OPENING SCENES.

When the great Exposition hall was filled with delegates, it began to be realized even by the least astute that Hancock would be nominated, but nobody believed that it would be effected in such a glorious fashion. The scenes of the day had a brilliant setting. A vast audience drew quick breaths in anticipation. The immense platform in the rear of the

president's stand was crowded with representative Democrats other than members of the convention, and hundreds of handsomely dressed ladies, occupying privileged seats, lent the charm of beauty and an air of gayety to the spectacle. New York was the first to gain the floor. The most distinguished-looking member of her delegation arose and was greeted with cheers and some hisses, but the hisses were almost the last that were heard in that hall. Mr. Peckham formally presented Mr. Tilden's letter of declination to the convention. He thanked the imperial guard who had voted for the old man on the previous day, but, accepting his declination as made in good faith and finality, New York would not ask the suffrages of the convention for him. He was authorized, however, to say that New York had agreed upon another candidate, and that candidate was that eminent Democratic Statesman, Samuel J. Randall, of Pennsylvania. As the name fell from his lips there was a hearty cheer, and the Samuel J. Randall Association, of Philadelphia, following the example of Hay, Ermentrout and others of the Pennsylvania delegation, arose to their feet, waved their hats and fans, and kept the cheer going for several minutes, New York, Nebraska and other States joining in it with enthusiasm.

THE BATTLE BEGUN.

The line of battle was now formed for the opposition to Hancock, and it began right away. Alabama, the first State called in the balloting, strikes the key-note in increasing her Hancock vote from 7 to 11. Arkansas sticks to Field. California, which gave no votes to Hancock on the first day, now gives him 5. Connecticut divides between Bayard and her English. Florida and Delaware are faithful to the Diamond statesman. No important change in Georgia. Then comes Illinois; what will she do? The answer is prompt: "Illinois withdraws the name of her gallant and beloved son, William R. Morrison, and casts her 45 votes for Winfield Scott Hancock." The tide has set in. Forty votes is a big jump, and the galleries, as well as the convention, see what is coming. "Hurrah for Hancock!" It is the voice of thousands, and the Chair in vain tries to drown the clamor before it has run its course. But Indiana is not prepared to let go of Hendricks. He gets her full vote. Iowa strikes out for Randall with 12 votes, and Randall gets another cheer, but she gives 5 to Hancock, and then there is a yell which becomes a shout as Kansas gives him every one of hers, and Louisiana and Maine do the same. Maryland's handsome Governor still says Bayard, but Massachusetts says 11 for Hancock, and Michigan gives him 14. Henceforward the hundreds who are keeping tally take down the Hancock figures only. Will he make it on this ballot? The crowd are impatient, and hisses are mingled with cheers when New York casts 70 votes for Randall. But no matter. Here is North Carolina with a solid 20 for Hancock, a clear gain of 11 in that State. And Ohio? Not ready. She asks to withdraw. Call the next. Oregon gives Field 6.

PENNSYLVANIA WAVERING.

Pennsylvania? Every eye is fixed on the handsome chairman who stands, paper in hand, but not ready to vote. New York has been shrewd to put the wedge right here. There is hesitation. Hay says Pennsylvania is not ready to vote and asks to be passed. Yerkes, Meyers, and others are seen gesticulating and heard to say that Pennsylvania is ready. Hay says, quietly, "If the gentlemen will give me time to tally I shall announce the vote." "All right," was the cry, "Pass on." Little Rhody gives her 6 to Hancock and 6 to Bayard. South Carolina is still standing like a stone wall for the Delawarean. New Jersey splits, breaks all to pieces, but Hancock picks up 7. Eleven more from Texas, a solid 10 from Vermont, 7 from West Virginia, and Virginia 7, and Wisconsin, the last on the list, 2, and the cheers meanwhile are continuous. Everybody has begun to add the Hancock figures. Then Pennsylvania comes in with 1 for Bayard, Randall, 26, and Hancock, 31. Good for Randall and good for Hancock, but the crowd thinks it ought to have been solid for Hancock. Ohio is another disappointment. She tries Thurman once more with 44 votes. Now there is a great rustling of papers and murmurs of voices. It runs from man to man that Hancock has climbed over 300. His nomination is assured. Why wait longer? Wisconsin is the first to seize the opportunity. She asks to change her vote and give it all to Hancock, making his total 326. And now the cheering is the greatest heard yet, but the volume of sound is stronger still as Stockton, of New Jersey, who has worked so hard for Bayard, shouts from the bottom of his voice that New Jersey gives her whole vote to the gallant soldier of her sister State. Bedlam breaks loose. Nobody sits down. Everybody has gone mad and is hollering "Hancock!" It is deafening. Is there no way of getting down to order so that any one of those dozen chairmen who have mounted their desks and are trying to catch either eye or ear of the Chair may be heard? Apparently not, for the pounding of Stevenson's gavel simply urges the people to new demonstrations of delight. There is Hay, of Pennsylvania, and Weed, of New York, each trying to get ahead of the other, with William L. Scott, all three Tilden men and Randall men urging Hay on. Look where you will in that vast auditorium and there are frantic men waving hats and handkerchiefs, while the uproar is incessant. At length the Chair and the reporters hear Hay, if nobody else does, as he announces that Pennsylvania is solid at last, and in time for the Tilden men to claim a full share in the nomination casts her 58 votes for Hancock and victory.

HANCOCK AND VICTORY.

Hay has not felt it necessary to poll his delegation on the question. He knows where the hearts of these Pennsylvanians are and he takes the

liberty of speaking for them. It is a good deed well done, and the whole delegation rise to their feet to say amen with all their might, while the convention and spectators, taking in the situation with their eyes, rather than with their ears, shout louder and louder still. Wallace makes his appearance in the front rank on the platform and waves encouragement. The Randall Association have taken the cue from Hay and try to outshout the Americus Club. For once they yell together. The stampede to Hancock has begun and is fully under way. Every man in the opposition who has not done so already wants to change his vote, but how are they going to do it in the midst of this hullabaloo? It is no use. Let the ballot take care of itself, and let everybody become as mad as everybody else. The flags bearing the names of the States that have not yet voted for Hancock are lifted one after another, raised in token of surrender or assent and dipped to that of Pennsylvania. There is Ohio's, and there, at last, is New York's, and it is higher than all the rest. The banners are seen to come together in the middle aisle; then one, larger than all the rest, is brought down from the platform over the president's chair and waved again and again. It bears on one side a fine portrait of the coming man, Winfield Scott Hancock, and on the other the soldier-statesman's own platform: "The right of trial by jury, the habeas corpus, liberty of the press, freedom of speech, the natural rights of persons and property, must be preserved." First one side and then the other is turned toward the audience, and it is hard to say which excites the greater enthusiasm. "This beats anything at Chicago," exclaims a veteran journalist who has attended other conventions.

"HANCOCK, THE SUPERB," NOMINATED.

Half an hour is passed in this abandon of enthusiasm, and at last the crowd subsides into a semblance of order. It is simply exhausted. So many States wish to change their votes that it is determined to call the roll over again before the result is announced. They fall into line, little Delaware leading off as gallantly as ever, until every State but two has planted itself solidly under the Hancock banner. Indiana votes for Hendricks, and there are three scattering votes from other States. The result of the ballot is announced in a thundering voice by a clerk: Hancock, 705; Hendricks, 30; Bayard, 2; Tilden, 1. It does not stay that way long. Indiana asked to be heard through both Voorhees and Black, and the convention, after another quarter of an hour's cheering, allows them to be heard. Voorhees, confessing the soreness over the defeat of Hendricks, moved to make the nomination of Hancock unanimous. More cheering and long cheering. The band plays "Hail Columbia" and the "Star Spangled Banner.' The great organ at the other end of the hall chimes in grandly, and we have another quarter of an hour of bedlam. It is increased as Randall appears in the hall for

the first time and makes his way to the platform and through the crowd to the speaker's stand, with Wallace smiling and complacent at his side. We are on the eve of another reconciliation. A love-feast is beginning. The leaders of the Pennsylvania Democracy get the heartiest of cheers, long and loud. Wallace pushes Randall forward and there is a great shout as he opens his mouth to speak. He never appeared to better advantage. Self-possessed and beaming with smiles, he looks anything but a defeated candidate. He is very well satisfied with the one hundred and twenty-nine votes cast for him this morning in the face of defeat. Hay, Barr and others are a body-guard for the Senator and the Speaker. Randall's voice fills the hall as he seconds the motion to make the nomination of the Pennsylvania soldier unanimous. The nomination is a wise one. It will bring the Keystone State into Democratic unity. With Hancock Pennsylvania will be carried by the Democracy, and he promised to be second to none in untiring work to that end. There have been divisions in the party, but let it be understood that they are no more. Hancock will be elected and better still, if elected, he will be inaugurated. Randall's speech in full was as follows:

RANDALL'S SPEECH.

FELLOW-DEMOCRATS: I am here to second the nomination of Pennsylvania's son, General Hancock. [Applause.] Your deliberations have been marked by the utmost harmony, and your act is an expression of the heart of the American Democrat in every State in the Union. [Applause.] Not only is your nomination strong, but it is one that will bring us victory (applause), and we will add another State to the Democratic column—the great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania (applause)—the keystone of the Federal arch. Not only is it acceptable to every Democrat in the United States, but it is a nomination which will command the respect of the entire American people. [Applause.] I will not detain you longer than to say that you will find me in the front rank of this conflict, second to none, and that every energy of my mind and every energy of my brain will be given from now until we shall all rejoice in a common victory on the November Tuesday coming. [Applause.] There is a great mission ahead of the Democratic party, and you have selected a standard-bearer whose very nomination means that, if the people ratify your choice, he will be inaugurated. I thank you for this cordial greeting, and I beg of you not to suppose for a moment I am in the least discomfited, but, on the contrary, my whole heart goes forth with your voice, and I will yield to no man in the effort which shall be made in behalf of your ticket, chosen this day. [Applause.]

A SPEECH FROM WALLACE.

The promise of a Democratic victory in Pennsylvania keeps up the whirl of excitement. Wallace is called for, and, after shaking hands

with Randall, steps up and with his countenance glowing with enthusiasm over a victory which he had helped bring about, thanks the national Democracy for the honor this day conferred on Pennsylvania. History repeats itself in this goodly city, where twenty years ago the Democracy nominated a Pennsylvanian, who was its last President, and where it now names its next. The policy of the Democrats under Hancock must be aggression! aggression! aggression! "We are one," said Wallace, in conclusion, looking at Randall, "and as one will be victorious." Wade Hampton hobbled next to the front, and the convention shut its big mouth for a few moments to hear him. It is another speech seconding Indiana's motion, and he pledges the solid South to the Union soldier. The love-feast goes on between cheering and speaking. Hoadley speaks for the Western Tilden men, and Faulkner, of New York, for the Eastern Tilden men. Before he leaves the stand the stumpy and bullet-headed John Kelly is seen away down at the door out of which he went yesterday as mad as a March hare. He, too, is coming to lay down his arms, or is it to celebrate the victory in which his defeat was swallowed up? "Kelly!" "Kelly!" is the cry on all sides. Kelly comes right along and mounts the rostrum. Organ and band unite in an accompaniment to the applause, and several minutes pass before the "Boss" is able to speak. When he does he speaks sensibly. He pronounced the nomination just made "superb." He said it had united the Democracy of New York, and he had no doubt his brethren would agree with him in saying that past differences shall now be forgotten.

NEW YORK UNITED.

He and everybody else here looked at the brethren referred to—the regular delegation from New York. They sat silent for a moment while everybody else was cheering, and then rose as one man and joined in the chorus, whereupon the convention and galleries went wild again. After Kelly got through, Colonel Fellows, of the anti-Tammany delegation, came forward and made an eloquent speech in the same strain. When he concluded, Tammany and anti-Tammany in their persons shook hands and almost fell upon each other's necks. Fellows said that Hancock should hear again the roar of Hampton's guns, but this time on the same side, and all over the land there would be peace and its attendant blessings. Both Kelly and Fellows gave their assurance that New York would give Hancock and the reunited Democracy 50,000 majority. Of the many dramatic and sensational incidents of the day this reconciliation was not the least significant, and people once more abandoned themselves to cheering for Hancock, while the Hendricks, Randall, and other banners were brought to the front, with that of Hancock leading the procession of banner-bearers. This way of making Hancock's nomination unanimous, which was finally done, had been going on four hours and

there is no telling when it would have ended had not a committee of woman suffragists, with Susan B. Anthony at their head, appeared at the bar of the convention with a petition in their hand. It was a variation that diverted the attention of the audience, and, when the venerable Susan's long paper had been read, President Stevenson was able to get it down to business again.

ENGLISH FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

The rest of the work was soon dispatched. The platform, read by Watterson, was voted a good one and some of the planks were loudly cheered. Then came the nomination for the Vice-President. It was made with unexpected unanimity. Alabama led off with the nomination of William H. English, of Indiana, and the nomination was seconded by every State in the Union. There was another nomination by Irish, of Iowa, who spoke for Bishop, of Ohio, but nobody took kindly to it and it was withdrawn. There was a grand and final outburst of enthusiasm when English received the nomination unanimously and by acclamation, and, after picking up the fag-ends of business, the convention adjourned. It is safe to say that every Democrat and the many thousands gathered believe that day's work a great one for the party. Meanwhile telegrams came in from all parts of the country assuring the magnates of the party that the ticket is the best that could have been framed. Among these telegrams are one from Samuel J. Tilden, one from Allan G. Thurman, one from Thomas F. Bayard, and Samuel J. Randall has spoken to-day by his own voice and the votes of his friends.

GENERAL HANCOCK AT HIS HOME.

Congratulations Sent to Him by Public Men and Fellow-Soldiers in all Parts of the Country.—How he Received the News.—An Emphatic Contradiction of the Latest Slander About Mrs. Surratt.

General Hancock learned early of the action of the convention. He had had two telegraph instruments put in the headquarters building, and for some days these were kept steadily in use by friends of the General in the convention and in the country generally. During the session of the Convention General Hancock had been very well informed about its doings. Had another name been chosen in the place of his own, no one, either of his general acquaintance or his more intimate friends and staff officers, would have noticed any change in his deportment. He was anxious and watched for messages, but his attention to the routine duties of his post was not relaxed, and, on his way from the room where he had heard his name announced as that of the Democratic choice for President, he stopped to call the attention of a laborer to the danger he ran in working in the hot sun. The despatches of the night before had conveyed the information that advocates of other names than that of

Hancock, and other, perhaps misinformed, persons had started a rumor that General Hancock, as President of the court-martial that had tried Mrs. Surratt, had written a letter to certain surgeons of Washington offering them the body of Mrs. Surratt for purposes of dissection. It was an utterly untrustworthy rumor from many points of view. The execution, it will be recalled, took place in July, 1865, in a very hot season, and it was reported at the time that the bodies were burned at once by the military authorities without even the removal of the caps from the faces of the dead. To those who had sufficient knowledge of the inside history of that trial the rumor was palpably cut out of whole cloth, for, compared with the other Federal officers at Washington at the time, General Hancock was particularly solicitous to spare, in every possible way, the feelings of the friends and relatives of Mrs. Surratt. There were thousands of others, too, who disbelieved the report from their general knowledge of General Hancock and his personal character. While crossing over to the island in a Whitehall boat, the ferry not being open at that hour, the report of a gun from Castle William told of sunrise. People living on Brooklyn Heights and even well up-town in New York city, who had listened to this same gun for years, were aroused by its particularly sharp, loud and clear discharge, and it was remarked by many persons during the day that it had never been heard so loudly and clearly before. When our representative crossed the fine lawn on the western side of the island, and approached the residence of the General in command, General Hancock was seen sitting in one of the large easy-chairs scattered about on the broad veranda, enjoying the sweet-scented air from the grass which had been cut the day before. General Hancock had on a long morning-gown, and was engaged in conversation with an officer of his staff, and giving directions as to the department work of the day.

With a "Good morning; you are an early caller," the General welcomed the reporter. When his attention was called to the rumor which had been circulated about him his brow contracted for a moment. "Why, it's a lie; of course it's a lie. Everybody who knows me knows that," he said. "There are plenty of men down there who know all the circumstances. Say it is a downright utter falsehood without one scintilla of foundation." Then, as if the novelty of his own position flashed upon him, he turned to the reporter and, with considerable warmth, said: "I'm not on the defensive. I have nothing to defend myself from. Why should I be questioned for what other people have the audacity to say about me?"

Picking up the paper which he had thrown down, General Hancock looked again at the statement of the charges and again exclaimed: "Pshaw! they are not worth contradicting. Nobody can believe them; they are so palpably false. Come into the house, and I'll tell you the names of some who can give you the facts."

The house is a comfortable square building, with a front view over the long, wide lawn and parade ground, while at the rear is Buttermilk Channel. The hall runs through the house to the south. On the first floor the long parlor is on one side and the dining-room is on the other. Back of the dining-room is the office of the General.

Seating himself at his desk and offering a seat to the reporter, he said: "You must understand that I cannot hold an interview to-day with any person on any subject; it would not be proper for me to do so, but on this particular point you will find men in Cincinnati who will tell you all about it, and can answer it as it comes up."

"Who may they be?"

"General F. A. Darr, of New York, of No. 75 Murray street, will tell you all that is necessary on that question. He is not alone either; there are many men who are perfectly informed, and who will confound anybody who brings up such questions. You may go to Tarbox, of Massachusetts. I do not know that he has been a special friend of mine in the convention, but he knows the facts and can speak with authority. Major Haverty—he will tell you everything. S. T. Glover, of Missouri, also is able to speak, and will tell you enough to quash any such lies. I do not know that I should say any more, and am sorry that you should have had occasion for a visit over here. I am afraid it is to be a hot day, and hope that the convention may soon secure a good man."

From another source, without reaching out by telegraph to any of the gentlemen named by General Hancock, the Surratt rumor was shown to be false by the evidence of a friend of the Surratt family, one with whom Miss Surratt found a home after the death of her mother.

On Governor's Island a few hours afterwards the General was again met. The news of his nomination reached him at 12.20 and was contained in the brief announcement, "Hancock is nominated." Captain Wharton, an aide-de-camp, conveyed the news to him. His first question was: "What do you think of it?" Then very soon the wires began to bring in the despatches of congratulation. In the forenoon the General had come to New York on private business, but was back in time to first hear of his nomination on the island. "You must excuse me from saying anything," said he upon the occasion of the second visit, "for as yet I cannot consider myself anything more than a private citizen, for I have not yet been officially informed of the honor that has been done me. I can honestly say that it was somewhat of a surprise to me."

"What will your policy be, General?"

"Democratic, of course. Whether in or out of the high office of President. I believe that honest self-government is the highest gift a people can have, and that is in a nutshell what I believe to be the spirit of Democracy and the Cincinnati Convention."

"But, General"——

"No. I thank you for your visit, but don't try to interview me now. Under the circumstances it would not be proper. There are a large number of telegrams from public men and others, and these you may see, for they are in a measure public."

The day was a sort of a holiday on Governor's Island. Every Thursday afternoon the band from David's Island comes down and plays in the music-stand on the lawn from 4 to 5 o'clock. The broad piazza of the Commanding General's House was especially crowded by post officers, as well as by people from the city, all of whom plied the General with every form of congratulation. Among the visitors were Lieutenant-Colonel C. McKeever, Assistant Adjutant-General; Colonel Nelson H. Davis, Inspector-General; Major Asa B. Gardner, Judge-Advocate; Lieutenant-Colonel A. J. Perry, Chief Quartermaster; Lieutenant-Colonel H. F. Clarke, Chief of the Commissary Department; Dr. John Y. Cuyler, Division Surgeon; Colonel Nathan W. Brown, Chief Paymaster; Captain N. G. Mitchell, Acting Engineer Officer; Colonel J. B. Fry, Adjutant-General; Major R. Arnold, Inspector-General of the Department; Captain H. G. Litchfield, of the Second Artillery, now in charge of the rifle practice of the department, and General T. L. Crittendon, in charge of the Recruiting Department.

The telegrams during the afternoon came in thick and fast. The first one was from Mr. Tilden. Out of the hundreds received the following are selected:

"I cordially congratulate you upon your nomination.

"SAMUEL J. TILDEN."

Mr. Tilden also sent the following despatch to Cincinnati:

"HON. W. H. BARNUM: Your telegram is received announcing the nomination of General Hancock. I congratulate you upon this auspicious result. "S. J. T."

"Accept my sincere congratulations on your nomination. That you will be elected I have no doubt. "A. G. THURMAN.

"Columbus, O."

"I beg to tender you my sincere congratulations on your nomination.

"Cleveland, O. "H. B. PAYNE."

"My hearty congratulations. New Jersey sons will stand by you as their sires did by Revolutionary patriots. "THEO. F. RANDOLPH."

"Your nomination is honorable alike to you and to the great Democratic party. No one congratulates you more sincerely and no one will strive more heartily to elect you than I. "T. F. BAYARD.

"Wilmington, Del., June 24."

"MY DEAR SIR: Neither too soon nor too heartily can I express my great delight at your nomination for the Presidency. The convention in

honoring you with its confidence honored itself and faithfully expressed the wish of the great Democratic party. With you for our candidate I feel that victory is assured. "HENRY HILTON."

"We have just thrown you our solid vote, and congratulate you upon your nomination. "WM. A. WALLACE."

"You are our nominee. Congratulations. "DANIEL DOUGHERTY."

"Hearty congratulations to the next President of the United States.
"WM. PINKNEY WHYTE."

"DEAR SIR: The nomination makes me much gladder than you.
"JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON."

"With all my soul I congratulate the Republic, rather than yourself, on your nomination. "E. JOHN ELLIS."

"The hills of Berks reverberate with 100 guns in honor of your victory. Thanks to God for the triumph of the people in November assured. "S. E. ANCONA.
"Reading, Pa."

"Mississippi is faithful to you and will do her whole duty.
"Columbus, Miss. "BEVERLY MATTHEW."

"The young Democracy of Alabama sends greetings to our next President, and pledges a hearty and enthusiastic support.
"Montgomery, Ala. "BENJ. FITZPATRICK,
"T. G. FOSTER, Committee."

"Allow me to offer my cordial congratulations and confident predictions of your triumph in November. "NORVIN GREEN.
"New York."

"Glory in the highest! Victory is ours. Accept my heartiest congratulations. "SAM. M. GAINS.
"Hopkinsville, Ky."

"New Haven will give you 3,500 majority and Connecticut her six electoral votes. The Elm City is enthusiastic for you.
"New Haven. "E. M. GRAVES,
"Cor. Secy. Cent. Dem. Club, New Haven."

"Heartfelt congratulations from old members of Second Corps. Success. "CHARLES J. MURPHY.
"Boston."

"Accept the congratulations of the Democracy of Minnesota.
"St. Paul, Minn. "WILLIAM LEE,
"Chairman State Committee."

"You have my sincere congratulation. Indiana will indorse you.
"Cincinnati. "JOHN LOVE."

"Please accept my most hearty congratulations.
"West Point. "J. M. SCHOFIELD.

"Your nomination consolidates the friends of good government and your election is assured. "DEMAREST BARNES.
"New York."

"I heartily congratulate you, the Democratic party, and the whole country on your nomination. "W. P. BUCKMASTER.
"New York."

"My friend, God be praised! The country is safe! Your election is sure! "H. H. SIBLEY,
"St. Paul, Minn. "Ex-Governor."

"Hurrah! Congratulations from Texas and
"Houston, Tex. "ORD."

"I heartily congratulate you on your nomination, and regard your election as certain. "JOHN J. CISCO.
"New York, June 24."

"I congratulate you. "JOHN BIGELOW.
"New York City."

"We congratulate you on your nomination. New York is sure for your election. "JOHN KELLY,
"Cincinnati. "AUG. SCHELL."

"Your nomination creates great enthusiasm. The Democracy of Louisiana send most cordial greetings. "J. B. EUSTIS,
"New Orleans, June 24th." "President State Central Committee.

"I suppose a Republican friend may be permitted to congratulate you.
"Plymouth, N. H. "TIMOTHY DAVIS."

"Praise God from whom all blessings flow.
"Harrisburg, Pa. "DR. HAYES."

"Allow me to congratulate you. Second Corps ahead as usual.
"Trenton. "GERSHOM MOTT."

"Enthusiasm over your nomination intense. Randall just spoke. Vote unanimous. Nothing could have prevented the nomination.
"DUNCAN S. WALKER,
"Cincinnati. "Secretary Democratic National Committee."

"Receive my heartfelt congratulations. Your nomination means your election. The Constitution and the Union will be safe when the laws are administered by one whose valor on the field was only equalled by his wisdom in the councils. "WM. SAULSBURY.
"Dover, Del."

"The only Democratic journal in Philadelphia presents its congratula-

tions and rejoices that Cincinnati's assembled Democrats indorses the *Chronicle's* choice. Victory is sure. From the journals in the United States the first to publish your nomination.

"Philadelphia. "D. F. DEALY, Editor."

"Cowan's old battery boys send you greeting.

"Auburn, N. Y. "W. E. WEBSTER."

"I congratulate you for your nomination for President, and predict your election and complete restoration of peace to all sections. Your life-long friend, "JOHN W. FORNEY.

"Cincinnati."

"The first Hancock Club organized in the United States sends its greetings and congratulations to the next President of the United States.

"Atchison, Kan. "B. H. WAGGONER, President Hancock Club."

"Our warmest congratulations. We go into the fight with our whole heart, and we know that at last success belongs to the party with you as a standard-bearer. "WM. MCCLELLAND.

"S. A. COSGROVE.

"Pittsburg. "P. N. GUTHRIE."

"The people of Mobile are rejoiced at your nomination.

"Mobile, Ala. "THOS. P. HERDON, M. C. 1st Con. Dist."

"Buell tells me that Murat Halstead says Hancock's nomination by confederate brigadiers set the old rebel yell to the music of the Union. How is that for a key-note of campaign? It will be solemn music for Republicans to face. "WM. A. WALLACE.

"Cincinnati."

"The Veterans of Oneida congratulate you. The Pioneer Hancock Club has just been organized, with General James J. Gridley, of the Fifth Corps, as President. General Gridley is a prominent Republican, and was Chairman of the convention that elected Senator Conkling a delegate in February last. Gettysburg and victory!

"Utica. "FIFTH CORPS."

"Alabama greets the peerless soldier and statesman of our common country, and when its drum beats roll-call in November she will respond with ten electoral votes and 50,000 majority for our gallant standard-bearer. "R. W. COBB and six others.

"Montgomery, Ala."

"We rejoice in your nomination. The safety of the whole Union is now assured. Reconciliation and prosperity await your administration.

"Portsmouth, Va. "WM. W. CHAMBERLAIN."

"Accept my heartfelt congratulations on your nomination.

"St. Louis. "B. GRATZ BROWN."

"I sincerely congratulate you, and greet you as our next President.
"Cincinnati. "EPPA HUNTON."

"With all my heart I congratulate you. I have expected this result for the last twelve years. You will be elected.
"Cincinnati. "D. W. VOORHEES."

"Please accept my heartiest congratulations. Ohio is already booming for you. "MILTON SAYLER.
"Cincinnati."

"Allow me to offer you my sincere congratulations. I may equally congratulate the party and the country on the good fortune which led the convention to the selection it has made and on the excellent prospect of the ratification of its choice by the American people.
"Milwaukee, Wis. "ALEXANDER MITCHELL."

"Hearty congratulations. With enthusiasm over your nomination California wheels into line and will give you her electoral votes.
"WM. D. ENGLISH, Chairman Democratic State Committee.
"San Francisco."

"Congratulations from Quincy *Herald*. The city ablaze with enthusiasm. Democrats united and happy. Three cheers for Hancock and English. "QUINCY HERALD.
"Quincy, Ill."

"Texas sends her warmest greeting. She will give the ticket over 100,000 majority. My State has long wished to pay this tribute to the soldier who ceased fighting when the war was over and upheld the civil power. We shall win.
"Cincinnati. "R. B. HUBBARD, of Texas Delegation."

Governor's Island was as excited as it is possible for a quiet army post to be. For some time it had been evident that something unusual was doing, though it required a sharp eye to detect any unusual movement. The Warren Court of Inquiry has kept General Hancock engaged for months, he being President of the court. He has listened with patience to the often repeated story of the battle of Five Forks, so that he has become familiar with the position of every regiment at each of the movements on April 1, 1865. While orderlies came and went with notes in regard to the business of the post, the General did not allow any of the evidence to escape him, and at the least error on the part of a witness, he would make a correction at once to prevent the mistake from going on the record. Sometimes after Mr. Stickney and Major Gardner, counsel respectively for General Warren and General Sheridan, had spent time in asking scores of questions to bring the witness round to a certain point, General Hancock would put one or two comprehensive questions which would lead to the desired result. A favorite final question was, "Did

you do all you could on that day, according to the best of your judgment, to help on the battle?" His anxiety to become thoroughly familiar with the details of the evidence brought out was shared by Generals Augur and Newton, his associates. On Thursday of the week previous the Court adjourned until Monday, as it was found difficult to secure the attendance of witnesses, many of them being delegates to the convention. Whatever consultation with "managers" there had been on the part of General Hancock had not interfered with his duties as Major-General commanding the Division of the Atlantic, and every detail had been so carefully attended to that the division had sustained its reputation of being the best conducted of the several divisions of the United States Army. Major-General Hancock is now the senior Major-General of the army, his appointment dating back to July 26, 1866. Major-General Schofield, in command at West Point, is next in order of seniority, having held the rank since March 4, 1869. General Irvin McDowell, who is now in command on the Pacific slope, is the third. The Division of the Atlantic and the Department of the East, over which General Hancock has command, includes the States of Wisconsin, Michigan, Indiana, Ohio, West Virginia, Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, the New England States, the District of Columbia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, Kentucky, Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi and Alabama.

A SLANDER REFUTED.

The Testimony Reproduced of a Priest as to General Hancock's Gentle Bearing in the Surratt Case.

The brave priest who shrived Mrs. Surratt bears witness to the General's just and gentle bearing—a wicked invention blown to the winds by a dozen honest words which follow below.

The mention of General Hancock's name in connection with the Presidential nomination led, as his friends supposed it would lead, to spiteful outcroppings over the hanging of Mrs. Surratt, an affair which his official position just after the war compelled him to direct. In the Indianapolis *Journal* an interview was printed about General Hancock, of which the following is part:

"The Democrats can't nominate General Hancock," said a Catholic priest to me the other day, in response to my expression of opinion.

"Why not?" I asked.

"Because," he said, with much feeling, "he hanged Mrs. Surratt without cause, and persecuted her for her religion."

"I don't see how he hanged her," said I, "more than General Holt, who was Judge Advocate, or Stanton, who was Secretary of War, or Andy Johnson, who was President."

"Hancock," exclaimed the priest, "had her immediate custody, and

he absolutely refused to let her see her clergyman or any clergyman of her church after she was sentenced. He did all he could to send the woman to ——; but no doubt her earnest request for clergy was passed to her credit in the books beyond the sky."

"I never heard of that," I said.

"Well, Catholics have," said the priest, "and if Hancock should arise and have the impudence to ask for Catholic votes, they would bury him under their indignation."

The above extract appeared in the *Post*. Our representative called upon Rev. Father Walter, of St. Patrick's Church, with this interview. He was Mrs. Surratt's adviser, and he it was whom General Hancock was credited with having insulted. Father Walter is a tall, square-shouldered man, with enough fire in his face and vigor in his movements to make one almost wish that he and General Hancock could put on the gloves together, they are so nearly matched.

"'I am glad you came,' he said, 'for this isn't the first of these flings at General Hancock. I have blamed myself often for not declaring the truth in the matter, for I am the only one that should tell it, so far as it concerns myself. Yet, being a priest, I have felt bound to hold my peace. Besides, so far no tangible harm has resulted from silence. For some weeks back, though, I have seen that circumstances might arise which should change my determination; this attack seems to me to call for the kind of response that will make such objections to General Hancock impossible in the future. That is what I said to-day to Bishop Keane, of Richmond, when I informed him that I had about decided to brand all such stories as false over my own signature.'

"'Would you object to doing it now?' the reporter asked.

"'Not at all,' Father Walter replied, and, seating himself at a table, he wrote this denial:

"Truth and justice compel me to deny the statement with reference to General Hancock's participation in the execution of Mrs. Surratt, which appeared in the Washington *Post* of this morning. I attended Mrs. Surratt on that occasion, and met with no interference on the part of General Hancock. General Hancock had great sympathy for this unfortunate lady, and waited until the last moment, hoping for a reprieve. I consider it an act of justice to General Hancock that this statement should be made. (Signed), "J. A. WALTER,

"Pastor of St. Patrick's Church, Washington."

"'There. That is the first statement I have made for the public in all these years,' Father Walter said, a trifle sadly. 'I hope it may be the means of enough good to compensate for all the harm that these stories have done.'

"An assertion made by an ex-army officer was abundantly corroborated

in the War Department that so strong was General Hancock's hope for a reprieve for Mrs. Surratt that on the day of the execution he stationed relays of cavalry along the streets from the White House to the Arsenal that no delay might ensue in communicating the fact. In the Arsenal are photographs of the scaffold at the time of the execution. They show Father Walter at Mrs. Surratt's side."

This was followed by another despatch published November 25th, as follows:

"WASHINGTON, November 24.—When General Hancock was here last week he met the Rev. Father Walter at the house of a mutual friend. General Hancock's carriage was at the door, and after the visit Father Walter entered the carriage at General Hancock's request and they drove off together. Their conversation lasted for nearly an hour. From an army officer who knew what was said it seemed that General Hancock began the conversation by thanking Father Walter for the statement and card he had published in *The World* about the defamatory stories in connection with the hanging of Mrs. Surratt. 'That denial alone was necessary,' General Hancock said, 'to destroy a vicious falsehood, and it was sufficient to do it.' Father Walter replied that he felt he had done merely his duty, and that while he was by no means inclined to arouse bad feeling in the matter he thought that while the press were disposing of it they might as well at the same time place the blame for the execution where it belonged, upon Andrew Johnson. 'When the time for the execution had been fixed,' he said, 'I went to President Johnson to urge a postponement for a few days. Mr. Johnson peremptorily refused to postpone the execution and acted as though he suspected I would be led to hope that one favor might be followed by others, and that eventually a reprieve might justly be demanded. I tried to disabuse him of such an impression by declaring that if he would grant us but ten days no other favor would be asked of him. Shortly before the execution I called at the White House a second time. My card was returned with a message that Mr. Johnson would not see me. I asked him then for a hearing of ten minutes, but he refused; then for two minutes, and he still refused. There was no reason in his refusal, and I hope he felt at the time of his impeachment trial that the refusal of the Senate to grant him ten days in which to prepare a defence was in a measure retributive.'

"A letter was received by an army officer here from one of General Hancock's most intimate associates a few days after the publication in *The World* of Father Walter's statement, which said that General Hancock was highly gratified at the course of *The World* regarding the affair, and that both he and his friends felt that the prompt refutation through *The World* had set the infamous stories at rest forever.

"Ex-Governor Hartranft, in conversation to-day about the stories in connection with the execution of Mrs. Surratt, said he was glad that they

had been effectually disproved: that he himself had immediate charge of the execution, and that afterwards he received letters from Mrs. Surratt's daughter and others thanking him for the consideration he had shown both to the prisoners and their friends."

All honest Democrats and all good men will thank Father Walter, of Washington City, for the frank and manly testimony which he bears to the humane and honorable conduct of General Hancock in the deplorable case of Mrs. Surratt. Not upon this brave soldier and true conservative citizen rests the stain of blood for the wicked murder of that "most unfortunate lady." In peace, as in war, General Hancock has loyally done his duty at no matter what cost to his own private feelings. Of him as of the Iron Duke it may be truly said: "Whatever record leaps to light, he never shall be shamed."

COL. JOHN W. FORNEY SPEAKS.

There are many deathless days in the American memory; among them the attack upon the American flag in Charleston Harbor on the 12th of April, 1861, the battle of Gettysburg on the 1st, 2d and 3d days of July, 1863, the fall of Richmond on the 9th day of April, 1865, and the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, on the 14th day of April, 1865. No days in human history ever aroused a more agonizing solicitude, or closed upon more gigantic transactions, or opened a wider vista of human possibilities. Each of these events had a strange and almost providential meaning. Each possessed the peculiar quality of conquering in an instant millions of prejudices. The ball fired at the old flag from Charleston consolidated the North and struck down human slavery. The victory of Gettysburg saved the second great city of the Union from the flames. The fall of Richmond was the certain rise of the Republic, and the death of Lincoln consecrated his great mission of forgiveness to all. When we come to notice the annals of our Civil War, these four events, with the emancipation of the slaves, on the 1st of January, 1863, will be to the historian like so many planets, shedding light on all other objects, and marshalling the way to the final lesson and duty of the patriot. Each was a revolution in itself, affecting the remotest interests, and leaving all men in a new condition of thought and self-examination.

But none of these tragedies wrought a deeper sensation or gave birth to a more lasting gratitude than the battle of Gettysburg, 1863. Here at least is one of those occurrences that cannot easily be forgotten. The human race is prone to forget. One philosopher says that ingratitude is the badge of all our tribe; but like all maxims it is best proved by the exceptions. In this instance we cannot if we would, and, thank God, we would not, if we could, blot out what that defeat of the Confederates did for the city of Philadelphia. Happily it is not so long ago as to have faded out of our minds. It is only seventeen years since, and it

was a day of such sharp agony and such universal terror, and the victory was such an unspeakable relief that even the children now grown to men and women think of it as gratefully as the middle-aged and the grandmothers and grandfathers. It was the single instance in which the fiery blast of war came close to a great Northern metropolis. The Confederates advanced in tremendous force. Led by their beloved General Lee and by his chosen lieutenants, they seemed resolved to make a last stand in the rich valleys of Franklin and Adams, choosing, as if by instinct, the regions called after two of the most precious names in American history. Grant was engaged at the same moment winding his fatal coils around the southern city of Vicksburg; but the point most vital to all at that supreme moment was the field of Gettysburg.

What Philadelphian can ever forget the suspense of those July days? There was not a household that did not throb and thrill between hope and fear. There were over one hundred thousand men, thousands of them from Philadelphia and the neighboring towns; and there was not a family that did not tremble for its loved ones engaged in that fatal strife, or that did not shudder at the advance of the foe who seemed so near, or that did not fancy in that advance the loss of the holy cause of the Union.

On the morning of the Fourth of July, 1863, I was at the Union League, then on Chestnut Street near 11th, Philadelphia, in the massive building now occupied by the family of the beloved Matthew Baldwin. The rooms and gardens of the lovely mansion were filled to overflowing with pale, anxious men; the streets were full of a silent, waiting crowd; the sidewalks and windows were crowded with women; even the children were awed into silence, as their elders discussed in whispers the possibilities of the dreadful fight in the green valleys of the Cumberland. Reynolds had been killed on the 2d of July, along with thousands of others, and his brother, James L., came from Lancaster, in this State, bowed down with terror at the sacrifice, and humble women were sobbing over the dispatches already recording their losses. It was a day of tears and despair. I had been present at other scenes of sorrow, but nothing like this Fourth of July, 1863. The commandment of this department was General J. A. J. Dana, and his office was in Girard Street near Twelfth, and I held a position as a consulting member of his staff. About noon of that Saturday I saw his tall form crossing Chestnut Street to the League, and when his eye caught mine I saw he was in tears. He handed me a dispatch from General Meade, just received. I opened and tried to read it, but could not. I saw enough to feel that we were saved. And soon the good news became universal. Then all hearts exploded with joy over the deliverance. It was a wonderful sight, that sudden change from grief to gratitude. Some shed tears, some shouted in joy, old foes became friends, and even infidels joined in the

spontaneous prayers of the preachers. Robert Browning's thrilling poem describing the man who carried the "good news to Ghent," which broke the siege and filled the souls of the Flemish with a deep thanksgiving to God, might have been paraphrased in honor of the messenger who brought such happiness to oppressed, and terrified, and despairing Philadelphia.

Who won that great fight? Who saved Philadelphia from fire and spoil? Who drove back the enemy, and saved us from a fate of which the burning of Chambersburg and Carlisle and the forced contributions upon York were intended to be grim preparations? A brave army of patriotic citizens, led by three Pennsylvania generals: George Gordon Meade, of Philadelphia; John Fulton Reynolds, of Lancaster; and Winfield Scott Hancock, of Montgomery. Meade and Reynolds are both gone. Meade died on the 6th of November, 1872, in the house presented to his wife by the people of Philadelphia, afterwards supplemented by a contribution of one hundred thousand dollars from the same source. Reynolds was killed in battle on the 2d of July, and is buried at Lancaster. Hancock is to-day the Democratic candidate for President of the United States.

To show how I felt at the critical moment, seventeen years ago, I reprint what I wrote in *The Press* on Tuesday, the 7th of July, 1863, not only to prove my plain duty to General Hancock, as the survivor of this glorious triumvirate, but also the duty of all the people of Philadelphia to that incomparable soldier. I recall it at once as a personal pledge and promise, and the solemn covenant of a great community to a great soldier:

"Meanwhile, the Army of the Potomac, suddenly placed under the command of General Meade, whom we are proud to claim as a fellow-citizen, hastened northward, and fell upon the rash and audacious enemy. We know the result. Neither our children, nor our children's children, to the remotest generation, shall ever forget it, or fail to remember it with a thrill of gratitude and honest pride. The rebels were assailed with unexampled fury, and the gallant General Reynolds, a Pennsylvania soldier, laid down his life. The struggle raged for several days, the losses on both sides were fearful, and still the result seemed doubtful. If we should fail, Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, perhaps New York, would be doomed. In this crisis of the nation's fate it was Pennsylvania that came to the rescue. IT WAS GENERAL HANCOCK, A PENNSYLVANIAN, WHO SO NOBLY BORE THE BRUNT OF THE BATTLE ON CEMETERY HILL."

I do not stop to debate the other considerations that enter into this vital issue; the grave considerations that demand the release of my dear native State from the desperate men who, in the last ten years, have

coldly crushed out the pride of our people, and placed under the iron heel of brutal inferiority the hopes of our youth and manhood, making of this fair commonwealth a vast political Golgotha, and of our proud city of Philadelphia an offensive roost for the most desperate and vulgar mercenaries since the black days of Tweed and Tammany in New York. I do not stop to debate these considerations now. It is not the *time*. But this is the time to open to the common mind our pledged word to the last of the great soldiers who placed us under an obligation that we hastened to avow, and repeated over and over again. My own pledge binds me as my own note of hand. In law if it had been signed to the promise to pay a money debt I could be held by it, and my estate if I failed to pay it. In morals it is as solemn as if I had gone before a magistrate and sworn to abide by it. And what is true of myself is equally binding upon others. What my fixed judgment, private and public, is of the men who saved the American Republic, I have not concealed. It is a passion that grows stronger the more I see the value of what has been saved to ourselves and to all mankind. I feel it as the rescue of human freedom for the ages to come. I prize it, this overthrow of the Rebellion, as the best blessing to the South which made that rebellion. I cherish it because the more I ponder the priceless value of the enormous destiny so saved, the more eager I am to convince the South that they must aid to perpetuate it. When I severed my connection with the Democratic party twenty-three years ago, in company with Stephen A. Douglas, Daniel Dougherty, David C. Broderick, and later, with Daniel S. Dickinson, Matt. Carpenter, John A. Logan, and many more, it was because that party seemed dedicated to the cause of slavery and rebellion. With victory over both, with emancipation declared and obeyed, with free opinion all over the land assured and sufficiently established, with Kansas an empire of liberty under the resistless doctrine of popular sovereignty, all my prejudices against the South vanished, and I, who would at one time have seen the rebels pursued with all the penalties of the law, and all the rigors of the war, speedily saw that I might have been a "rebel" if I had lived in the South, and that I must, to use Abraham Lincoln's loving maxim, "put yourself in their place," and forgive them, as I hope God will forgive me my transgressions. Hence, ever since General Grant's first election I labored to convince my old Southern friends that have been forced to stay in the Union, that we intended to keep them in by love; and Grant knows how often I pleaded with him to bear with them, to remember that they were still our own, that we had both been reared as Democrats, and that we had known the South, he in the army in Mexico, and I in my long years of residence in Washington, and must make allowances for them. And how willingly the great soldier listened to me is proved by his many attempts to show his anxiety to aid and help the South, I need not say.

And now the Democratic party comes forth with fresh gifts of repentance. Now they again proffer new proofs of their submission to the ideas that conquered them, and present two men for the votes of the people at the next Presidential election, *one of them a life-long friend, to whom, as I have shown, all of us in Philadelphia owe a debt that he made for us, and which, if we lived a thousand years, we could not repay.* I accept the responsibility. Twenty-two years ago in General Hancock's own native county of Montgomery, when he was a very young soldier, I spoke at Mill Creek, Conshohocken, October 2d, 1858, and surrounded by thousands of Democrats, I demanded that James Buchanan should pay *his* debt to freedom. He gave me his note that he would allow the people of Kansas to frame their own laws in their own way; and in that movement among the most active friends of free Kansas were Hancock's own relatives. We forced the payment of that debt, and now we are here, in 1880, as Democrats and Republicans of Philadelphia, to pay our debt to our preservers. Like that of James Buchanan to the people of Kansas, our debt was not the result of chance. It was the outgrowth of a spontaneous gratitude, freely volunteered, eagerly and passionately pressed upon others. True, Philadelphia was in great danger, and fear sometimes inspires generosity; and Buchanan wanted votes, and to get them was ready to swear to anything. The great difference between the two was, that Buchanan tried to escape payment of his obligation, and had to be held to it; while every year that has passed since Hancock's great work at Gettysburg on the 2d of July, 1863, has added to the value of his services, and has so added to the readiness of the people of Philadelphia to recognize them.

The veterans of his old army corps, and of the Pennsylvania Reserves, Democrats and Republicans, officers and men, regard Hancock with the admiration that the Old Guard felt for Murat. They were alike in personal beauty and splendid horsemanship, only Hancock was more cultivated, polite, and scholarly. How the greater chiefs regarded him, let the General of all the armies of the Republic answer. Last Thursday, June 24th, 1880, General Sherman said to one of the newspaper reporters of Washington: "*If you will sit down and write the best thing that can be put in language about General Hancock as an officer and a gentleman I will sign it without hesitation.*"

General Hancock was one of the favorites of Abraham Lincoln. Even the saturnine and exacting Stanton was his friend. To me Hancock was more than attractive. I had known his blood, his brothers, his associates, his comrades-in-arms, and whenever I had a party at my rooms on Capitol Hill, he was there if he was in Washington; he and such men as Sickles, Rawlings, George H. Thomas, Senator Chase, Mr. Seward, Judge Holt, Sumner, Ben Wade, General Butler, General Meade, General Reynolds, and the whole galaxy of patriots. We did

not think of politics in those days. We were, to use the blazing watch-word of Douglas in 1861, "we were all patriots;" and if Hancock was liked a little better than others, it was because, while he fought like a lion for the old flag, he never denied that he was a Democrat. I believe he and Grant have had a difference in military matters; but a little incident of rather recent occurrence will show how Hancock feels in regard to his old commander. We were acting as pall-bearers at the funeral of poor Scott Stuart, who died in London in the winter of 1878, and was buried in Philadelphia a few weeks after. As we were riding to the grave one of the company broke out in very angry denunciation of General Grant, and, according to a habit never to allow an absent friend to be assailed in my presence, I warmly and promptly defended the ex-President. I cannot give General Hancock's words, but he was courteous and dignified in seconding my opinions, and in expressing his regret that the scene had taken place in his presence. I was also in Washington during Mrs. Surratt's trial and execution as a participant in the murder of Abraham Lincoln, and can bear personal testimony to the manly bearing of General Hancock, who was the military officer in command of the National Capital in 1865. The attempt to arouse Catholic hostility to him because he carried out the orders of the Government—President Andrew Johnson and Secretary of War Stanton—is one of the worst exhibitions of party defamation, and disgraces all who are engaged in it. He did not hesitate to express his repugnance at the fearful duty forced upon him. Nobody in Washington had any doubt about his sentiments fifteen years ago. Hence, when Judge Clampitt, now of Chicago, Mrs. Surratt's leading counsel in 1865, comes forth, as he does in Don Piatt's Washington *Capital*, and states as follows, he does what is equally well known to myself:

"Hancock," continued Judge Clampitt, "had no more to do with these details or matters than you had. When Judge Wylie, with a Roman majesty of character, issued, almost at the peril of his life, the writ of *habeas corpus* in the case of Mrs. Surratt, President Johnson and Secretary Stanton decided to suspend the writ, and the execution followed.

"We had hopes to the last of a reprieve and a pardon for Mrs. Surratt, and I waited at the arsenal, hoping against hope. General Hancock rode down, and approaching him I asked, 'Are there any hopes?' He shook his head slowly and mournfully, and, with a sort of gasping catch in his speech, said: 'I am afraid not. No; there is not.'

"He then walked off a bit—he had dismounted—and gave some orders to his orderlies, and walked about for a moment or two. Returning, he said to me:

"'I have been in many a battle, and have seen death and mixed with it in disaster and in victory. I've been in a living hell of fire, and shell and grape-shot—and, by God! I'd sooner be there ten thousand times

over than to give the order this day for the execution of that poor woman. But I am a soldier, sworn to obey, and obey I must.'

"This is the true and genuine history of all that Hancock had in common with the affair. He was commanding, and, as commander and conservator of the national capital, was compellantly obedient to the orders of the court which sentenced the conspirators and the so-called conspirator to death. He had no voice in the matter, and could have no action save as the agent to see that the letter of the law was carried out in an order of alphabetic certainty."

Calumny of any kind on General Hancock is a bad crutch to help the ambition of weak men. It is the last resort of imbecile partisanship, and will have no more effect than if it were employed to scandalize the dead President Johnson or the dead Secretary Stanton. It is like the attempt to say that his nomination is his surrender to the South he conquered, which would be like saying that when a great soldier receives the highest honors from those he had taken prisoners in battle he has become their prisoner in turn. Considering that we Republicans have been trying to get the South to support our candidates for the last fifteen years this logic is very lame indeed.

General Hancock is the favorite son of Pennsylvania, and comes before the people of his native State with an exceptional record. He is the candidate of a party with a whole people at his back. His fifty-seven years are clouded by no political animosity or defeat. No man has gathered more friends around his example. At his home in Montgomery county faction and even Republican criticism ground arms before the even tenor of his youthful record, and the stainless pages of his later years; and another soldier of great fame, a Republican, native of the same shire, adds: "We must concede Hancock Montgomery county by a great majority at once." At the last election of the Loyal Legion, in Philadelphia, he was chosen its President by acclamation, and, as I write, letters pour in upon me from all points of the compass in this proud commonwealth. He is the unconscious ideal of a host of ardent expectations. It is a just yet dangerous concession that no one questions and all applaud his courage; dangerous, because such justice conquers thousands who hold courage a godlike virtue. It is an eloquent fact, that all men should speak of Hancock's moderation, for moderation convinces more than courage. But here is a favorite son, who has done more things than either Buchanan or McClellan. The first was a ripe statesman, the second a consummate soldier; and conceding to each all that is claimed by his friends, neither was so fortunate as Hancock. Read his own narrative of the battle of Gettysburg, which I copy from the report of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, pp. 403–408, taken from his examination at Washington, March 22d, 1864. Plain, unaffected, and, above all, honest and impersonal, it reads like a great

epic in which the exploits of the Greek heroes were described by Homer in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*, or the *Æneid* of the Latin of Virgil. To those who have passed through the horrors of those three days' carnage, or who suffered the tortures of suspense during those fearful conflicts, this unadorned and modest recital of General Hancock's reads like a mystic dream. The cannonade of that serried column, the horrid slaughter of the combatants, and the frenzy of the hand-to-hand conflict, enlisted a thousand pens as they wrung millions of hearts; but no part of the drama is more startling than the serene composure of Hancock as he was borne bleeding from the field, coolly dictating his dispatch to Meade, directing the future operations of the still doubtful day. We read of the dying knight proffering water to the wounded soldier at his side, or of the bleeding commander moving his ship full upon the broadside of his adversary; but a stricken general who did not know if he had been wounded to death, directing the operations of a still fighting army, reads like the exploits of the gods of mythology, and defies the sober prose of human language. How wonderfully similar the contrast between such serene equanimity and the frantic agony of the hundreds of thousands in Philadelphia during those days of battle, impatient to hear, yet fearful that the next news would be the doom of their city, the sacrifice of their loved ones, and the certain sack of their homes!

It is well to freshen such a memory. To leave it to die would be like striking Calvary from the Scriptures. It is well that we should be taught how much our liberty cost, not alone to win, but to save. How blasphemous to profane such memories with the shallow bigotry of the Pharisees, or the wicked hatred of the partisan. Gratitude, next to God, is the highest type of divine justification. It ennobles men, but it glorifies nations. In this case it also secures and seals the reconciliation of the sections. Philadelphia was saved from the invader by Hancock and his comrades in arms, and it is right that the altar of eternal honor to the surviving leader of the victorious host should be set up in her midst. Such an altar in such a temple becomes at the same time the symbol of popular gratitude, and of the eternal peace and forgiveness of a restored people.

I am only one of the army of Republicans who will vote for General Hancock for these reasons: Only one of many of the oldest Republicans in this city, who call upon me to say that they would be ashamed of themselves if, after all their words of praise and thanksgiving for the salvation of Philadelphia from fire and rebel contributions in 1863, they should now vote against the man who did the most of the work. General Garfield is a good man, but we owe him nothing compared to the debt to Hancock. When told that to vote for Hancock is to vote for a Democrat, I reply that the partition between the two parties is very thin. The only point on which we may be said to differ is protection, and that

cannot be a very strong one when Hancock comes from the great tariff county of Montgomery, Pennsylvania, and all his friends are open advocates of protection, while Garfield was elected a member of the Cobden Club in London, the great free trade headquarters in England, because of his rather bold sympathies with the Western enemies of Pennsylvania interests. If the iron men of Pennsylvania want to know any more about Garfield's free trade ideas, they ought to read over Judge Kelley's exposure of the Republican candidate for President a few years ago. The Republican and Democratic parties in this country are too close to each other on all questions, and too much interested in national peace and prosperity, to make the election of Hancock or Garfield a matter of the gravest consequence in point of fact. Only for myself and for many others I prefer Hancock, because of his great work at Gettysburg, and because, if he is successful, there will be an end of that rule in Pennsylvania which has subordinated all our Republican ideas and duties to the interests of a few tyrannical politicians.

THE END.

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