

To My Fellow-Citizens of Maryland:—This communication is addressed to you by me in my capacity as one of the candidates on the ticket of electors, in favor of George B. McClellan, as President of the United States, and of George H. Pendleton as Vice President.

It is my desire to show that I am performing an act of plain duty, in standing as such candidate, and to convince you, if I can, that it is the plain duty of every voter of Maryland, sincerely attached to the Union to support that ticket.

It was well known to the Democratic State Convention, when my name was selected, that I am not, and never have been, in affiliation, in any manner, with the democratic party, as a political organization. Since the dissolution of the whig party, I have belonged to no political party; but it was rightly supposed, by the respectable gentlemen who composed the Convention, that, if placed on the ticket, I would feel it my duty not to decline the nomination; but, on the contrary, would feel it to be my duty, to act with any party that professed and manifested a sincere desire to uphold the Constitution and laws. And as the Convention, in framing their ticket, rose high above and openly discarded all mere party considerations, I should have considered it as an act of unpardonable weakness on my part if I had declined the nomination upon the narrow ground that I did not belong to the democratic party. I verily believe that the great majority of democrats are true to the Union and the Constitution, and that the chief object which they are now seeking to accomplish is the preservation of both.

An unworthy motives are so freely imputed by political opponents, I deem it not unbecoming to say, in advance, that I am not actuated by personal partiality, nor by personal ill-will. I do not know Gen. McClellan, even by sight, and have had no intercourse with him, directly or indirectly. I never saw Mr. Lincoln but once. I then called upon him on business, in his official capacity as President, and was treated with courtesy and urbanity; and I parted from him with feelings of sincere personal goodwill. I make no imputations of bad motives against the President, nor against any member of the cabinet; and, widely as I differ from them on many essential points, I believe, in my heart, that they all sincerely desire to save the country, and, according to their views of policy, to promote its glory and honor and welfare.

But, as a citizen of Maryland, and as a citizen of the United States, I have not been able, for a long time past, to approve, in my conscience, the leading measures of the Administration. I have contemplated, with feelings of sorrow and sadness, many of the events of the past several years; and I cannot but anticipate, with feelings of gloom and terror, the future of our beloved country, if like measures shall continue to be pursued for the long and weary term of four years more. I desire, therefore, a change, not of men, but of measures; and this only prospect in the opportunity now afforded to the people, to choose General McClellan as the next President of the United States.

And why do I say this? Listen to me, my fellow-citizens. Read without prejudice, and ponder on what I say.

What do you understand by the restoration of the Union? Do you consider that the Union will be restored by the conquest of the rebel States, by reducing them to the condition of provinces, or of conquered countries, mere territories? Most of you want, I am sure, the restoration of the Union in its integrity—composed of all the States, in their character and condition as States, not a Union composed only of the loyal States, and this mutilated Union holding in subjection, stripped of dignity and power—a waste, desolate, death-like region—the broad tract of country composing the area of the several States in rebellion. God save our country from the body of this death. Most of you want, as I want, a union of LIVING STATES each State having its representative share in the bright and glorious constellation of THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA; and every star having life and light, and honor and glory. A Union in which the people of every State shall have their representatives on the floor of the House; and in which every State shall have its due representation in the Senate, and, clothed with dignity and power, shall be recognized as holding its proper status, possessed of all its constitutional rights.

And what are Gen. McClellan's views in relation to the restoration of the Union?—Hear him speak for himself:

"The re-establishment of the Union in all its integrity is, and must continue to be, the indispensable condition in any settlement."

Again he says: "When any one State is willing to return to the Union it should be received at once, with a full guarantee of all its constitutional rights. If a frank, earnest and persistent effort to obtain these objects should fail, the responsibility for ulterior consequences will fall upon those who remain in arms against the Union, but the Union must be preserved at all hazards."

And what are Mr. Lincoln's views, in relation to the restoration of the Union? Hear him speak for himself.

"To whom it may concern:

"Any proposition, which embraces the restoration of peace, the integrity of the whole Union, and the abandonment of slavery, and which comes, by and with an authority that can control the armies now, at war against the United States, will be received and considered by the executive government of the United States, and will be met by liberal terms on other and substantial and collateral points, and the bearer or bearers thereof shall have safe conduct both ways.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN
Now, what does Mr. Lincoln mean, in this very extraordinary paper, (and which I read, when it was first published, with sorrow of heart) as the only condition on which any overture would be received? The restoration of peace is something; but not enough; the restoration of the whole Union, in its integrity, is something; but not enough. Both peace and Union combined are very well; but not enough. The abandonment of slavery is made a sine qua non. It is all the same as if he had said, in terms: I care not for peace; I care not for the restoration of the whole Union in its integrity; I care not for both peace and Union together, unless, with the offer of peace and Union, you offer, at the same time, as an integral and indispensable part of your proposition, the abandonment of slavery. Without this, no proposition, which you may submit, will be considered; it will not even be received by me. Is not this proclaiming, as plain as plain words can express, a simple idea that this war is carried on against slavery; and will continue to be carried on until the abandonment of slavery shall be proclaimed in the South?

No warrant for this exaction can be found in any clause of the Constitution. It cannot any where be found in the Crittenden resolutions adopted by Congress; and which embody the views of as good a man, and as true a patriot, as ever breathed the breath of life, and whom I loved personally as if he had been an elder brother. It cannot be found in the famous letter of Mr. Lincoln addressed some time past to Mr. Greeley, in which he said, in substance, that he was for the Union with slavery or without slavery. It is not in my power, at this moment, to place my hands on that letter, or I would quote its precise language. It was read, I am sure, at the time, by many true lovers of the country, as a reliable assurance that the restoration of the Union under the constitution of our fathers, was the object and the only object of the war in which so much blood was being shed and so much treasure was being expended.

Mr. Lincoln, at that time, did not propose to make "the abandonment of slavery" a sine qua non a condition precedent to peace; a condition precedent to the establishment, in his own words, of the whole Union in its integrity; a condition precedent to the consideration of any proposition, both for peace and the restoration of the Union; a condition precedent even to the reception of any proposition for peace, and the restoration of the Union in its integrity. He is a man of vigorous intellect, and he fully understood what he said in that letter; and, I am sure, he then meant and felt what his language imported. But he has changed his purposes, if not his views; changed them recently; and he now announces, in language fearfully distinct and unequivocal, that the war in which we are engaged is a crusade against slavery. And why is this? Is it true that Mr. Lincoln is under the control of some overruling influence by which he is brought, unwillingly, into this humiliating condition of glaring inconsistency? One of the ablest, as he is undubiously one of the most frank, honest, and fearless of the republican party, has publicly declared that Mr. Lincoln, if elected, will be controlled by the party behind him; and which he designates as "the great and enlightened republican party—men of undying determination;" and "they," he added in the same public declaration, "will not allow him to submit or to fall." Fellow citizens of Maryland, is it so, indeed, that Mr. Lincoln, if elected, will be under the control and domination of that fierce party who will not allow him to act otherwise than as they may dictate?

Compare with the above the action of Gen. McClellan, when he replied to the committee of eminent gentlemen who gave him official information of his nomination by the Chicago Convention. He might well have abstained from going beyond the terms of the platform which that convention had adopted. But he was fearless and frank and manly; and he spoke outright, and in language plain and unambiguous, that he was for the Union,

in its integrity; for the Union, under the Constitution; for the Union, at all hazards.

I have spoken of the two candidates for the high office of President. I will now say a few words concerning the two candidates for the office of Vice-President.

I do not personally know Governor Johnson, and shall not speak of him in this address. Those who may desire to learn his views of the rights of the American citizen, and to form a just judgment of his claims to public favor, may read, with instruction, if not with pleasure, the published record of his acts and proceedings as military governor of Tennessee.

But the question may be propounded, what are the views of Mr. Pendleton in relation to the Union? I will carefully answer; and I do so the more readily because, in these days of unscrupulous vituperation, he is denounced as a secessionist, as an approver of the rebellion, as a copperhead, a disunionist, and a traitor. I know him, and have known him for some years, but not very intimately; and yet our relations have always been friendly and social, since our acquaintances commenced; and he has been accustomed to send to me, occasionally, at least, his published speeches. I am sure that I never heard him utter one word in favor of disunion; and I have no recollection of having read, in his speeches, any attempted justification or apology for secession.

It is true that he has always been opposed to the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, as both unnecessary and dangerous. I know that he expressed indignation at the arbitrary arrests of citizens, made under the actual or constructive authority of the President; and at their protracted detention in confinement. I know that he considers the Constitution to be the charter of our civil liberties, by which alone executive acts should be justified or condemned; and I know that he was touched to the quick, by certain acts, which he denounced as gross violations of that instrument. But he is, I am sure, an honest man; and although he and I may differ, and possibly may differ widely on some points of constitutional law, yet I believe his heart is sound, and that he is truly patriotic and national in his feelings and aspirations. Here I must speak for myself. I quote, from a published letter of his, of recent date, in which, from a delicacy, he declined an invitation to address a public meeting in Missouri, the following words: "I could only say, what I have often before said, that if success crowns the work of the democratic party, every aspiration of my heart would be gratified by, as every effort of my life would be directed to the preservation of the Union, the maintenance of the Constitution, and the securing of all their rights to the Nation and of all their liberties to the people." And he says again: "I quote from a letter, published in the papers of this morning, in which he says: 'I make no profession of a new faith—only repeat my reiterated professions of an old one—when I say, that there is no one who cherishes a greater regard for the Union—who has a higher sense of its inestimable benefits—who would more earnestly labor, for its restoration, by all means which will effect that end, than myself. The Union is the guarantee of the peace, the power, the prosperity of this people; and no man would deprecate more heartily, or oppose more persistently, the establishment of another government over any portion of the territory ever within its limits.' I will but add, that I am well convinced, that if he shall be elected to the elevated office, proposed to be conferred upon him, he will discharge its duties with a dignity and with honor; and to the satisfaction, as I verily believe, of all good men; and if, in the providence of God, he should be called to fill a more exalted station, I should not, as a citizen, feel any apprehension that a rash, unskillful, incompetent, unworthy hand, was about to take hold of the reins of government.

I return to General McClellan. I have already said, that I have no personal acquaintance with him; but I desire to add, that I have watched his course very carefully since he first became a prominent public man. I have confidence, undoubting confidence, that in whatever station he may be called to act, he will do his duty faithfully, conscientiously, firmly and fearlessly; and that he will, by God's help, stand by the Constitution; that he will place it near his Bible, so that he may do his duty, alike to God and his country. And I do not despair, but that, at no distant day, if he shall be elected to the high office of President, the Constitution and the Union will both be restored; and that we shall see in practical operation the only political creed which I ever professed as the true interpretation of our national form of government—and in which faith I stand today as upon a rock: "The Union of all the States, and all the States of the Union;" that we shall again become a nation, having one country and one flag; that country, "THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA," in its full length and breadth, unbroken, un mutilated; that flag, "The Stars and Stripes Banner," waving, and proudly waving; with all its stars displayed, living and bright, from the dome of the Capital of every State, from every battlement and fortress and tower in the land, and from the masthead of every American ship, in every port, and in every sea. God grant that these hopes may be realized; and that our children, and our children's children, from generation to generation, and until time shall be no more, shall continue our nation, united and free; our undivided country, the home of a happy and prosperous people, the asylum of the oppressed and the glory of all nations.

And what is now the condition of our unhappy country? But I forbear. Painful bereavements and many sorrows are the natural result of the necessary results of civil war. And as long as this war lasts, these terrible deeds will be enacted, and must, unavoidably occur. Is it not possible, by negotiation—not necessarily by armistice, but by some pact course—to end the war, and re-establish the Union, by securing to all the States their just rights, and leave to moral influences, rather than seek, by force, the abolition of slavery? Would it not be possible to embody, in a settlement of this unhappy controversy, the abolition of slavery, on fair compensation, rather than keep on fighting to the death, and involving in the fight the poor unhappy race, whose liberation from thralldom is announced as one of the main objects of the continuance of the war? And may not something be devised, better than closing our ears to all overtures; than shutting our eyes against all propositions? Is it certain, that if friends of other days grasped hands once more, and talked over all matters in dispute, in gentle and kind speech, that reconciliation is impossible?

It is worth an effort; "a frank, earnest, persistent effort." The public heart yearns for peace, even in the loyal States; and although the tone of Southern statesmen is defiant and uncompromising, yet, even their hearts, I am sure, yearn for peace; and more especially does the public heart of the South. The words of those in authority are not always true exponents of the feelings of the people. But if we will not send to them any message, and will receive none from them, what is left? War to the knife, and the knife to the heart. Is this your wish, my fellow-citizens?

If it be, then do not vote our ticket; for if elected we shall cast our vote for George B. McClellan; and he has said, and if elected he will carry it out, that he will not refuse to receive our countrymen, now in rebellion; will not refuse to receive overtures; will not refuse to consider them. And he will do more; he will send to them messengers and messengers of Peace, and will try to induce them, collectively or separately, to come back to the Union; offering them a full guarantee of all their constitutional rights.

My heart leaps at the very thought of Peace; and I call on you, my fellow-citizens of Maryland, to co-operate in the effort to open the way to its attainment. Wm. Schley.

Baltimore, October 21st, 1864.