THE PITTSBURGH SOLDIERS' AND
SAILORS' CONVENTION, SEPTEMBER 25-26, 1866

CHARLES D. CASHDOLLAR

The city of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, played an important role in the struggle over reconstruction following the Civil War. During the late summer of 1866, President Andrew Johnson, in an attempt to present his policies personally to the people, toured the Northern states. During this "swing around the circle," Johnson repeatedly allowed himself to be drawn into impromptu exchanges with the extremist elements of his audience. When Johnson visited Pittsburgh on September 13, 1866, on his Northern tour, the mayor of the city refused to see him and an ill-mannered, jeering crowd refused to allow him to speak.1 This visit to Pittsburgh was, as was the rest of Johnson's tour, extremely damaging to his cause. Even more injurious to the President's efforts, however, was the Soldiers' and Sailors' Convention held in Pittsburgh on September 25 and 26, 1866.

This convention was national in scope. Delegates arrived from as far away as California and Nevada.2 To James G. Blaine, it was the most influential of the four political conventions held that year and it "... did more to popularize the Fourteenth Amendment as a political issue than any instrumentality of the year." 3 As such, it was extremely important in focusing the power struggle between President Johnson and the Radical Republicans in Congress.

The power struggle between Johnson and Congress began during the summer of 1865. Immediately upon his ascension to the Presidency, Johnson continued the reorganization of the Southern states which President Lincoln had begun. Congressional leaders watched his activity with great interest, some hoping for a more stringent policy toward the South than that of the late President Lincoln. By the time

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Mr. Cashdollar, until recently a senior history major at Indiana State College, Indiana, Pennsylvania, is now a fellow in history at the University of Pennsylvania. He was working under the direction of Profs. C. M. Johnson, John Sahli and R. L. Morris during the period of the preparation of this contribution.—Ed.

2 Pittsburgh Gazette, September 26, 1866, hereinafter cited as Gazette.
Congress met in December, however, it was evident that Johnson was following the lenient policies of his predecessor.

One small group of Congressmen, led by Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, was appalled by Johnson's actions. They plotted the establishment of a Congressional Committee on Reconstruction in an attempt to place control of the Southern question in the hands of the national legislature. As the Thirty-Ninth Congressional session progressed, these men ruthlessly pushed to realize their aims.

At this stage Johnson still had sufficient support to achieve at least a compromise with the extremists. It was not, however, in the President's character to compromise. On February 23, 1866, he vetoed the new Freedman's Bureau Bill. Then, on March 27, 1866, he vetoed the Civil Rights Bill passed by Congress. Each veto widened the schism developing between the Chief Executive and the Congress.

These Presidential vetoes, coupled with the superb political exploitation of events in the South by the Radicals, drove the moderates slowly, one-by-one, away from Johnson and into the extremist camp. By April 9, 1866, the Radicals had sufficient strength to pass the Civil Rights Bill over the President's veto. The necessary two-thirds majority now secured, the Radicals proceeded to pass the Fourteenth Amendment against the protests of Johnson. On July 16 they forced the Freedman's Bureau Bill over Johnson's veto. By mid-July even part of the President's Cabinet deserted him as three members resigned their positions and threw their support to the Radicals.

When the Thirty-Ninth Congress adjourned on July 28, 1866, the split between the Republican leaders in Congress and President Johnson was nearly complete. Congress had become openly antagonistic to Johnson and his program of Southern restoration. The lines were drawn. In the fall elections both Johnson and the Congressional leaders would carry their programs to the people.

Lacking the benefit of an organized party machine, Johnson and his followers called a convention in the late summer to amass the necessary support to carry the fall elections. Specifically, James G. Blaine stated that they hoped to "... effect a complete consolidation of the Administration Republicans and the Democratic party . . . ."

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5 Ibid., 274.
7 Blaine, II, 220.
The National Union Convention, as it was called, assembled in Philadelphia on August 14, 1866. Delegates were mainly well-known Democrats and a few conservative Republicans, such as Montgomery Blair and Henry Raymond. Clement Vallandigham, the Civil War "copperhead," arrived to lend his support to the convention, but wisely yielding to the protests of the other delegates, he did not participate.8

The convention claimed to be the only group which reflected the interests of both the North and the South. Symbolizing this theme, Governor James L. Orr of South Carolina and General Darius N. Couch of Massachusetts marched into the convention hall arm-in-arm followed by their delegations.9 The Resolutions Committee, under the chairmanship of Edgar Cowan of Pennsylvania, presented a platform supporting the common policies of the Administration and the Democratic party. It advocated the right of all States to be represented in Congress and denied the right of Congress to make laws for the South without its presence.10

Radical Republicans were not a little concerned at the image portrayed by the Johnson supporters at the Philadelphia convention. Immediately they organized a convention to counter the claim that this Johnson alliance was the only truly national party.11 They decided to meet in Philadelphia on September 3, 1866. Delegations arrived from both the North and the South. The Northern delegates included such prominent men as Horace Greeley and John Jacob Astor from New York, Carl Schurz from Michigan, and Lyman Trumbull from Illinois. The Southern delegations were mainly composed of carpetbaggers. North Carolina, for example, had only two natives among its seven delegates.12 Significantly, the two groups met separately, the Northerners under the chairmanship of Pennsylvania's Governor Andrew Curtin and the Southerners under former Attorney-General James Speed.

The chaplain set the tone for the proceeding in his opening prayer, asking for deliverance from the "... rule of bad men, especially from him [Johnson] who through satanic agency has been raised to authority over us." 11 The convention, centering its discussion around the

10 Blaine, II, 221-23.
11 Blaine, II, 221. Bowers states that Johnson's own Secretary of War, E. M. Stanton, was instrumental in the organization of this rival convention (p. 125).
12 Bowers, 125.
13 Beale, 331, quoting the New York Herald, September 6, 1866.
Fourteenth Amendment, produced a series of vindictive charges against President Johnson. The Southerners asked for Northern protection from Johnson's traitorous governments and denounced the Administration's liberal use of its pardoning power. Speed, who a few short months before was a member of the Johnson Cabinet, urged Congress to continue its fight against the President because "... whenever you have a Congress that does not resolutely and firmly refuse, as the present Congress has done, to merely act as the recording secretary of the tyrant at the White House, American liberty is gone forever." 14 Successful in its attempt to counter the claims of Johnson's National Union Convention, this second Philadelphia convention greatly increased the strength of the anti-Johnson forces. 15

Johnson's followers realized that their attempt to organize an effective force behind the President had failed. They then turned their attention to the former Union soldiers in an attempt to draw a significant number of them away from the radicals. 16 These veterans were invited to meet in Cleveland, Ohio, on September 17, 1866. The convention which ensued was relatively weak and ineffective. It was chaired by General Wool, the oldest major-general in the regular army, who, according to James Blaine, was under the impression that the convention was being held to prevent the abolitionists from declaring another war on the South. Composed mainly of delegates who were already members of the Democratic party, the convention drew very little support away from the Radical Republicans. 17

As soon as it became apparent that the Johnson supporters were meeting in Cleveland, the veterans supporting the Radicals organized a convention so that their opinions might also be heard. The call went out for all honorably discharged Union soldiers and sailors who opposed Johnson and would "vote as they shot" to meet in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on September 25, 1866. 18

On Sunday, September 23, 1866, Union veterans began to pour into the twin cities at the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers. Nearly every state in the Union was represented as well as many of the territories. Delegates arrived from as far north as Maine and Vermont, from as far west as California and Nevada, and from as far south as Texas and Louisiana. Neighboring Ohio sent 500

14 Blaine, II, 226.
15 Ibid., II, 226.
17 Blaine, II, 228-29.
18 Gazette, September 22, 1866.
delegates and a fine delegation arrived from Wisconsin with its famous eagle, "Honest Abe." 19 James Blaine estimated that 25,000 veterans were present. 20 In addition to the large number of former enlisted men, many distinguished officers were also present, including Generals Benjamin Butler, Robert Schenck, Franz Sigel and Nathaniel Banks. 21 Two other well-known officers sent their best regards to the delegates via telegraph: General John A. Logan who had planned to attend but was taken ill at the last moment and General John C. Fremont whose invitation was mistakenly sent to St. Louis rather than New York and then not forwarded in time for his attendance. 22 Radical leaders proudly boasted that a "... body more pre-eminent has never been convened on this continent." 23

Elaborate preparations under the efficient direction of General James S. Negley, head of the Residence Committee, had been made for the convention. 24 A huge temporary shelter, capable of seating 5000 persons, was built on West Common south of Ohio Street. Its open sides permitted thousands gathered outside to hear the proceedings as well as those seated inside. 25

The citizens of Pittsburgh left the attractions of the County Fair which was drawing to a close to render a hearty welcome to these "boys in blue." Nearly all the city's merchants decorated their storefronts and buildings with evergreens, flags, pictures, and mottoes in welcome to the veterans. The Gazette, Pittsburgh's Radical Republican newspaper, caustically remarked that only two buildings on Fifth Avenue were not decorated — the United States Post Office and the office of the Post, Pittsburgh's Democratic newspaper. 26 The Post replied in its Thursday, September 27, edition that it was not the least sorry for not having decorated its office building. It had used up all its flags the preceding week when Andrew Johnson had been in Pittsburgh under the "... delusion that it was the duty as [sic] all well-bred

19 Gazette, September 25, 26, 1866.
20 Blaine, II, 230.
21 Gazette, September 25, 1866. General Grant still remaining aloof from the Radical cause did not attend the convention. The Pittsburgh Post records that he spent the afternoon of September 25, 1866, in Jerome Park, New York, watching Bag Water win the mile and a quarter dash (September 26, 1866).
22 Gazette, September 27, 1866.
23 Gazette, September 25, 1866.
24 Ibid.
25 Ibid. The Wigwam was 120 feet wide and 200 feet long (Gazette, September 25, 1866). The roof of the structure collapsed on Sunday afternoon, September 23, injuring some Sunday afternoon strollers who were inspecting the shelter. It was repaired and strengthened on Monday before inspectors judged it safe for use by the convention (Gazette, September 24, 1866).
26 Gazette, September 26, 1866.
citizens to pay some respect to the President of the United States, Mr. Johnson, the only one we believe now holding that office." 27

One bit of merriment resulted from the decorations placed on the various office buildings. The Gazette had its offices on a second floor directly above the offices of the Democrat, a conservative German newspaper. The Democrat, which was supporting Hiester Clymer, the Democratic candidate for governor of Pennsylvania, hung a sign outside its office reading "Johnson and Clymer." The Gazette seized this opportunity to promote its cause at the expense of its rival downstairs and hung out a sign reading "Brave Men Detest." When the employees of the Democrat realized that the signs now read "Brave Men Detest Johnson and Clymer," they had the last laugh by replacing their sign "Johnson and Clymer" with the name of John W. Geary, the Republican candidate for governor. 28 The Gazette, finding itself outsmarted, agreed to end the little duel by removing its sign. 29

City Hall, where the convention's opening business was transacted, was also decorated with evergreens, shields, mottoes, banners, and flags. The speaker's platform was enlarged by adding sixteen feet to each side of it. Outside City Hall a huge triumphal arch had been built across Federal Street. At its top, some thirty feet above the pavement, was a large eagle. 10 The correspondent of the New York Tribune remarked that these decorations surpassed anything that he had seen at either of the two Philadelphia conventions. 11 The editors of the Gazette boasted proudly that this day was "... second only to the Fourth of July 1776. The Soldiers' and Sailors' Convention is altogether unmatched by any similar demonstration on this continent." 12

The city of Pittsburgh provided music for the festivities. A choir of two hundred voices entertained the delegates at City Hall with selected patriotic and sacred songs. Even this music took an anti-Johnson air, however, as Professor J. W. Pope sang a satirical melody entitled "My Policy." 13

The festive air permeated the entire city. So many people gathered at City Hall on the evening of the 24th, that an impromptu meeting

27 Pittsburgh Post, September 27, 1866, hereinafter cited as Post.
28 In the fall elections Geary defeated Clymer by a majority of 17,176. He served for two terms, being reelected in 1869 by a majority of 4,000. Wayland Dunaway, A History of Pennsylvania (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1946, 527)
29 Post, September 27, 1866.
30 Gazette, September 25, 1866.
31 Gazette, September 27, 1866.
32 Gazette, September 26, 1866.
33 Ibid.
was organized and speeches given for the entertainment of the crowd. As early as seven o’clock the next morning, citizens rushed to City Hall to see the decorations and to hear a poem entitled “The Veteran” read by its author, Colonel Edward Jay Allen of Pittsburgh. The group was so large and unruly that there was considerable trouble getting the hall cleared for the beginning of the convention at noon.\(^{34}\)

On Tuesday evening, September 25, the festivities reached their climax with a magnificent torchlight parade. A great mass of soldiers, wagons, Chinese lanterns, banners, and horses passed through the streets of Pittsburgh to the music of bands and drum corps. Many of the marchers carried placards with such captions as “Congress is our Moses” as they moved through the city.\(^{35}\)

According to statistics printed in the *Pittsburgh Gazette*, the parade included some 200 wagons, 2500 horses, and some 15,000 veterans and private citizens.\(^{36}\) Even allowing for undoubted Republican exaggeration, the event would appear successful. The pro-Johnson *New York Times* described the parade as “... immensely long and ... interspersed with banners and mottoes, most various and appropriate. Strangers who have witnessed processions of this kind in other cities say they have never seen anything to compare with it in splendor.”\(^{37}\) Even the Democratic *Post* recorded that the procession took fifty-five minutes to pass a given point — hardly the “fizzle” which it called the demonstration.\(^{38}\) Instead, this show of anti-Administration strength must be regarded as a successful expression of the enthusiasm evident that week in Pittsburgh.

The convention was called to order at noon on September 25, 1866, by General James S. Negley. Private L. Edwin Dudley was elected temporary chairman. Originally from Massachusetts, Dudley had been employed by the Treasury Department in Washington. When he applied for the three days vacation due him so that he might attend the convention in Pittsburgh, he was refused by the Administration officials. Dudley thereupon resigned his position and came to the convention where he was rewarded for his sacrifice by being made temporary chairman.\(^{39}\) His resignation emphasized the importance which Union veterans placed on the convention and the Radical cause. This stubborn dedication to the Radical movement, which Dudley so well

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34 *Gazette*, September 25, 1866.
35 *Gazette*, September 25, 26, 1866.
36 *Gazette*, September 29, 1866.
37 *New York Times*, September 26, 1866.
38 *Post*, September 26, 1866.
39 *Gazette*, September 26, 1866.
portrayed, was a major reason for the ultimate success of the convention.

In his acceptance speech, Dudley stated his firm belief that the convention would agree upon a denunciation of President Johnson and his policies that would “... sweep over the country in loud thunder tones, and ... swell the majorities for the Union cause in all the Northern states.” 40 After electing Governor Jacob Cox of Ohio permanent president of the convention, the delegates set out in vociferous agreement to denounce Johnson and his policies.

This attack on Johnson began with a delegate from Kansas who proposed three cheers for John Brown’s body and promised that if “... Andrew Johnson will swing around the circle as far as Kansas, ... we will jayhawk him.” 41 General Gibbons in a speech before the convention mocked Johnson: “O! everyone who thirsteth come and worship me, and I will give him a post office.” 42 One soldier who had lost part of each arm during the War testified that he had been refused a job by the President. This example of “my policy” was greeted with loud jeers. 43 The Gazette claimed that Johnson had as his motto: “We honor treason and detest loyalty.” 44

A letter from New Orleans was read to the delegates. It warned that the South had not been “sufficiently whipped” and that another war was imminent. 45 Inflamed by the letter and other reports from the South, the convention proceeded to advocate a harsh program for the restoration of the Southern States. General James Cochrane of New York, in an informal speech in his hotel, remarked that “there can be no lasting peace until the South is chained down, revolutionized, Yankeeized.” 46 All regard for law and order seemed to be forgotten as the delegates planned their revenge on the South. One veteran commented: “To hell with the Constitution, we can make a new one.” 47

The angry frenzy of the denunciations came to a climax Wednesday afternoon, September 26, when the report of the Resolutions Committee was presented by its chairman, General Benjamin Butler. 48 The

40 Ibid.
41 Post, September 27, 1866. “Jayhawk” in Kansas parlance is synonymous with “lynch.”
42 Gazette, September 27, 1866.
43 Ibid.
44 Gazette, September 28, 1866.
45 Post, September 27, 1866.
46 Post, September 28, 1866.
47 Ibid.
48 Gazette, September 27, 1866. This is the same Butler who was accused of stealing silver spoons during his occupation of New Orleans. The Democrats accused the Radicals of urging Butler to come to Pittsburgh by
resolutions presented supported the Congressional plan of reconstruction and asserted that the President had no right to an independent plan or policy. They urged support for the loyal Southerners and declared that the former Confederate states were the rightful prey of the doctrine of conqueror's rights. The resolutions were adopted unanimously without debate.\(^49\) (Full text of the resolutions appears on pages 342-343.)

After presenting the resolutions, General Butler spoke for three-quarters of an hour with the angry sarcasm which typified the entire convention. Commenting on the position of the South, Butler said they had definitely been out of the Union and even if they were not at that time out of the Union, certain it's that all the Union was out of them. (Laughter) I do not discuss the question what you call them. I deal with the question fully and firmly what they are. You may call them territories, conquered provinces — anything but our governors. I won't stand that. Is there any man here who will claim that by surrender, men got rights? Is there any man here who will claim that a man conquers by saying "I give up"? ... The Congress of the United States ... have full right to make any necessary rules and regulations for the government of those camps of paroled prisoners of war! ... In this great contest not one right of the government over these States and over their citizens was lost but every right of every traitor on the soil was forfeited and gone forever ... Extend towards the South and the Southern men who, as communities, have been misled, our cordial welcome back, when they will come back in the spirit of justice, of regret, of kindness, and of loyalty with which we offer to receive them ... And until that time comes, be it sooner or later, till every man can walk in peace carrying, if he pleases, the flag of the United States with devotion to the Union on his lips and not be molested in any revolted State, for one I do not want to see that State in the Union making laws for me.\(^10\)

Continuing his speech, Butler advocated the hanging of Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis. At the mention of Lee's name cries of "Hang him!" "Shoot him!" "No! not a soldier's death!" rang through the hall.\(^51\) Butler said that Davis had "... played for an empire — he staked his life upon the result and let him pay the forfeit (great applause) as an example for all time that no man shall plot treason in the halls of the Congress of the United States." \(^52\)

Butler then turned his attention to another "traitor" — Andrew Johnson. He blamed Johnson for encouraging and fostering Southern insolence and urged his fellow soldiers to make it clear to the South saying that the houses of the citizens would be thrown open in welcome. They seriously doubted that he would find much silver in Pittsburgh. The Post ran a small poem expressing its feelings toward the Radical hero:

"Ben Butler was a soldier brave/ a soldier brave was he,/ He had for silver spoons and sich,/ A par-ti-ali-i-ty." [sic]

\(^{49}\) *Gazette*, September 27, 1866.  
\(^{50}\) Ibid.  
\(^{51}\) Ibid.  
\(^{52}\) Ibid.
that "... the President don't [sic] rule this country without the aid of Congress." 51

Butler commented at length on the insolence of the South. He called the attention of the delegates to the desecration of Union graves in the South and shouted furiously that "we shall not have those States brought back into the Union until our dead comrades can sleep in peace and honor within their graves. And if any man wants reconstruction before that happens, I am not willing for one." 54

After Butler's fiery speech, the convention observed a moment of silence for Lincoln whose "... life was taken by the men who now claim for equal rights with us in the administration of the Government," gave three cheers for Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, and Farragut, and then adjourned sine die. 55

Conclusions

Dudley's wish for a vicious denunciation of the President was fulfilled. The convention had dealt severely with Johnson. The details of this attack were spread throughout the nation by the press. Reporters attended the convention from New York, Boston, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Chicago, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Milwaukee and other cities. 56 The New York Tribune stated that the convention had reason to be praised as the greatest ever held, 57 and the New York Times, despite its pro-Johnson leanings, carried a three and one-half column description of the convention on September 26, and on the following day reprinted the speech of General Butler and the report of the Committee on Resolutions. 58

The delegates themselves, mirroring the enthusiasm of Private Dudley, did much to spread the policies of the convention. After their return home, each of the delegates received a copy of the proceedings by mail. 59 The elaborate displays at Pittsburgh had greatly impressed the delegates and had helped to consolidate "... almost en masse the soldiers of the country in support of the Republican party as represented by Congress." 60

53 Ibid.
54 Ibid.
55 Ibid.
56 Gazette, September 25, 1866.
57 As quoted by the Gazette, September 27, 1866.
58 New York Times, September 26, 27, 1866.
59 New York Times, September 27, 1866.
60 Blaine, II, 233.
Before the convention adjourned, General Negley spoke to the delegates, stating that

“You will take care of the American Union. I can further say that you have still another round in your cartridge boxes, another arrow in your bosom, to shoot the Gester [sic] who dares to raise his cap on the pole of despotism above the will of the American people for them to bow to.”

The “boys in blue,” in truth, did have another cartridge in their boxes — it was a verbal one, a psychological one — but nevertheless a deadly one. Many of the veterans who had been to Pittsburgh returned home and delivered speeches concerning their wonderful experiences at the convention and the dreadful policies of President Johnson that they had discussed. The soldiers made it quite clear to their fellow citizens that they had not fought “... for a Union in which it is possible for confessed rebels to wear the highest honors and to dominate in the highest councils.” They also made it quite clear that this is what they thought would be the result of Johnson’s program.

In 1866 the Union soldiers and sailors were, as are all returning heroes, highly respected men in their communities.

Their enthusiasm was greater, their feeling more intense, their activity more marked than could be found among the civilians of the country who were supporting the same principles. Their convention, their expressions, their determination were felt throughout the entire Union as an aggressive, irresistible force. Not even the Members of Congress, who repaired to their districts with the Fourteenth Amendment as the leading question, could recommend it to the mass of voters with the strength and with the good results which attended the soldier orators who were inspired to enter the field.

It was the Pittsburgh Convention which rallied and consolidated the Union soldiers and sailors into an effective political force. More than any other single event, it signaled the entrance of the old soldier influence into post-Civil War politics, an influence that was to dominate the American scene for the remainder of the century.

The American people willingly followed the advice of these veterans. In the Congressional election of 1866, the Radical Republicans in Congress secured a solid victory. It is impossible to overestimate the significance of this election. President Johnson and his policy were defeated; the South would undergo the scourge of Radical Reconstruction.

61 Gazette, September 27, 1866.
62 Blaine, II, 233.
63 Gazette, September 25, 1866.
64 Blaine, II, 233.
REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Resolved, That the action of the present Congress in proposing the pending Constitutional amendments is wise, patriotic and just.

It clearly defines American citizenship and guarantees all the rights of every citizen.

It places on a just and equal basis the right of representation, making the vote of a man in one State equally potent with the vote of another man in any other State.

It righteously excludes from places of honor and trust the chief conspirators and guiltiest rebels whose perjured crimes have drenched the land in fraternal blood.

It puts into the very frame of our Government the inviolability of the national debt, and the nullity forever of all obligations contracted in support of the rebellion.

Resolved, That it is unfortunate for the country that those propositions have not been received in the spirit of conciliation, clemency and fraternal feeling in which they were offered as they are the mildest terms ever offered to subdued rebels.

Resolved, That the President, as an Executive officer, has no right to a policy as against the Legislative Department of the Government. That his attempt to fasten his scheme of reconstruction upon the country is a usurpation as dangerous as it is unwise. His acts in sustaining it have retarded the restoration of peace and unity. They have converted conquered rebels into impudent claimants for rights which they have forfeited and places which they have desecrated. If consummated it would render the sacrifice of the nation useless; the loss of lives of our buried comrades vain; and the war in which we have so gloriously triumphed what his present friends at Chicago in 1864 have declared it to be — a failure.

Resolved, That the rights of the conquerors to legislate for the conquered has been recognized by the public law of all civilized nations. By the operation of that law for the conservation of the highest good of the whole country, Congress has the undoubted right to establish measures for the conduct of the revolted states and to do all acts of legislation that are necessary for the complete restoration of the Union.

Resolved, That when the President claims that by the aid of the army and navy he might have made himself dictator, he insulted every soldier and sailor of the Republic. He ought distinctly to understand that the tried patriots of this nation can never be used to overthrow civil liberty in popular governments.

Resolved, That the neutrality laws should be amended as to give the fullest liberty to the citizens consistent with the national faith. That the great Union Republican party is pledged to maintain liberty and equality of rights everywhere, and therefore we tender to all peoples struggling for freedom, our sympathy and cordial cooperation.

Resolved, That the Union men of the South, without distinction of race and color, are entitled to the gratitude of every loyal soldier and sailor who served his country in suppressing the rebellion; and that in their present dark hour of trial, when they are being murdered and persecuted by thousands, solely because they are now and have been true to the Government, we will not prove recreant to our obligations, but will stand by and protect with our lives, if necessary, those brave men who remained true to us when all around were false and faithless.

Resolved, That the public domain as the common property of the nation, ought to be sacredly held donated to the benefit of the nation's defenders; that Congress
ought to legislate in regard to bounties and pensions, with the most exact and impartial justice to all soldiers and sailors.

Resolved, That in the organization of the army and navy, the volunteer officers and soldiers demand that the faithful service in the field ought to be held equivalent to an education at West Point.

Resolved, That any officer, soldier or sailor, who left his flag to serve with our enemies, ought never to have place in the army or navy of the Union.

Source: The *Pittsburgh Gazette*
September 27, 1866