

**Is the war a failure? The Chicago convention declared that the war against the rebellion had proved a failure ... Americans! Read these declarations of your generals in the field, and then decide whether the Chicago convention was right or wrong in pronouncing the war a failure? Published by the National Union executive committee, Astor House. New York [1864].**

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IS THE WAR A FAILURE?

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The Chicago Convention declared that the War against the Rebellion had proved a FAILURE. They put this forth as "the sense of the American People;" and on the strength of this declaration, they demanded that "*immediate efforts be made for a CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES!*"

Is this true? Is the war in which we have poured forth our blood and treasure,—in which thousands and tens of thousands of our sons and our brothers have laid down their lives,—A FAILURE? Look at the Facts:

When the rebels began the war they held everything South of the Ohio River and the Pennsylvania line, except the City of Washington,—and that City their Secretary of War declared they would take within three months. They held the State of Missouri, running up far North of the Ohio line, and the whole of the vast territory South of the line of Kansas. *Where are they now?* They have lost the States of Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, more than half of Alabama and Georgia, all the Territories, and the last ghost of a chance of ever taking Washington! *Does that look like " Failure? "*

When the rebels began the war they had seized and captured, by treachery, every fort and military post along their Atlantic seaboard, except Fortress Monroe; every one on the Gulf of Mexico, and all on the Mississippi River. Our glorious Army and Navy have taken from them every one of these forts except those that protect Charleston harbor, and every seaport except that and Wilmington. *Does that look like " Failure? "*

When they began the war they had 1,063,850 square miles of our territory in their possession; now they have only 345,666. Then they numbered 12,121,314 of inhabitants; now they number only 4,553,241. Then they counted four millions of slaves within their dominions. Our armies have

set free, or withdrawn from their control, at least half this number, and have shaken the accursed institution to its very foundations. *Does this look like " Failure? "*

They began the war with a million of fighting men—slaves tilling their fields, and allowing all their able-bodied whites to rally around the rebel standard. They had splendid officers, educated at our expense, troops thoroughly drilled in preparation for this rebellion, arms and munitions of war stolen from our arsenals, navy yards treacherously seized from us in which to fit out pirate craft to prey upon our commerce, the aid and comfort of foreign nations, and everything needed to enable and encourage them to wage a long, costly and bloody war. We have destroyed nearly every one of their armies, used up the whole of their available fighting material, exhausted their supplies of arms and of food, captured their guns, destroyed their privateers, seized their fortifications, driven them back upon the Gulf, and brought them at last to the very verge of military annihilation. *Does this look like " Failure? "*

Does this look as if the struggle was so utterly hopeless as to compel us to demand " *immediate* efforts for a CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES?" Are we reduced to *that* extremity?

What say those who know most about it? Take the testimony of the men who have been in the field, at the head of our armies, through all this long and bloody contest. Ask them if *they* think the war has proved a Failure? Read the TESTIMONY OF GENERAL GRANT:

Headquarters Armies of the United States, City Point, Va., Aug 16, 1864.

Hon E. B Washburne, —

Dear Sir: I state to all citizens who visit me that *all we want now to ensure an early restoration of the union is a determined unity of sentiment North*. The rebels have now in their ranks their last man. The little boys and old men are guarding prisoners, guarding railroad bridges, and forming a good part of their garrisons for entrenched positions. A man lost by them cannot be replaced. *They have robbed alike the cradle and the grave to get their present force*. Besides what they lose in frequent skirmishes and battles, they are now losing from desertions and other causes at least one regiment per day. With this drain upon them the end is not far distant if we will only be true to ourselves. *Their only hope now is in a divided North*. This might give them re-enforcements from Tennessee, Kentucky, Maryland and Missouri, while it would weaken us. With the draft quietly enforced, the enemy would become despondent and would make but little resistance. *I have no doubt but the enemy are exceedingly anxious to hold out until after the Presidential election*. They have many hopes from its effects. They hope a counter revolution; *they hope election of a Peace candidate*. In fact, like Micawber, they hope for something to turn up. Our peace friends, if they expect peace from separation, are

much mistaken. It would be but the beginning of war, with thousands of Northern men joining the South because of our disgrace in allowing separation. To have “peace on any terms,” the South would demand the restoration of their slaves already freed. They would demand indemnity for losses sustained, and they would demand a treaty which would make the North slave-hunters for the South. They would demand pay or the restoration of every slave escaping to the North.

Yours truly, U. S. GRANT.

Does that look like failure? When General Grant tells you that the Rebels have “their last man” in the ranks—that their fighting population is exhausted—that all we need is to *hold on* and remain united, and the end is sure and close at hand—is there any reason for the disgraceful surrender which the Chicago Convention demands? When Grant, who has fought more battles and won more victories than any other General in the war, tells you that the last hope of the Rebels is in the election of the Peace Candidate for the Presidency—that they are absolutely hopeless of success from any other quarter, is it not perfectly clear that success is within our grasp?

Does this look as if the war had been a FAILURE? Does this look as if an immediate “CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES” were necessary?

Every General in the service tells precisely the same story. Here is an extract from a letter of an officer who was with Anderson at Sumter when the Rebels fired upon it and thus began the war—who was afterwards taken prisoner, and spent some months in the Rebel States. Read this:

TESTIMONY OF GEN. SEYMOUR.

Williamstown, Mass, August 15th, 1864.

My Dear Sir: You ask for my impressions of the present condition of the Southern Confederacy, and you shall have them. For the benefit of our cause, I wish they might be impressed upon every soul in the land, that the confidence begotten of my three months' observations in the interior of the South might be shared by every man who has the least connection with the responsibilities of this struggle. And I am sure that these opinions are not peculiar to myself. *Every one of the fifty officers just exchanged will express the same*—every one of our men, whether from the jails of Charleston or the pens of Macon and Andersonville, will confidently tell the same story.

*The rebel cause is fast failing from exhaustion.* Their two grand armies have been re-enforced this summer from the last resources of the South. From every corner of the land *every old man and every*

*boy capable of bearing a rifle has been impressed, willingly or unwillingly, and hurried to the front. Lee's army was the first so strengthened—it was at the expense of Hood's.*

There is certainly no small proportion of the Southern people (despite the lying declarations of their journals—as we had good occasion to learn) that not only favors the progress of our arms, but that daily prays that this exterminating war may very soon be brought to a finality by our complete and perfect success. They have had too much of despotism—not enough of the triumph promised them. Many intelligent Southern gentlemen do, indeed, express strong hopes of their ultimate independence, *but such hope is not shared by the masses*. Disappointed from the first in not having been acknowledged by foreign powers—more bitterly disappointed in their general expectation that Northern cowardice or dissension would secure their ends— *but a single chance remains, and that is in the result of our next election for President. If a Democrat succeeds to Mr. Lincoln they profess to feel sure of negotiation and their Confederacy. They believe a Democrat will be elected.* In Mr. Lincoln's re-election they see only subjugation, annihilation—for the war must then continue, and *continuance is their failure and ruin.*

In military affairs it is an excellent rule never to do what the enemy desires; is it not equally true in politics?

Certain it is that *the only remaining hope of the South lies in Mr. Lincoln's defeat.*

*What weakness, to think we cannot conquer the South.* Behind the James, only boys and old men are to be seen, while here men buy and sell as in the olden days of quiet, and regiments of able-bodied citizens crowd the streets of our cities. There is but one course consistent with Northern safety or honor. Let the people awake to a sense of their dignity and strength, and a few months of comparatively trifling exertion, of such effort as alone is worthy of the great North, and the rebellion will crumble before us.

There are some who speak of peace!—Of all Yankees, the Southron most scorns those who do not fight—but are glad enough to employ them, as they do their slaves, to perform their dirty work. Peace for the South will be sweet indeed; for us, except through Southern subjugation, but anarchy and war forever. The Pacific, the Western, the Eastern States, would at once fall asunder. The South would be dominant; and the people of the North would deserve to be driven afield, under negro overseers, to hoe corn and cotton for Southern masters.

But no faint-hearted or short-sighted policy can set aside the eternal decree of the Almighty who has planted no lines of division between the Atlantic and the Western deserts — between the great lakes



and the Gulf of Mexico—that signify His will that we should be separated: and unless so separated, *peace is a delusion*, and its advocacy a treason against the wisest and holiest interests of our country.

And I am, very truly, yours, T. SEYMOUR, Brig.-Gen. U. S. Vols.

Mr. W. E. D., Jr., New York.

*Does that look like Failure?*

There is not a single General in the field who believes that the war is a failure, or that the way to Peace lies in a "cessation of hostilities." Every one of them knows and says that the only road to Peace and the restoration of the Union lies through a *vigorous prosecution of the War*. Read what General Sherman, the gallant soldier who has just taken Atlanta, says on that subject in a letter to the Mayor of that city. Here is the TESTIMONY OF GEN. SHERMAN.

Headquarters Military Division of the Mississippi, In the Field, Atlanta, Ga., September 12, 1864.

We must have peace, not only at Atlanta, but in all America. To secure this we must stop the war that now desolates our once happy and favored country. *To stop war we must defeat the rebel armies that are arrayed against the laws and constitution, which all must respect and obey.* To defeat these armies we must prepare the way to reach them in their recesses, provided with the arms and instruments which enable us to accomplish our purpose.

War is cruelty, and you cannot refine it; and *those who brought war on our country deserve all the curses and maledictions a people can pour out*, I know I had no hand in making this war, and I know I will make more sacrifices than any of you to secure peace But you cannot have peace and a division of our country. If the United States submits to a division now, it will not stop, but will go on till we reap the fate of Mexico, which is eternal war. The United States does, and must assert its authority wherever it has power; *if it relaxes one bit to pressure it is gone and I know that such is not the national feeling.* This feeling assumes various shapes, but always comes back to that of Union. Once admit the Union, once more acknowledge the authority of the national government, and instead of devoting your houses and streets and roads to the dread uses of war, I, and this army, become at once your protectors and supporters, shielding you from danger, let it come from what quarter it may. We don't want your negroes or your horses, or your houses or your land, or anything you have, *but we do want and will have a just obedience to the laws of the United States. That we will have*, and if it involves the destruction of your improvements, we cannot help it. You have heretofore read public sentiment in your newspapers, that live by falsehood and excitement, and the quicker you seek for truth in other quarters the better for you.

I repeat, then, that by the original compact of government the United States had certain rights in Georgia which have never been relinquished, *and never will be*; that the South began war by seizing forts, arsenals, mints, custom-houses, &c., &c., long before Mr. Lincoln was installed, and before the South had one jot or tittle of provocation. *I want peace and believe it can only be reached through Union and war* and I will ever conduct war purely with a view to perfect an early success.

Yours, in haste, W. T. SHERMAN, Major-General."

Does *that* look like Failure?

One more piece of evidence, and that shall come from the noble-hearted Democrat who was the first to proclaim, at the very outset of the war, "If any man dares pull down the American flag, shoot him on the spot." At Sandusky, Ohio, on the 26th of September, Gen. Dix made a brief speech in acknowledgment of a serenade. Read the TESTIMONY OF GEN. DIX:

"Fellow-citizens: I am very thankful to you for the honor you have done me. As I arrived here late, to-night, am engaged in public business, and shall depart at an early hour in the morning, I know you will excuse me if I limit what I have to say to a simple acknowledgment of your kindness and courtesy.

"I will say one word, however, on the subject which lies nearest the heart of every loyal man—I mean the rebellion. It has been my conviction from the beginning, that we *can have no honorable peace until the insurgent armies are dispersed* and the leaders of the rebellion expelled from the country. [Loud cheers.] *I believe that a cessation of hostilities would lead inevitably and directly to a recognition of the insurgent States; and when I say this, I need hardly add that I can have no part in any political movement of which the Chicago Platform is a basis.* [Renewed cheering and applause.] No, fellow-citizens, the only hope of securing an honorable peace—a peace which shall restore the Union and the Constitution—*lies in a steady, persistent and unremitting prosecution of the war;* [great applause] and I believe the judgment of every right thinking man will soon bring him to this conviction.

"With these few remarks, and renewing the expression of my thanks for your kindness, I bid you all good night."

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