

every hamlet in the land; and, but recently, when Prussia poured her hordes on the plains of Austria, Francis Joseph appealed to Hungary for aid, and the fiery Magyars responded in thousands to sustain his tottering throne. He pursued towards Hungary the policy of a statesman. He was willing, as soon as the contest was ended, to forget the cause of the strife and the strife itself; and if the same policy had been pursued towards the Southern people, if we had at once extended to them the right hand of fellowship, and had not kept them standing in chains at the door of the Union for years and years, there would be altogether another state of things in that country now. (Applause.) If the party in power had listened to the counsel of Horace Greeley who, the very morning after the surrender at Appomattox, came out in his *Tribune* and proclaimed to the world that he was for universal suffrage and universal amnesty; I say if they had listened to this counsel at that time and extended universal amnesty to the South, we would, to-day, have peace and prosperity in that section of the country. But what was the course pursued?

I do not intend to go into the history of the causes which operated in perpetuating the most lamentable state of things which existed there. I was there myself, I saw the people that inhabit that part of our country broken in spirit, stripped of fortune, wretched, ragged and ruined, their situation such as appealed to the magnanimity of kindred manhood, and invoked the sympathy of a noble conqueror. But instead of obtaining sympathy, instead of that appeal being answered by an open and generous spirit, they were turned away from the door of the Union, their very groaning and agony being stifled by strange bayonets, and the negro, who had been enslaved, was enfranchised. As I passed through the country only three years ago I saw thousands of these thriftless, lazy vagabonds, and no courts with efficient power to punish them for their crimes, with a state of society that made it absolutely impossible for decent white people to live in the country unless they became slaves to their former slaves. (Applause.)

I have said the party in power are wanting in magnanimity, have I said enough to show it? (Cries of "Yes," "yes"). They are wanting also in sincerity. When they commenced this war they declared it to be for one purpose; after they had finished it they abandoned every issue that had been made before it was brought on. They are wanting in consistency: there is hardly a side to any question you can possibly meet here, they have not been on during the ten or twelve years they have been in power. They are wanting, in short, in everything except the will and the power to do mischief, but in this they are pre-eminently qualified above any party that has ever been in power (cheers). They do seem to have a large share of the powers which enable men to destroy, but very few of those which endow men with the ability to create, and you have doubtless noticed in your experience that it is much easier, and requires a much lower order of talent to pull down than it does to build up. To raise a garden to its highest state of cultivation, taste, industry, much pruning and constant cultivation are required, but a herd of swine can break into the garden and root it up and destroy it (cheers).

To create our beautiful system of government, and to administer it for half a century required qualities of head and heart that the world has never produced but once; but in ten years a miserable rabble of political dabblers have been able to mar its beauty and almost utterly destroy its efficiency.

Now, my fellow citizens, I begin to believe that the people are at length aroused. I believe that the storm which has been evoked by these men themselves, is no local, petty matter. It extends already from Maine to California. As the lightning's gleam, in their passage from one cloud to another, precedes the tempest which purifies the atmosphere, so do the clouds in the political horizon of our country seem to indicate that every vestige of the party now in power will be swept away. I trust, for my own part, that such will be our happy experience.

As the party that has now joined hands with the Liberal Republican party has shown its efficiency, it is not necessary for me to pronounce one word of eulogy upon it; but of all the acts that have been done by the Democratic party in the past three-quarters of a century, or I might say by any party

in this country, I know of no act of self-sacrifice and self-abnegation which takes rank with that of the great national Democratic party in striking hands with that noble band who have come out from the Republican party, in order, if possible, to save this glorious country, with its free institutions. (Cheers.)

And now, my fellow-citizens, in conclusion, allow me to state that, although we are unable to vote in the contest now coming on, I may say now pending, we are able to express our sympathies, and the sympathies of the people in this country are all-powerful in a great contest like this; and all I need do to enforce this remark is to point to the number of intelligent faces before me here to-night, and to the number of more beautiful faces now in the hall, which I am sorry you gentlemen have not the opportunity of seeing. (Cheers.)

The assembled thousands were next addressed, as follows, by

Dr. Congar.

Fellow-citizens, I appear before you this evening not as a Democratic representative, neither as a Republican representative, but as the representative, and I believe the only one present, of the union or marriage of those two principles which recently took place in the city of Baltimore. I am the only representative before you, of the Republican party in the past, the gentlemen who have already addressed you being of the Democratic persuasion. I am not here to speak of the shortcomings of the Democratic party in the past, although that party was in power when the Rebellion first dawned on this continent, and which, ere it closed, slew its thousands and hundreds of thousands. I am not here to speak of that party in New York, the members of which have stolen hundreds of millions from the laboring classes in that city. I am not here to speak of the shortcomings of the Republican party which is seeking to drag us down to the same low level now as the Democratic party did in the past. I am here as a Greeley man, uniting the two principles, which the better portion of both parties have sought to recognize, and in so doing have chosen Horace Greeley as their representative (cheers). I stand before you as a representative of the union of these two great principles. If by coalescing with the Liberal Republicans the Democratic party think they are going to get themselves into power again, I wish at this moment to undeceive them: the Democratic party, as a party, are buried and the Republican party—(Cries of "No," "no," and confusion). The speaker attempted to continue, but was unable to for a few seconds; at length, when the confusion had subsided he proceeded:

I wish, gentlemen, to illustrate the position that we occupy. I am not here to speak of the Democratic party or of the Republican party. I say that the Democratic party, as it once existed is dead (cries of "No," "no,") and I say the Republican party will be dead after next November. I say the two great parties are in a coffin, and we will bury them together. We are here as Greeley men, nothing more or less; there is the position we occupy to-night, and as Greeley men we are not here to represent either of these two great parties. I appeal to my friends if I am not right in my position. (Cries of "right.") My friends, we are advancing from a lower to a higher condition, and that we may advance, parties will rise up and die out, and we must be prepared for these births and deaths. They have come, and will continue to come more rapidly in the future than in the past. It is principle that we live for, not party nor political leaders, nor those political shysters, intriguers and thieves with which our country abounds. We want to bury them from our sight, and to do that and raise ourselves up to the principles we live for or ought to live for, we must bury political parties. These principles are embodied in our great and noble yeoman, Horace Greeley; and there is not a man in the United States to-day who illustrates them so well as he. Why? Because he is first in peace; he is a greater hero than a conqueror. He takes the man who is vanquished by the hand and says "You are my brother." Where is the warrior who will step up to his foe and say, "I have conquered you, but you are my brother?" But in the face and eyes of the world, Horace Greeley, after having opposed the institution which brought on our rebellion, comes forward and takes the arch-traitor by the hand and says, "You are my Brother." There is a principle involved in that,

and I would rather trust my life, my country in the hands of such a man as he than in all the heroes the world has ever furnished us. I say there is a principle connected with that: we feel if we have committed an error here is a man ready to forgive us. That is the principle we want to live for. You people in Utah feel no more the effects, perhaps, of this tyrannical power of political partyism than I do personally. Freemen throughout this country can do nothing unless it come within the programme of the political party in power. (Cries of "That's so"). Horace Greeley is not the man that would sell himself to any such faction, not at all. I stand before you as the representative of a principle, not of a political party. I was not aware, when I came here this evening that this was a meeting for the endorsement of any party; but I care nothing for that, I am glad I came. As I say, I am the only representative here of the principles embodied in the amalgamation of the better portion of the two great political parties. I helped to form the Republican party in 1854. I have been a Republican from that time to the present, and have voted for the candidates of that party. Before that time I voted on the Democratic side. I could no longer endure the rule of Democratic politicians, and at that time I became a Republican. Now I leave both parties, and become a Greeley man, and stand on the firm foundation of principle. (Cheers.) I tell you, my friends, if you put your foot down and say "I am going to stand by these old landmarks because they were once good," you will for ever remain in a condition of slavery. You never can be emancipated from these errors until you think and act for yourselves, and are ready to change your views when principles are laid before you. Our system of government is such that we can not but change if we wish to maintain its vital forces, and carry it forward from a lower to a higher position, where every man is recognized for what he is worth, whether a laboring man or a millionaire. I want a government that will equally protect both. Under existing circumstances we have not got that, and we can not have it unless we abandon these political fixtures and unite ourselves with men and principle.

Croxall's band played

"Star Spangled Banner."

Loud and continued calls were heard of "George Q. Cannon," and the appearance of that gentleman on the balcony was greeted with loud applause. The following remarks were delivered by

Mr. Cannon.

Fellow-citizens, although as a citizen of Utah, I have no vote in the Presidential contest which is now approaching, I, no more than yourselves, can view it with indifference. The position that we occupy as citizens of a Territory has been explained in the speech of Gen. Barnum. We are the wards of the nation and the excellent story the General told, while it illustrates our peculiar position in that respect, explains more fully than along speech would do the great interest we feel in the contest upon the threshold of which we now stand. We may, as we have done in the past, refrain from committing ourselves to parties. We may not, as we have done to-night, assemble to give utterance to our sentiments in relation to the nomination of Horace Greeley and B. Gratz Brown. But, even if we were to be silent and no endorsement of these eminent gentlemen were to be made by us, our very position precludes our witnessing this contest with indifference. We, as a Territory, have arrived at a position in our affairs when we take the largest possible interest in the election of a President of the United States; and though we may not have the privilege of going to the ballot box to deposit our votes, and thus give utterance in the most powerful manner to our sentiments, we nevertheless can do as we are doing—express our sympathy with our fellow citizens throughout this great nation, from north to south and from east to west, in favor of the candidates of the people (cheers), the candidates of the Democratic-Republican party—Horace Greeley and B. Gratz Brown (Cheers).

I am interested in their election for many reasons, but I will not detain you to-night with an enumeration of them. Every citizen of Utah can, by reflecting a moment, see innumerable reasons why a change is desirable. (Hear, hear.) We want a change. (Yes, yes.) We can trust Horace Greeley. (Yes.) We have reasons to have confidence in him because he is a man of

warm impulses, a man of the people, sprung from the ranks of the people, a man whose hands are unstained by anything in the least degree disreputable. (Hear, hear and cheers.) He is an honest man, and the candidate for the Vice Presidency is also an honest man (Cheers.) I want to see them elected, because I take pride in the profession of journalism, and if they are elected they will be the first journalists who have been elected together to that position.

As to their election, I think there is but little room to doubt. The delegates of the Liberal Republican party convened by hundreds at Cincinnati. They were so numerous that the hall in which their deliberations were held would scarcely accommodate them. From these was selected the delegates who did the voting. I think I state the truth when I say it was a surprise to the managers and the planners of that Convention to have Horace Greeley and B. Gratz Brown nominated on that occasion, and particularly Horace Greeley; but the delegates, giving expression to the people's wishes, cast a majority vote for him, and that vote was made unanimous. So much for the Liberal Republicans of the country.

We have recently had another Convention. The Democrats sent their delegates from every State and Territory in the Union, to the City of Baltimore, and from their ranks the voice of the people is again heard in favor of Horace Greeley. (Hear, hear.) We have, then, a President, nominated not only by the Democratic Convention, but also by the Liberal Republican Convention. Men of both parties have seen the necessity for a change, and having decided to forget old animosities and feuds, they have clasped hands and coalesced with the resolve that they will elect the man of their choice and have the change which they desire, and, burying old, dead issues, have live issues in the future.

We, the people of Utah, can endorse this action, at least I feel as though I can. I am in favor of Horace Greeley and B. Gratz Brown. (Loud cheers.)

The next speaker was

Mr. Alexander Majors.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am most happy to meet you here this evening. I never have before been called upon to make a ratification speech, or to endorse the nomination of any of the candidates for the Presidency of the United States, and I ought to feel very proud this evening in being permitted to take a hand in such a bold, elegant and, as I regard it, magnanimous undertaking as to elect Horace Greeley for the President of the United States. Ladies and gentlemen, I endorse the nomination of Horace Greeley and B. Gratz Brown as being the best and the only ones at the present time that could possibly have been presented to the American people. Now, gentlemen, part of our business here, this evening, is to talk about Horace Greeley. Will you permit me for a few moments to express to you my belief as to the greatness of that gentleman? I believe that Horace Greeley is one of the greatest men in the known world to-day. You have heard some of the other speakers refer to the commencement of his career, of his starting out a barefooted boy in his literary career, and now he is known, loved, honored and revered wherever newspapers are issued, and telegraphic information is obtained in the civilized world.

I believe I said that Horace Greeley was one of the greatest men in the known world. I want to tell you why I think so. Forty years ago, when he turned his face towards the South, he saw three millions of human beings in slavery. His paper then was a small concern, and but little known compared with what it is to-day. He made up his mind that slavery was a disgrace to the civilization of our nation and ought to be abolished, and he forthwith organized a party, known as the Abolition Party, noted for its radicalism and for the intensity of the determination its members manifested, to make between three and four millions of slaves free. He never ceased in his bold purpose until he had accomplished it. Some will say that Horace Greeley is an ignorant man, not a statesman, not fit to be in the Presidential chair; and some of the leading men of the Republican party, of which he himself is the father, spurn him; but I will say that if it had not been for Horace Greeley, or some other such man, we never should have heard or known anything of the Republican party. Not only, gentlemen, did Horace Greeley work until slavery was abolished in our country, but when the last gun was fired and the rebels had surrendered to the Union flag than he, believing that we ought to have peace, advocated general amnesty to the Southern people. Happy would it have been for hundreds and thousands of his party if they could have seen as he did, but they failed to do so then, and they fail to do so now, and I begin to believe they never will see as he does on this point until they are left entirely out and he is in the Presidential chair. (Cheers.) More than

Concluded on page 349.