## THE POLITICAL EXPRESSIONS

OF

## JOSEPH P. BRADLEY,

COMPILED FROM

#### SPEECHES AND ARTICLES WRITTEN BY HIM.

Published in the Newark Daily Advertiser at different periods during 1860-1862.

## MR. BRADLEY'S RECORD.

As the position and views of J. P. Bradley, Esq., on public matters in time past, are a matter of some interest at present, we have taken the pains to gather from the columns of the *Advertiser* various reported speeches made by him in 1860 and 1861, and articles from his pen.

These pieces indicate very clearly the views which Mr. Bradley is well known by his friends to have entertained and freely expressed. That his views on the Slavery question and compromise with the South, previous to the breaking out of the Rebellion, were very conservative, is well understood wherever he is personally known. He took a deep interest in the efforts to bring about a compromise without the effusion of blood, in December, 1860, and January and February, 1861. Amongst other things, he drew up two articles amendatory of the Constitution, and pressed them upon the attention of the famous Committee of 33, appointed by Speaker Pennington, under

a resolution of the House of Representatives. At one time the indications were quite favorable for the success of these articles in committee-a number of leading Republicans having been induced to advocate them, and it being well understood that they would have been entirely satisfactory to all the Border States.

The articles referred to, with a brief introduction, were published in the *Advertiser* December 3, 1860, the day of the opening of Congress. They are as follows:

## COMPROMISE.

No compromise is good for anything unless founded The fourth article of the Constitution of the United States requires and mutually pledges, that fugitives from justice or service, from one State, shall, on demand, be delivered up by another where they are found. Justice requires that if this be not done, satisfaction should be made. Justice also requires that the citizens of the South, as well as the North, should have a fair opportunity to emigrate, with their property, to the territories which have been purchased with the common treasure. But as slave labor and free labor do not prosper together, expediency demands a division of those territories between the parties. No business man can say that these are not the dictates of justice, as between the parties. The following terms of compromise are based on these ideas, and we suggest them for consideration:

[Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, to be proposed by Congress to the Legislatures of the several States for adoption; requiring a two-third vote in Congress and a ratification by three-fourths of the several States.]

#### ARTICLE XIII.

Slavery or involuntary servitude, other than for the punishment of crime, shall not be permitted in any of the Territories of the United States north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude; and shall not be prohibited in any of the said Territories south of that parallel; provided, however, that any State which may be formed out of any portion of said territory, shall have full power in, the premises within its own bounds, after the lapse of twenty years from its admission into the Union, and not before; and provided, also, that any person escaping into any such State or Territory, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed, shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due according to the fourth article of the Constitution, and any laws passed in pursuance thereof, as here et of or e.

#### ARTICLE XIV.

If a person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws -thereof, shall escape into another, shall, in due form, be claimed and identified by the party to whom such service or labor may be due, in accordance with the fourth article of the Constitution, and any laws passed in pursuance thereof; and by reason of rescue or other forcible interference with the due course of law, shall not be delivered up on such claim according to the said fourth article, the said claimant shall be indemnified, therefore, by the county in which said fugitive shall be so claimed, which indemnity may be sued for and recovered in any Courts of the United States.

The next article on the subject from Mr. B.'s pen was published December 15, 1860, and was embodied in an editorial in the *Advertiser* of that date. It was as follows:

"If no better remedy presents itself, let amendments to the Constitution be proposed by Congress and ratified by three-fourths of the States, completely indemnifying holders of fugitive slaves, and giving the slaveholding States a fair division of the public territory. This would obviate the constitutional objections to the Missouri compromise. The territories were

purchased by the common treasure, and it is just that the South as well as the North should enjoy the benefit of them. But free labor and slave labor cannot prosper together. Therefore it is fitting and expedient that these territories should be fairly divided. This would designate to each party their proper rights, and would prevent any unseemly collisions. Let this division be made fairly, and let it be made for all time. This is just and wise. It cannot fail to meet the approbation of the requisite number of States. people of the North are not unfriendly to those of The charge to the contrary is a slander, the South. Noisy and blustering persons, both at the North and at the South, utter many foolish and crazy speeches; but the mass of the people have no sympathy with This we know to be so at the North, and we hope it is so at the South. We are sure it would be so if the people in that section clearly understood the true feeling of the North towards them.

"In such an exigency as the present no party feeling should be permitted to intermingle. But are there any reasons why the Republican party should not co-operate in such a settlement of the controversy as that which is indicated?

"The Republican party (unjustly, we know) is deemed a sectional one; and is held responsible for arousing a strong sectional feeling-a feeling of animosity to institutions on one hand, and jealousy on the other. A disruption of the Union will be unjustly laid to it. But it will, nevertheless, be laid to it. It is, therefore, as much the interest of the Republican as of any other party to co-operate in such measures as may lead to an honorable and just settlement of existing difficulties.

- "But rightly viewed the healing measures proposed are in strict conformity with the views and principles of that party. This will appear by attention to the following propositions:
- "The Compromise of 1850 resulted in the admission of California as a free State, though situated in part south of the Missouri Compromise line; and in the enactment of the Fugitive Slave 'law, leaving the Missouri Compromise line in all other respects undisturbed. It was supposed that this settlement would be satisfactory to the country, and forever quiet agitation.
- "But the rapid settlement of Kansas, and its immediate proximity to the slave property of Missouri, opened a door for renewed and angry controversy. The South sought to occupy that Territory, as an off-set to California. To effect this object, the Kansas and Nebraska act was promoted by Mr. Douglas and passed by Congress in 1854, by which the Missouri Compromise was repealed. The decision in the Dred Scott case was used for the furtherance of the same purpose.
  - "At these manifestations of the rapid strides made by the slave power, the North rose in the shape and form of the Republican party. Its special mission was to drive back the tide of slavery within its proper limits-not by waging war on the South or by ignoring the obligations of the Constitution-but by rescuing the territories of the Union from the unjust grab of the slave power.
  - " If, now, the Republican party vigorously support a Constitutional provision by which the nation is brought back to the Missouri Compromise, can it be

justly accused of being false to the principle of its organization? On the contrary, no course could be more compatible with it. No act could more fully consummate the mission of the Republican party.

"This object attained, that party has still enough on its hands to do. To it naturally falls the championship of the industrial interests of fhe country. In. the pursuit of this object, which is purely a national one, the party will receive the co-operation of the conservative party of the South, and the two will. form one great national party of impregnable strength.

"As to the other point, the indemnity of owners. of fugitive slaves rescued or withheld, it is a matter of simple justice. Each State rests under a clear constitutional obligation to restore fugitive slaves when demanded. If they fail to do so, it is clear that the owner should be indemnified, and the delinquent parties. made to bear the loss.

"Thus on party, no less than on patriotic grounds, every consideration of right and expediency leads us to the same conclusion. We assure our Representatives and the country that they will have the voice of New Jersey in favor of every honorable effort which can be devised for preserving the national existence."

## [Published December 28, 1860.]

## PARTY OR COUNTRY?

St. Paul knew that meat which had been consecrated to idols was just as harmless as that which had never undergone such an absurd formula. But many uninformed Christians had not that degree of

knowledge; and if they saw him eat it, they would either be scandalized, or else infer that a religious respect for the idol was not inconsistent with the Christian faith. "Wherefore," said the Apostle, "if meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no meat while the world standeth." This is a noble instance of that charity which our divine religion inculcates.

The Republican party has succeeded in electing its candidate for the Presidency. It says that it means nothing but fealty to the Constitution, and intends no invasion of the rights of the South. This is well. But the South believes otherwise. The South may be uninformed, or wrongly informed, on the subject. But, nevertheless, it is a fact that a great deal o exasperation exists; and exasperation has led to acts and declarations which are leading to the disruption of the Republic.

In all this the South may be very wrong—undoubtedly is very wrong. The South, especially South Carolina, has acted very unjustifiably, not to say treasonably. There is no justification for secessionwhich is simply rebellion. And if the South was going to injure itself alone, it might, perhaps, be a just retribution to let it separate from the North. But it will nect us together, the South would bring ruin on the common country. The fatal act would bring disgrace on free institutions; it would prove what the advocates of despotism are anxious to prove, the incapacity of mankind for self-government; it would destroy the prestige of this nation, and all the associations dear to freedom, which are connected with it; and, in this way, independent of any consequences to our material

interests, it would involve ruinous consequences to the whole American community, and to the cause of civil liberty throughout the world

Of this there can be no doubt. Vain is the hope of re-establishing a portion of the shattered fragments of a divided country into a new government of the North, to be based on firmer foundations and cemented together with a more fervent loyalty than the present government has enjoyed. **Those who hold out this hope are deceiving us.** They are either self-deceived or they are inflamed with personal ambition-animated by that bad spirit which had rather rule in hell than serve in heaven.

The choice is before us, disunion, with probable But will concescivil war; or concession and peace. sion bring peace? and can peace be secured by honorble concession? Of this, not the slightest doubt exists. All the South asks is a guaranty that the victorious North will not trample on their rights. Give them, in the first place, substantial security that their fugitive slaves shall, if demanded, be returned; or that they shall receive the value of them if rescued out of their This is a just demand. They have a right to hands. They do not now practically receive the benefit ask it. of that article of the Constitution which requires their fugitive slaves to be delivered up. In attempting to secure the benefit of it they have to run the risk of being mobbed, or of being delayed by expensive suits instituted under personal liberty laws, habeas corpuses, and other machinery of that kind. Let us do them justice in this respect. Let us fairly comply with our constitutional duties, and treat the South like brethren, not like enemies. It is all they ask *us* to do. that it is all that the great majority ask us to do.

In the next place, they ask us to secure to them a fair proportion of the public domain, to which they may emigrate with the same freedom from molestation which we enjoy in emigrating to the Northwestern lands. This is also just. The public lands are the property of the whole nation. It is not fair in us to grasp them all. They would be satisfied with the line of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes as a line of division. New Mexico and Arizona are the only Territories south of that line. It was the line with which the nation was satisfied for a generation. Why not readopt it?

But that would be against the principles of our party! Is fealty to party to stand before fealty to the country? Is a divided country, tom by civil dissensions, to be preferred (for it certainly will come) to a generous concession of some rigid party dogma? Then I am no party man. Then I repudiate party.

But it is not so. The Republican party can re-establish the Missouri line with perfect honor-and without the sacrifice of a principle. They would thereby secure to free labor three-fourths of the public territory, all of which, by the highest judicial authority of the nation, is now declared to be open to slavery equally as to free emigration.

Shall we say that the Court decided wrong? That may be. All Courts are liable to error. But peaceful and judicial decision, under a government of law, is far better than an appeal to arms. At all events, such is the decision; and the constitutional mode of correcting it is not by disregarding it, but by amending the Constitution upon which the decision was made.

Fellow Republicans! the issue is in our hands. Some of our number desire a disruption of the Union

for the very purpose of erecting a Northern Republic. Shall we be led by them into the yawning gulf which lies at our feet? They will counsel us against all concession. I regard them but little better than the rebels of the South. Our ambitious politicians are bent on ruining us. Let the people rise in their might and speak a voice for Union and the country that will make politicians listen and tremble.

They say, "Who's afraid? I will tell you. Fools and madmen are not afraid. But those who foresee the evils that are to come-they are afraid. They fear for their country, and for the fate of civil liberty in the world.

## [Published February 20, 1861.]

#### BACKBONE.

Some papers and speakers are constantly talking of **backbone**. "Don't back down from your principles," is their motto. It is well to understand what this means.

There are three distinct parties at the North: First—
Democratic politicians, who seek every opportunity to turn the public crisis to their particular party advantage, by representing that the Republican party is an association of enemies to the Constitution and country. Their constant effort is to place the Republicans in the wrong. They profess to be friends of Southern rights, and eagerly put forward such plans of compromise and conciliation as they know will be distasteful and revolting to the Republican feeling. They do this in order to drive the Republicans to the position of enemies to all compromise.

Second-Republican politicians, some of whom appear to think more of a Chicago platform than they do of the Bible-or, at least, profess to do so. They care fifty times as much for their party and its programme as they do for the country. When urged to concur in a compromise with the Border Slave States, one of this class said, "No compromise. If they choose to go, let them go. We can get along without them. We , can form a confederacy with Canada and establish a great Northern Republic." Publicly, of course, they profess great attachment to the Constitutiop; and assume to be its friends par excellence, while they refuse to lift a finger to save it, except in the impracticable way of coercion and civil war. Just at this time they are the advocates of warlike preparation, strengthening the hands of government, and all that; and they decry every one who speaks of concession and arrangement as a traitor. They call him weak-kneed and dough-faced. They step before the real lovers of the Constitution and the Union, push them one side, and cry out, "We are the true patriots; we are the true lovers of the Constitution."

Third-The other party are the moderate and considerate men of all parties who love the Constitution and the Union more than they love party; who cling to them as the palladia of all they hold sacred and dear. To save them from destruction they are willing to concede every just right to the slave States. They are anxious to make some arrangement which will confirm the Union sentiment in the border slave States, They are just as strong in favor of supporting the government, and giving it power and efficiency, as the sternest Republicans; but they are, at the same time, equally

as anxious that all occasion for testing the strength of government may be obviated by paternal and peaceful arrangement. They are anxious for this, because they believe it to be the only practicable method of preserving the national existence. They are the people whom the politicians call weak in the knees, destitute of backbone, and such like liberal epithets.

Is NOT THIS EXACTLY TRUE? Now, which of these parties are we to choose? Are we to stand by and see the country go to pieces, and not lift a hand to prevent it? The border slave States will certainly join the Southern Confederacy unless something be. done to confirm the Union sentiment, which, at the present moment is in the ascendant there. But though now in the ascendant, the doctrines of secession are constantly preached by a thousand interested missionaries from the Gulf States, and will assuredly prevail, unless we enter into some arrangement which shall demonstrate our willingness to yield the South a fair participation of the public territory. It is not enough for us to say that we intend no invasion of the rights of the South. They think otherwise. They interpret the Republican platform otherwise. the most moderate men of the South might and would be satisfied with things as they are; but the masses will not be, and the question is simply this: Shall we divide the territory, or shall we divide the country?

Another proposition is equally clear: If the border slave States do join the Southern Confederacy, coercion is out of the question. We are then a broken and divided empire. Our glory and our greatness are extinct.

It is also clear that nothing is necessary to be done which the North cannot honorably agree to. What concession of principle is involved in adopting the line of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes as a perpetual line between slave labor and free? The Chicago platform? Does that platform mean to declare that the southern States are entitled to none of the territories? If it does, it declares a solecism. Whatever its terms may be, its spirit is only defensive-not aggressive.

Slavery was marching northward, striding over Kansas and the West. The Supreme Court declared it lawful everywhere in the public territories. The Republican party raised its protest against; this advance of the slave power. This is simply its position. Its language may be strong; but the spirit and meaning of it was simply this-" thus far shalt thou go, and no farther." Now an agreement or compromise, which ends the strife, and drives the stake, and lays the line of demarcation forever, is not concession of principle, nor a compromise of honor, but a fair adjustment of conflicting claims.

Then which of the parties are we to choose, the politicians or the peacemakers? As for me and my house, our faces are set for conciliation and compromise.

Speech at Newark on the celebration of Washington's Birthday, the evening of February 22, 1861.

Joseph P. Bradley Esq., was then announced, and spoke substantially as follows:

**Friends and Fellow-Citizens**:-I understand this meeting was intended to be free from a partisan character. As such it was represented to me, and as such I complied with the request to offer some remarks' in

your presence. This is no time for the indulgence of party feelings, or the promotion of party objects. A common danger, which threatens our country, renders it necessary that those should be discarded-a danger such as has not been faced since the times of the Revolution, and those which immediately followed it.

I know it is very hard to rise above the influences of party prejudice. Often it almost drowns the sentiment of patriotism. Party rancor and party hatred are the last serpents which the genius of patriotism can crush. But in all great emergencies like; that in which we now are, crushed they must be, or else we shall drift on to certain and irretrievable ruin. [Prolonged applause.]

The celebration of this day is a fitting occasion to call these sentiments to mind. No man ever lived who rose so far above the paltry prejudices of the hour and of the partisan as George Washington. His motto was his country only. We have just heard the preceding speaker read the solemn words of warning which he addressed to his countrymen when retiring from public life. They sound almost like a dirge on the ear-or like the burden of some ancient prophet—foreshadowing the dark days of evil for time which are to afflict a guilty and infatuated people.

In turning back to those passages in his history which seem most fitting for our present contemplation, none have struck me more forcibly than those which preceded the adoption of the Constitution. The Revolution had triumphed-victory was won-peace was smiling over the land-and everything betokened the inauguration of a prosperous age; but the demon of -anarchy was stalking abroad. When there was no

public enemy without, then the furies of internal dissension seemed to be let loose. There was a confederation of States; but it was not a united government, every State did what was right in its own eyes, furnished the supply which Congress demanded when they chose, and refused them when they chose.

Individuals imitated the examples of the States, and armed themselves in hostility to their own Government. In Massachusetts a very formidable armed insurrection arose in the western counties. The Courts were forcibly closed and not allowed to assemble, and general gloom prevailed. The Government was crumbling into atoms, dissensions and chaos were the order of the day.

This was in 1786. Washington was fifty-four years of age. It is interesting to us to know how he thought, and how he acted, at such a time as this. It seemed as though all for which he and his compeers had toiled through the dark and dreary days of the Revolution was in peril of imminent and inglorious destruction. It seems so now. How Washington felt, and how he acted then, present a lesson well worthy of the deepest reflection.

I have before me several of his letters written during this period, and whilst the Constitution was under discussion, which **shows** to us my **beau** ideal of a true patriot-that is, a patriot above the spirit of party.

[Mr. Bradley here read extracts from letters written by Washington to Jay, Madison and Lafayette.]

These are the sentiments on which our national existence rested for seventy-five years, and with which every American citizen should at this moment be -actuated. The anxieties, the impulses, the heart-

throbbing yearnings for the good of the whole country, and the union of the whole country; on principles of justice and mutual sacrifice, are needed now no less than they were needed then. These were the feelings that glowed in the bosom of the Father of his Country, and if he were alive they would glow in his bosom now. [Applause.]

The union of the country, and the Constitution which was found to preserve and support it, and a spirit of mutual concession and sacrifice both emanating from and sanctified by the spirit of lofty patriotism, untainted by party feeling, party animosity or party prides-these are the objects for which he labored; this is the spirit by which he was animated-and he preaches them to us this day, in a voice of touching entreaty, coming down from the echoes of the past, in tones so eloquent that none but traitors can refuse to hear. [Tumultuous applause.] Ah! ye that spurn the institutions which he helped to frame, and over the inauguration of which he presided, and strive to tear asunder with unhallowed hands the glorious flag which he unfurled-ye that spurn the holy love of country, those patriotic feelings of mutual forbearance, concession and sacrifice, which animated him and his compeers, and which he endeavored to impress upon the hearts of his countrymen-ye that cling to local and party prejudices in a time of general danger and prevailing treason, and forget that you have a common interest in the welfare of the whole country, and of every part of it-1 charge you never to invoke the great name of Washington as a patron of your principles or your Could his pure and majestic spirit look down deeds.

upon you from the place of his serene abode, his grave
and indignant form would chill your miserable hearts
to stone. [Great applause.]

But, my friends, let us look for better things to come, and that we **may yet** see the glorious institutions that have promoted the interests of freedom throughout the world, shall be preserved by mutual conciliation and sacrifice.

Mr. Bradley resumed his seat amid loud applause.

It thus appears that as long as there remained the slightest hope of reconciliation and compromise with the South, Mr. Bradley was among the most earnest in favor of it, and was ready to make any honorable concession to accomplish it. But the moment the flame of rebellion burst out into open violence, his whole tone was changed. In his view, it then became simply a question of country or no country; a question whether we would stand by our free institutions till the last drop of blood was shed, or whether we should tamely submit to have them destroyed by wicked hands before our eyes. And as in a foreign war it is our duty as well as a point of honor to stand by our own Government even though some of its measures may not be approved; so, in this war, it is our duty to stand by our Government in its efforts to put down treason and rebellion. These views will be found expressed in the following articles. appeared as a communication in the Advertiser on the 15th of April, 1861, a few days after the attack on Fort Sumter and the troubles at Baltimore:

## THE CRISIS AND ITS DUTIES.

## [Published April 15, 1861.]

There can be no question or vacillation now. **EVERY** CITIZEN IS BOUND TO SUSTAIN HIS GOVERNMENT, When questions of policy were discussing we might differ. We may privately differ from Government as to its policy now. But Government has declared its policy, has taken the responsibility of action, and now, we must either stand by our country, or be prepared to fall in its ruins.

We had hoped this painful crisis might have been avoided. We labored hard to effect that result. But it was not effected, and civil war is upon us, and it is no time now to indulge in useless regrets. The proper parties will be held responsible at a proper time.

It is now no longer a party question. It is not a Republican question, nor a Democratic one. a question of government, and law, and country. When our country, as represented by the constituted authorities of government, calls to duty, either in a contest of self-preservation or against a foreign foe, it is no time to inquire who are in power, or by what party the Government is administered. To do so, might show a loyalty to party organization, but it would be practical treason. We need not yield our opinions; we need not cease to urge our views in our domestic councils; nor to influence, so far as we may, the views of our own public agents and rulers, but to those with whom our country is at issue, we must show a united front. We must reserve to ourselves the sole right of abusing our rulers. But since they

eignty, others must respect them. We may scold, but we must obey. We may grumble, but we must fight; fight under and fight for our flag, no matter by whom the staff is upheld.

But in the light of the Constitution and the LAWS. our government is right. Secession has always been Those who are familiar with its history know that the people of this country adopted the constitution for the very purpose of putting an end to nullification and secession. Its very preamble declares its object to be to form a more perfect Union, and to insure domestic tranquillity. It expressly declares that no State shall enter into any treaty, alliance or confederation, nor, without the consent of Congress, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, nor enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war unless actually invaded; and, for the settlement of differences that may arise, the judicial power of the Government is estended to controversies between two or more States; and the Constitution and the United States are declared to be the supreme law of the land.

The moment South Carolina interfered with the execution of the Federal laws, the moment she laid the weight of her finger on a foot or a pound of Government property, with intent to occupy and keep the same by public force, that moment treason was committed; and as, by the same Constitution, the President is to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed," that moment it was his constitutional duty to employ the executive force of the country to execute the laws. The constitutionality of the course now taken by Government cannot be called in question.

We never urged compromise on the ground that secession was constitutional, or that it was to be viewed with a moment's patience; but only on the ground of expediency-as the best way of restoring harmony and peace to the country. We still believe that it would have been wisest and best. Our own view always was, conciliation first-nay, Conciliation to the extreme point of liberality-aqd *then*, if nothing would avail for the attainment of peace and submission to the common Government of the country, then, and *not till then*, let *force* decide whether we have a country or not. But that is also past.

Now the Government has put forth the arm of its power to execute the laws, and let them be obeyed. Let there be no traitors; no double-minded among us. Let there not even be any vacillating. If any treason is found to exist among us, let it be crushed in the bud. Let us do all that in us lies to support the dignity and glory of the country which gave us birth. Let not New Jersey be backward. She has never been backward in duty before; let her be true to her old traditions now. We hope the Executive of this State will take all such measures as are in its power to be ready at a moment's warning to aid the common force, and to preserve the domestic tranquillity of the State.

But how far, it may be asked, are we to support the acts of Government? So far, most assuredly, we answer, as Government shall see fit to go within the line of its constitutional power; and that clearly extends. to the possession and occupation of all the Government forts and arsenals and post offices, and other public property, and the execution of the federal

laws in all the **States**. Whether Government will consider it expedient to go so far as that is for *it* to determine. The Congress has been called, and if the national will, expressed in a legitimate manner, shall deem it advisable, on just terms, to allow a portion of the United States to separate itself from the mother country, and erect an independent government, it will then be time enough to call in question the attempt of the Executive to maintain the national authority in the whole country. Meanwhile it will be our right and our duty to contribute our mite toward influencing that national will in such direction as each of us, having the good of his country sincerely at heart, may deem most for the public welfare.

On the 22d of April, 1861, a mass meeting was held at Newark to take into consideration the public crisis and to devise measures for aiding the Government in the suppression of the rebellion. Mr. Bradley was requested to draw the resolutions for this meeting, which he did, and enforced them by a speech, which was not reported. The resolutions are as follows:

## RESOLUTIONS.

WHEREAS, the subversion of our country's Constitution and Government is threatened by armed bands of traitors in several States of this Union, and the Federal authorities have found it necessary to call into action the military force of the country for the maintenance of the laws; and WHEREAS, the preservation of our national existence requires the co-operation of every loyal American citizen at this Crisis of our history, therefore,

Resolved, That it is the firm, unanimous, unalterable determination of the citizens of Newark, first of all, and above all other duties, laying

aside all party distinctions and associations, to sustain the Government under which they live, which was adopted by the people's **own choice**, and which has never brought anything but blessings in its train, and to this object they pledge their lives and property.

Resolved, That we, the said citizens of Newark, will give our united, strong and unwavering support to the President of the United States and the General Government in its endeavor to enforce the laws, preserve the common property, vindicate the dignity of the Government, and crush the treasonable conspiracies and insurrections which are rampant in various parts of the land, leaving to them, as the constituted authorities, the exercise of their rightful discretion, within all Constitutional limits, as to the mode and manner in which it is to be done; at the same time sincerely deploring the necessity which compels us to array ourselves in opposition to men of the same blood, and who possess, in common with us, the traditions of the Revolution, solemnly declaring that nothing but the highest and most sacred sense of duty to our country and our God could lead us to risk the shedding of our brothers' blood.

Resolved, That we utterly execrate and abhor the ringleaders in this treason and rebellion, as enemies of all good; as false to their country, their oaths, and their honor; and that they have forfeited all claim to our fraternal sympathies and regards; but we sincerely commiserate and sympathize with our fellow-citizens in those States where rebellion is predominant, who still maintain their loyalty to the Constitution and country, but who are unable, in the insane and treasonable commotions which surround them, to make their voices heard.

**Resolved**, That by the Constitution we are one nation, indissoluble by the action of any State or section; that the Constitution and the laws provide the means of redress for every wrong, actual, fancied or apprehensible; and that, when peace and obedience to law are restored, we shall be ready to co-operate with our fellow-citizens everywhere, in Congress or convention, for the relief of all supposed grievances, yielding ourselves, and expecting others to yield, to the will of the whole people lawfully expressed,

**Resolved, That** the Common Council be respectfully requested to make such appropriations as may be necessary for the support of the families of those of our citizens who shall enter into military service under the call of the constituted authorities, and we pledge them the unanimous support of the people in so doing,

**Resolved**, That a committee of twenty-five citizens be appointed by the chairman to take in charge and carry forward all measures

needful for the equipment of troops, and to co-operate with the Common Council in the objects of the last resolution, and to take such measures in co-operating with the authorities for the general security and protection as may be deemed advisable.

The only **other** document we shall reproduce comprises the resolutions adopted by the great Union meeting at Newark, which was addressed by Hon. Daniel S. Dickinson, September 20, 1861, together with the speech by which Mr. Bradley introduced them. These resolutions were also from Mr. Bradley's pen, and express the position which he has always assumed since the Rebellion broke out:

#### NR. BRADLEY'S SPEECH.

Joseph P. Bradley, Esq., was then introduced by the chairman, and was most warmly received. He said:

Friends and Fellow-Citizens :- It is made my duty by the arrangements which have been made by those who have called this meeting together, to present for its consideration resolutions expressive of their in respect to the great and important events which are hovering over our country. Before reading these resolutions, I will take the liberty to express in a few and plain words the general purport and essence of the resolutions that will be offered. the first place, we believe that this Union and this Government of ours, under which we live, under which we have so long been happy and prosperous, under which more freedom, more liberty and more enjoyment is experienced than under any other government that has ever existed on the face of the globe, is and must, and shall be maintained [cheers], and that it ought to be so; that it was meant to be so, and that to maintain

the Covernment and our institutions are founded. [Enthusiastic cheers.] In the next place, we believe, and we hold it to be true, that the Constitution under which we live, was adopted by the people of this country for the purpose of preserving and defending that Union and Government, and that those who attempt to subvert it, and to rend this fair country into divided fragments are traitors to the principles of the institutions that adorn the American world. [Cheers. A voice: "That's so."]

In the third place, we believe, and hold it to be true, that at such a time as this, when treason and rebellion are stalking about in the land, and are not absent even from ourselves, we should forget all party differences and bury them under our feet, and come up Democrats, Republicans, Americans or whatever other party there may be, shoulder to shoulder, as we stand here to-day, in support of the Constitution and Government, until its authority is vindicated forever. [Loud cheers.] In the fourth place, that we will, because we must, trust the management of the controversy to the constituted authorities, whoever they may be, forgetting for the moment all other political objects. We shall stand by them, not because they arc of this political shade or of that, but, because in the providence of God they happen to be at the head of our affairs, and if we do not support them we cannot support our leaders. [Cheers.]

In the fifth place, we believe that we ought to unite and organize ourselves together as a Country party [cheers], as a Union party [cheers], and as a party determined to see the Government through [cheers]; that we will stand by the Constitution which is the Constitution of thirty-three States, and not of seventeen States, and that we will do this without any fear of danger or hope of reward. [Cheers.] That we will do it because it is our duty to do it; because our prosperity depends upon it; and that we will do it because we have sworn allegiance to this Constitution and this Government. After alluding to the peace party, and remarking that we should hare submission to the Constitution first and compromise afterward [cheers], Mr. Bradley read the resolutions, as follows:

#### RESOLUTIONS.

- I. *Resolved*. That "the Union must and shall be preserved;" that its preservation is demanded by the history of the past and the hopes of the future; by the wisdom of its founders and the national happiness and prosperity which it has caused; by a regard to the sanctity of law, and the success of free institutions; as an example to the world, and a guaranty to future ages, of the ultimate triumph of right, liberty and equality.
- 2. Resolved, That the Constitution of the United States is the palladium of the Union, and was adopted by our fathers for the express purpose of rendering it perpetual; that to it, as the supreme law of the land, we owe our first and highest allegiance, paramount to all other allegiance; and that none but traitors and parricides will attempt to subvert it or to desecrate the flag which waves over us as its expressive symbol.
- 3. *Resolved*, That in the present contest for the existence of the Union, we should recognize no party, believing it to be the solemn duty of every patriot to lay aside party names and party prejudices, and rally to the support of the Government until rebellion shall be crushed and treason annihilated; and that the nomination of candidates for any office on party grounds tends to excite a strife which cannot fail to be productive of evil in the present unhappy condition of the country.

- 4. Resolved, That when our Government shall be rescued from danger of annihilation, and we can once more say we have country and a name to be proud of; when it shall again be a boast and a shield of safety all over the world to say, "I am an American citizen;"—it will then be time enough to remember our party names, and to discuss party issues; but till then to do so will be to fight against our brethren, whilst the enemy is destroying our common heritage.
- 5. **Resolved**, That as long as two hundred thousand rebels are thundering at the gates of the Capital, none but those who are cravens or false-hearted will cry "peace, peace;" and none but traitors will seek to restrain our strong-handed yeomanry from rushing to the defence of our common country and Government.
- 6. *Resolved*, That in the exercise of the war power, and in the midst of actual hostilities, it is no time to trifle with or wink at **treason**, either active or covert; and if any persons are found within our lines whose loyalty is reasonably suspected, the only safe course is to deprive them of the power to do mischief; and that in arresting and securing those who aid and abet the cause of our enemies and suppressing seditious and treasonable publications, the Government exercises only the ordinary right of self-preservation, and the power which is implied in the right to resist and suppress an internal war.
- 7. **Resolved**, That all Union-loving men who feel that party should be ignored and that our Government should be sustained and upheld in its endeavors to put down rebellion and enforce obedience to the Constitution and laws throughout the whole country, and who are willing to act on these views, should organize themselves for promoting and carrying out such a sacred object and for thwarting and overruling the insidious acts of those who profess a desire for honorable peace, but are ready for a dishonorable surrender of the **integrity** of their country.
- 8. *Resolved*, That a committee, to consist of seven members, be appointed by this meeting, to inaugurate such an organization for this county, and to correspond with similar committees from other counties, in order to perfect such an organization throughout the State, so as to give to the loyal people of New Jersey an opportunity of making their voice heard, and their influence felt, in the pending struggle for a national victory.

The resolutions were adopted by acclamation.

It thus appears that Mr. Bradley has always been eminently conservative in his views on national questions. It also appears that on the subject of the Rebellion he has never entertained but a single view—that it must be put down at all hazards, and that no more compromises can be entertained till the authority of the Government over the whole country is restored. This is the sum and substance of the whole record; and shows that Mr. Bradley stands where every true patriot stands—on the Constitution as it is, and the Union as it was.

## SPEECH

OF

# JOSEPH P. BRADLEY, Esq.,,

AT THE

UNION ADMINISTRATION MEETING,

HELD IN NEWARK, OCTOBER 22, 1862.

[From the Newark Daily Advertiser, October 23, 1862.]

THE ADMINISTRATION MEETING.

SPEECHES BY MESSRS. BRADLEY AND OTHERS.

The mass meeting of friends of the Administration, held at Concert Hall last Wednesday, was another impressive demonstration of popular sentiment, the spacious hall being filled to overflowing at an early hour; and the remarks of the speakers were listened The main feature of the evening to with deep interest. was, of course, the speech of Joseph P. Bradley, Esq., their candidate for Congress in this district, it being the first public expression of his sentiments since his nomination. Though fresh from the court room, overwhelmed by professional cares, and somewhat embarrassed by a cold, Mr. Bradley warmed up with the interest of his subject, and it is not too much to say that he more than realized the most favorable' anticipations of his friends. His speech, to a full report of which we yield a large portion of our space, which could not be better filled, was the fresh and vigorous utterance of one whose thoughts are not

accustomed to travel in the settled groove of partisan machinery, or among the cunning platitudes of the mere politician—but the enlarged views of a thoughtful and intelligent man, who has been drawn into the political arena solely through a sense of duty to the country; and he doubtless did not exaggerate the truth when he said that, on personal accounts-and all others, save the great principles at stake-he should greatly prefer the election of the opposing candidate to his own. But without enlarging upon the details, we give place to our report:

#### MR. BRADLEY'S SPEECH.

The chairman then introduced Joseph P. Bradley, Esq., who spoke as follows :

Mr. Chairman and Fellow-Citizens: I do not know that I am well enough to-night to say more than a few words. I am oppressed by a severe cold in my throat and chest; but I have nevertheless felt it my duty, as I have been expected here, to make my appearance and to declare myself upon some of the issues presented in the present canvass.

I appear before you in a position in which I never expected to be placed. Political distinction was never an object of my ambition, especially political distinction of the sort for which I am now a candidate before my fellow-citizens of this district; and I could not have been persuaded to engage in this contest but from a sense of duty. I look upon this election as the most important one that has ever been held within my recollection. I believe that it is the most important election that has ever been held within the memory of

any man in this house. I believe that the general results of the election in the Northern States will go far towards settling and determining the destiny of this great republic; and I believe this because I believe that if the Democratic party shall be successful in the election of its candidates in the Northern States, or in the election of a majority of them, so as to control the next Congress of the United State&, the republic is This may be a hard saying. 'I would not say it without due deliberation; and when I do say it, I do not mean to be understood as saying that there are not in the ranks of the Democratic party 'many thousands of excellent and patriotic men; but I do mean to say that the secret councils of that party at this time are controlled by men-deep men-who have not the interest of their country at heart. I believe that those men are deceiving the people who follow them-for the people are honest-the masses are honest—but they may be temporarily deceived by false pretenses; and such I believe to be the fact under the present organization and operations of the Democratic party.

We cannot shut our eyes to the fact there are now two classes of Democrats; and I may as well use here on the platform the words we use on the street, and say that those two classes are the Secession Democrats and the War Democrats, respectively. [Applause.] We know that there are these distinct classes in that party, and we know further that those who are popularly called Secession Democrats are the leaders of that party-the leaders who meet at Trenton, fifteen and twenty of them at a time, and consult about the interests and plans of the party; who direct all its

councils and manage all its affairs, and through whose dictation it is that such men as George T. Cobb, of Morristown, are thrown overboard, and such men as Andrew Jackson Rodgers are nominated for Congress. I believe, therefore, that that party, if it comes into power, instead of wielding the resources of the country energetically for the restoration of the Constitution and the laws, will, to say the least, be pervaded by divided councils; and, to say all that I think and believe, it will be governed by counsels inimical to the stability of the republic, its honor and its life. For this reason I have felt, and do feel, this to be the most important canvass that has taken place within my memory, and for this reason also I feel it my duty to contribute, if I can, something toward the success of the Administration party, whose object, as I understand it, is, first of all, the restoration of the authority of the Constitution throughout the whole country. [Applause.] If this is not the object-the great objectof that party, then I am not a member of it. [Renewed applause.] I look upon this idea as the one that swallows up all the rest. There are minor issues, it is true; but they sink into insignificance when compared with the one great issue of saving our country from destruction, and from division, which is destruction. Therefore it is that I am here, and that I have consented to appear before you in this political contest as a candidate for your suffrages. I have not sought this position; I do not desire it; and were it not for the *principles* that are involved in the issue I would gladly see my opponent elected instead of myself. [Applause.]

I am not able, as I said before, to speak long

to night; and my words must be few and pointed. have already indicated what I consider to be the great cardinal principle of the Administration party, namely, that "The Union must and shall be preserved." longed cheering.] In whatever way that can be done, and be done most effectually, so let it be done. I know of no conditions under which our exertions for the accomplishment of this great object hre to be placed. I know of no limits by which they are to be restrained, other than the laws of God and the law of nations. These we must observe. Our Constitution gives us the broadest scope in which to work; and I will observe here, that it is puerile to say that this or that thing in the conduct of the war is "unconstitutional." I say that such an assertion is incorrect, illogical, and a solecism. Does not the Constitution contain the war-power just as much as it contains the habeas corpus? Does it not contain provision for a power on the part of the Government to suppress insurrection and rebellion? When those powers are given, all the powers that we want are given-all the powers we can exercise or that can be exercised within the limits that I have named-the laws of God and the law of [Applause.] It is idle and worse than idle to say that the Constitution has been violated or broken in the conduct of this war. There has been no such violation; but they violate the Constitution who stand up and do nothing when the Constitution is threatened with destruction. [Renewed applause.]

I am not going to read to this audience-it is not necessary that I should-a legal opinion upon what the law of nations will permit and what it will not permit. I take for granted that the admin-

istration, having learned counsel around it, is advised upon the subject; and I am willing, so long as President Lincoln is at the head of affairs, to confide to him, and to such councillors as he calls to his aid, the selection of measures whereby to perform this great duty of the Government, namely, to restore its authority and that of the Constitution, and to save the country from ruin. ' Had I been President, I might have done some things differently; I do not say whether I would or would not; but this is not the question. When my captain tells me: "Forward, march! the enemy is before you;" I must not stand, look behind me, and say, "Captain, it is not time." I tell you that all subordinate questions are swallowed up in the one great and overwhelming question of self-preservation, and they are quibblers who say that what is done to effect that end is " unconstitutional." [Prolonged applause.]

Having said so much, what more need I say? There is the whole thing before you. Most of you You know that I never was an here know me. [Laughter.] You know that I was abolitionist. always a conservative of the conservatives. The last time-indeed, the only time-1 ever spoke in this hall, was on the evening of the 22d of February, 1861, just before President Lincoln arrived at Washington; and some of you may remember what a doleful speech I made on that occasion. [Laughter.] I remember it. I made it from my heart. Nothing but compromise would suit me at that time. I was for compromise to the last-for 36:30 through to California— [laughter]-for anything in God's name rather than blood or division. But the moment they began to throw mud at the glorious old flag, fired on Fort

Sumter and levied war, then we were *in* [laughter and cheers]; and then came up in me, as it came up at the same time in millions at the North of every shade of opinion before that, a sentiment of devotion to the Constitution and to the integrity of the republic-the whole republic-first of all and before all. Then we heard and thought and felt no more on the subject of compromises. The day of compromise was ended; it was then the day of *fight*. [Applause.] "Not that we loved Cæsar less, but that we loved Rome more"; not that we felt any the less disposed to do justice to the Southern States or people, but that we felt that we must above all do justice to ourselves and our country. [Prolonged applause.]

How we have been and are misunderstood and misrepresented! Because we love our country more than all things else, and therefore have discarded the idea of compromise when compromise is no longer practicable, and when there is no longer any use in raising that cry, we are called abolitionists. [Laughter.] Is this fair ? I do not want any better Constitution than the old one. I want to see that Constitution stand just as it is, word for word and letter for letter, as long as I live. I do not want it altered; I do not want it violated; I do not want to see the relation of the States to each other, nor the relation of the people of the different States, altered in the slightest degree. I would have all these remain as they were; but in prosecuting this war for the preservation of the Union, I would prosecute it as I would prosecute any war, by taking the ships of the enemy, if necessary, without compensation; by taking the horses of the enemy without compensation; yea, by taking their lives without compensation. [Applause.]

If any person cannot hold in his head these two ideas, it must be either because he shuts his eyes and ears to them, or because he is so low in the scale of intellectual existence that he cannot receive and understand two ideas at once. They say on the other side, "The Constitution as it is and the Union as it was"; and so do I. [Applause.]

I say it just as strongly as they do; but at the same time I say, "Boys, load your guns; take aim; fire!" [Applause.]

And I say it because that is not a violation of the Constitution. The suppression of rebellion by whatever means the law of nations allows, is permitted to every Government in the world; it is permitted to our Government; and the idea sought to be foisted upon the people of the North, that we violate the Constitution when we do this or do that to quell the rebellion, is the secret whisper of the enemy-I mean the old enemy-the Arch Enemy. [Laughter.]

These are general principles, and they are principles by which we can stand now and at all times with perfect security. No one can assail us on such a platform as this; it is the platform of the Constitution, and upon that I stand and mean to stand whether elected or not. [Applause.]

One word more regarding the merits of the question. Not only are these our principles-that the Union must and shall be preserved; and that what is done for its preservation is well done-but they are vital, vital, vital! If WC do not carry them out we are undone. Not only are they *our* principles, but they are the *only* principles that can save us from perdition. Some good men, especially among the Seces-

sion Democrats, say, "Let them go; divide the country; it is large enough for two republics." Ah, my fellow-citizens, if we once admit that doctrine of dividing the country, in the first place where will you draw your line? Through the Potomac? Along Mason and Dixon's line? On the south side of Virginia, or where? In the next place, after you have drawn it, how long will it stay drawn? [A voice, "That's it."] And in the third place, after you have made one division, how long will it be before another and another will follow? No, my fellow-citizens, we must stand by this Constitution and Union 'as the ark of republican institutions and of civil freedom throughout the world. [Applause.]

In other countries they entertain a principle of loyalty to their sovereigns. In this country, our loyalty has all been directed to the Constitution made by our fathers, by mutual concessions and mutual sacrifices-the best Constitution in the world. Loyalty to the Constitution of their country is the only loyalty Divide the republic, and this Americans know. loyalty that has grown up in our bosoms from infancy is gone; and there is no man here who, if the republic was divided, would not go about the streets in mourning; for the great bulwark of republicanism in the world will have proved a failure. Foreign nations would point at us as the great example of the failure of free institutions; and Americans going abroad, instead of being respected, would be pointed at and If our country were to be divided and our Constitution and institutions to fail, I would not travel in Europe any more than I would travel in the realms of darkness. [Applause.] I would not show

my head there; I would be ashamed to do so; and I would not allow an Englishman or a Frenchman to enter my house. [Laughter and applause.] I tell you, my friends, that if we give up this heritage of ours we give up the most precious thing that has ever been planted by humanhands upon this globe. we give it up? [No! No!] Shall we give it up to those Southern traitors-aristocrats who have no love for free institutions, and who are dcterminetl that if they cannot rule they will ruin? Let us drive them into the Let us re-establish the authority of the Constitution all over the land. Let us do it, even if it involve the sacrifice of the population of one-third of If they will not yield to the Constitution the States. and laws without being sacrificed, let them be sacri-I tell you that our free institutions are worth ficed. more than that sacrifice. Let these institutions be transmitted by us to our posterity with all the living vigor with which we received them from our fathers. There can be no compromise about that, [Applause.] gentlemen. I do not say this because I hate the Southern people or their institutions. I do not care a straw about their institutions, comparatively. is not the question; it is, "Shall they be permitted to destroy our Government?" [No! No!]

Now, there are some minor questions that our opponents have talked a great deal about-the habeas *corpus*, the act of confiscation passed by Congress, and the President's proclamation of emancipation. I have opinions upon all these subjects, and I would \*be very free to express them if I were able. I really am not able now; but I may have an opportunity of meeting you upon some other occasion during this canvas, and

of saying what I have to say upon these matters. But after all is said that can be said, what miserable issues are they, each and all, compared with the great issues I have spoken of.

Oh, gentlemen, these men would not talk so much about the habeas corpus, and the President's proclamation, if there was not something rotten in their bones. [Applause.] I believe in the habeas corpus, and I do not know whether or not I would have issued the emancipation proclamation had I been President; but the President must know a great deal better than I do the reasons for it, and I am willing to take for granted that he does. At any rate I am not going to quarrel with him about it just now. I am going to stand by him until this war is over; and if it be not over when he goes out of office and another man is put in his place, I do not care to what party he! belongs, if he is only loyal to the country and the Constitution, I will stand by him too. [Applause.]

I know that in our particular community there are many respectable men-men who formerly belonged, many of them, to the old Whig party, God bless it! [Cheers]-conservative, good men, who think that by making a peace with the South and letting them go, trade will revive and things will go on better. Now I have respect for these men. I know that they are in a false position-that they are influenced in a great degree by their pecuniary interests. Men cannot help this; and we are bound to have charity for them. I respect these men, for they have been at the very bottom of the prosperity of this city; but their principles I do not agree with; and if there are any of those gentlemen here now let me say to them that they are

mistaken. No such peace with the South will ever bring back the business that has been lost. If 'it is ever brought back, it will be by the authority of and under the old Constitution and the old flag. [Great applause.] Let me tell you that the South is dealing with the English manufacturers and French manufacturers, and they will whistle at our Newark manufacturers under any peace we may make with them.

Let me say, too, that the prosperity of Newark is not bound up in any compromise with the Southern States or in any unholy peace with them, which may involve a division of the country, but in the cause of the old Constitution and the old flag. Let us re-establish their authority, and we re-establish the prosperity of Newark, of its manufactures and its manufacturers. [Loud applause.]

I make these remarks in all kindness to those men; for I believe them to be honestly mistaken; but the mistake is made in such a grave matter that I am sorry that they make it-sorry for them and for the city in which they live.

In order to be accurate with regard to the views I hold in reference to the present contest, I cannot do better than refer to the resolutions passed by the Convention from which I received the nomination. I looked at these resolutions to see what the sentiments of the Administration party there assembled were; and I will now read one or two of them:

Resolved, That the friends of the National Administration in New Jersey desire, first of all, a republican form of government-free, great and. strong; [None of your petty little republics that command no respect in the world; but a republic, free, great and strong, recommending free institutions throughout the earth by its power as well as its freedom], securing to its citizens the blessings of peace, and challenging the respect of the world.

Mr. Bradley continued reading the resolutions, which were published at the time, commenting on them seriatim and fully endorsing their spirit. He then proceeded to say:

In the spirit of those resolutions I say to the patriotic members of the Democratic party who may hear my voice, "Come, go with us, and it shall do thee good; " for our only object is to restore the country to its normal condition, to restore the authority and majesty of the Constitution and the laws. If this is not the object of the Administration party, then, as I have already said, I am not a member of it. And I also say that those resolutions tell the truth that in this struggle no man can be neutral; he must be active in favor of the Government and in favor of putting down the rebellion, or he must be opposed to it. Indifference is opposition. Men cannot let their arms hang by their sides and say, "Well, I hope the national arms will succeed in putting down the rebellion; but I have a great many reasons why I do not wish to take any part in this contest." A man who acts thus is like the man in the Scriptures, of whom it is said, "He that is not with me is against me; and he that gathereth not with me scattereth abroad;" for, fellow-citizens, this cause of ours is a holy cause-the cause of civil freedom-the cause of human rights. In saying this, I do not refer to the question of domestic slavery; I am speaking of the great mission of this country. It is a mission of civil freedom and free institutions; and if it falls they fall. . For a succession of ages-long ages-will it and they lie in the dust before a new age shall arise in which freedom can again plant her standards successfully upon the mountains and the plains and the valleys of the earth. [Loud and long continued applause.]

tions toward Hudson county, and if I should be so fortunate, or unfortunate, as the case may be, as to be elected, I shall feel under special obligations to regard the interests of this part of the district. I hold that any man should be proud to be the representative of this district. There is no district in the country which a man ought to be more proud to represent than the Fifth District of New Jersey. Commerce and manufactures concentre here their most important interests, and the man who faithfully discharges the duties of its representative should be familiar with all the ramifications and wants of those interests, and be able to represent them fully; and properly to discharge that duty, properly to represent the great commercial and manufacturing interests of Jersey City and of Newark, one of the greatest centres of manufacturing industry in the country, I feel requires more ability than I possess, and I shall be obliged to give my sole and undivided attention to my duties, in order to do what will be required of me.

But apart from the local interests of this district, we have at this particular period of our history, issues before the country of great and paramount importance-national issues, than which none more important have been presented to the American people since they have been a nation. None, I say, *more* important.

In the year 1788, an issue was presented as important as the present, but never one of greater importance. Then, the question was, shall we adopt the noble Constitution under which we live, which should constitute us one country, one nation, one people, bound up to one destiny? *Now* the question is whether we shall remain so.

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## SPEECH

OF

## JOSEPH P. BRADLEY, Esq.,

THE UNION NOMINEE FOR CONGRESS.

AT

JERSEY CITY, TUESDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 28, 1862.

Gentlemen of Hudson County: It gives me great pleasure to have the opportunity of addressing you upon the issues of this campaign. I am not known to many of you, personally, and therefore it will, of course, be a satisfaction to you to see me, and hear from me of my views concerning some of the great issues of this contest. All of you know that I was not eager for the position in which my nomination has placed me. I acceded to it with reluctance, and only from a strong sense of duty. I was especially reluctant to be considered a candidate because the nomination, according to usage, belonged to Hudson, and I made it a special condition that I was not to be named as a candidate without the consent of Hudson County. I stood to that condition as a matter of honor between the different parts of the The law of honor on such subjects is imperdistrict. It therefore gave me great pleasure to under-. ative. stand that the nomination came from you, and I consider that this fact imposes upon me peculiar obliga-

Two years ago to-day, my fellow-citizens, the sun in his daily round shone on no people so contented, 'so happy, so prosperous as ourselves. The husbandman tilled his fields on every hillside and tended his flocks and herds in every valley of this broad land, enjoying to the utmost the blessings of a freedom consistent with the good order of society, gathering the full and rich rewards of his honest toil. No poverty cursed the land. Pauperism scarcely existed-we hardly knew what it was. Every man that was able to work and willing to work lived like a prince. Everyone enjoyed the utmost freedom. He felt he belonged to a great and noble country, and he participated in and represented a portion of that greatness and nobility. An American citizen was then respected by all, and he respected himself wherever he went. To-day, if an American should travel in Europe and name himself an American, he would be a jest and a by-word. To-day, instead of being great and happy, and prosperous, we are divided, rent and torn by civil war, and engaged in a terrible struggle to save the nation from destruction, to preserve our institutions, and vindicate the authority of the Constitution and laws.

What would our Government be worth, what would our Constitution be worth, what would we be, what could we do, if we become a divided people? We would be like the petty States of Germany, without power, without resources, without any of those attributes of a nation which command the respect of the world, and entirely at the mercy and control of greater and stronger powers. And who shall draw the line if we divide? What magician with his wand

shall establish a perpetual line of division between one part of the country and the other? Where shall it be? Along the Potomac, south of Virginia, south of North Carolina, Mason and Dixon's line-where? Once admit the **principle** of division and how soon will we have to draw the line again? How soon would the West separate from the East, Pennsylvania withdraw from New York, or both from New England? No, gentlemen, admit for a moment this principle, and we have no country at all. The fabric our fathers raised and swore to defend, that moment crumbles into fragments-into petty States, to belong to which would be no honor, and would compel no respect.

New Jersey, noble little State, in whose fame we all feel so just a pride. Who in our own land is not proud to call himself a Jerseyman? Yet who, abroad, would think to call himself simply a Jerseyman? We would call ourselves Americans, and in this name something of the respect would attach to us which formerly attached to the name of Roman citizen. This would be so because the nations have learned to respect our greatness and our power. These constituted us the bulwark of freedom and free institutions in the world. It was this which gave us respect in the eyes of the world. Our ships, our commerce, our citizens, were all honored under the broad shield of our nationality. Take away this, and all power, all respect is gone. We become nothing but petty States, subject to the beck and dictation of every great power in the world. We have all been brought up with a love of our country-brought up to believe that it is the best country in the world. In this country, at least, we thought we saw the true

and final success of republican institutions. This love of country has grown in our bosoms to be a passion. In other lands, there is loyalty to the person of the sovereign; here our loyalty fastens upon the Constitution and the laws, and upon our free institutions. If these are destroyed, this sentiment of loyalty would be crushed, and we should go about the streets in mourning. We should be broken clown as a nation, and our great experiment would be a failure. plause.] Gentlemen, these sentiments and ideas lie at the bottom of all our principles and instincts as American citizens-members of this great republic. They lie at the bottom of all that we are contending for in this struggle. The man who does not feel these sentiments is a traitor at heart. [Great applause.]

Now, gentlemen, who are the authors of this wicked rebellion which has been excited in the Southern States against this glorious Government? How did it arise? Many say the North are the authors of it. [Mr. Bradley here read an extract from a speech delivered in Newark a short time since before a Democratic convention, in which the speaker justified secession, and affirmed that the nation could never be saved while the present crew are aboard the ship of State, and declaring that they must be got rid of, if the ship had to be scuttled and sunk, and lowered to the deck, and the crew drowned out.] Mr. Bradley then proceeded:

Now, fellow-citizens, I do not justify the intemperate language used by some Northern fanatics. I never did justify it. I have always thought it wrong in principle. I am speaking the sentiments of all conservative men, and I say we were always willing to con-

cede to the South all their just rights-the entire control and regulation of their own affairs. The Constitution gives us no power to meddle with them, no more than it gives them power to meddle with us. The Constitution was founded on the idea that the States should regulate their own affairs.

We have also been always willing to concede to them a fair proportion of the new territory which should be acquired by our common treasure and common arms. And if there were men at the North who disputed these rights, they were few in number, and did not represent the general feelings of the :North. No, gentlemen, it was no invasion of Southern rights by the North that produced this wicked rebellion. Never, never. It was the devil in the hearts of the Southern ringleaders—the determination if they could not rule to ruin. That was the cause. The Southern people themselves were not in favor of this rebellion. Two years ago they would have voted down secession if they could have expressed their honest sentiments at the ballot-box. But they were coerced and deceived, and the truth was kept from them until they have become mad in this great war against the Constitution and the country-perfectly infuriated. This conspiracy has been ripening for thirty years among Southern politicians. They foresaw that power would depart from their grasp, and they concocted this rebellion. It was Calhoun and his compeers who were at the bottom of it. They are the guilty men whose lives ought to have paid the forfeit. General Jackson-God bless him-ought to have hung Calhoun, and then the seed would have been destroyed which has grown up and ripened to such a fearful harvest.

Now, fellow-citizens, in view of the enormity of this rebellion, in view of this great effort to war against and destroy our Government, what is the duty of the Government-the country-our duty? To put down the rebellion cost what it may. [Great Applause.] That's the great principle which animates us to-day. That's the pole star of our political'principles. rebellion must be put down. Nothing else must be thought of. I see nothing else, can see nothing else. It glares in my eye continually-the Union must and shall be preserved. [Enthusiastic applause.]' You may talk of mistakes, of official acts which are not strictly according to law-about violating this or that clause of the Constitution. It may be so. If so, we can punish them for it after awhile; but for the present, I repeat it, we have nothing to do but to put down the rebellion, and hold up the President's hands whilst he is trying to do it. [Applause.]

Fellow-citizens, you want to know what my politics are; there they are. They are not the growth of a day-they have been growing up in me for fortynine years; they are the outcropping of my whole nature. I have grown up from childhood to love our glorious Constitution and Union, and that love has become a passion of my nature.

I have seen in a speech made not far from this place the sentiment that we must be kind and conciliating to our Southern "brethren"; that we must not deal harshly with them, etc.

Gentlemen, up to the time that the war came, up to the time that the Rebellion became a fact, I could endorse that sentiment with all my heart. I could go with any man or set of men in effecting a com-

promise with the South. I did join, in fact, in December, 1860, in an endeavor to get up a compromise which would have satisfied the Southern people. I spent several weeks in Washington, giving my whole time to this matter, giving all my heart and energies to it, because of my love for the Union, and my hatred I thought then an honorable compromise could be effected, and I could then say "Southern brethren" with all my heart. But when they became rebels and refused compromise and flung conciliation in our face and endeavored to destroy our country, they were my brethren no longer. A rebel, a traitor, is a criminal, like a murderer, an must be put If they. come in and submit to the authority of the Constitution, I can then again hail them as brothers; but not till then. Until then they are enemies, and to be dealt with as enemies. The plea that we cannot do this or that in a war against them is absurd. We might as well say we could not do such things in a war against England or France. They have repudiated the Constitution, and are we under the same obligations to them that we would be if no war existed?

We are bound by the Constitution assuredly; but the Constitution has in it powers relating to war, and for the suppression of insurrection and rebellion, as well as other powers; and we have the power to take the same steps to put them down as we have to carry on a foreign war, and in the exercise of those powers we are just as much within the Constitution as we are an returning their fugitive slaves in time of peace.

There is nothing in the Constitution which limits or controls the conduct of the war. There is nothing

but the law of nations. And even in regard to that, the law of nations in respect to a foreign war differs from that in regard to a domestic war. We have a right to do things in a domestic war which we would not have in a foreign war. There is not a nation in the world which does not confiscate the property of rebels. It is part of the common law. This right to confiscate extends in this country with regard to lands, only to the • lifetime of the guilty person. Therefore, real estate cannot be confiscated beyond the lifetinic of the guilty parties. that restriction, the power to confiscate is absolute, and without that restriction it is absolute in every other country in the world. In a foreign war we should not possess this right. We could not confiscate the property of the citizens of France, as they would owe obedience and allegiance to their own government. But rebels, who fight against their own govemment, have not that plea. The law of the civilized world says that the property of rebels may be confis-So that, while we are bound by the law of nations, it is the law of nations as applied to a rebellion.

Now, whether confiscation is or is not expedient, is another question. I only say it is constitutional—
i. e., it is not unconstitutional.

It is not for me, gentlemen, to discuss this or that particular measure of the Administration. It is not for me to sit in judgment in matters of such minor importance. If the line of authority has been overstepped we must not stop now to punish the guilty. Now we must put down the rebellion, and restore the authority of the Constitution and laws.

Mr. Bradley then referred to the duty of every citizen to support the Government, instancing the example of the Federalists in the war of 1812, who opposed the war violently, and yet for the most part, when the war actually begun, stepped gallantly forward to lend their aid. They went forth like men, and fought side by side with Democrats, and those who then stood back, and let their hands hang idly by their sides, were forever branded as traitors to their country. [A voice, "Buchanan."]

When the country is actually engaged in a war, we must stand by the country. If the Government does wrong, even, I say, stand by it, and see the war through, and attend to the wrong afterwards. That's what we are bound to do now. Party issues are to be discarded. We should discard every issue but one, and that is-our country must be saved and the authority of the Constitution vindicated. Mr. Bradley then referred to the possibility of England and France interfering in this war. If they do, said he, we shall have a more solemn duty than ever before to perform.

The question arises, what will be our duty then? Have we ever injured them, or interfered with them during all their wars? Then what right have they to interfere with us? Neither the laws of God or of nations (except as concocted by themselves), give them any right to interfere, and if they do, it will be because they hate our institutions and will be glad to see their downfall. We are not called upon to declare a policy in advance, yet I, for one, would let those nations know that they can't interfere with us with impunity [great applause]; that there will be

blows to take as well as to give; that there are domestic dissensions and discontent in other countries as well as ours. I would let them know in advance that if they dare stir up the lion in his lair they may feel the weight of his paw. I do not say what policy should be pursued, but I will say that these are my strong convictions. Now, gentlemen, some of these remarks of mine may not be those of a politician. talk straight out and straight on. You have my views, you have them frankly, fully. Our opponents are full of the wisdom of the serpent, if not the harmlessness They profess to be in favor of the war, yet we see in their councils, in their most secret councils, men whom we know, from their antecedents, to be secessionists at heart. What they mean I don't know, but I do know that those who are heartily for aiding the Administration in carrying on the war can't be far wrong.

I deprecate party politics in a time like this. I would say to all patriotic men of every party, let us unite in this great and holy cause until peace shall be restored on the only basis on which it can permanently stand-the unity of the whole country under the old Constitution and **the old flag.** [Loud cheers.]