

DEMOCRAT AND REPUBLICAN.

SLAVERY AND FREEDOM.

PAST AND PRESENT CRISES.

An Historical Address

IN BEHALF OF THE VETERAN FOUNDERS OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY UPON THE
PENDING DANGERS OF POLITICAL CORRUPTION, ANARCHICAL DISORGANIZA-
TION, AND INCREASING INTEMPERANCE OF THE PRESENT DAY.

BY

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SURVIVING PRESIDING OFFICER OF THE WORCESTER CONVENTION, JULY 20, 1854,
THAT ORGANIZED AND GAVE NAME TO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY
OF MASSACHUSETTS.

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HISTORICAL ADDRESS.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

Was thoroughly in earnest from the beginning of its organization in 1854. It then fully recognized and realized the depth of the wrongs the citizens of the North had sustained from those of the South through the surreptitious extension of African slavery, as well as the imminent danger from the same source, then menacing the Union it had always sustained and loved so well. Its honest and industrious citizens at last became tired of the unjustifiable and continuous slanders and malicious taunts of the slave-dealers of the South. Their constant and venomous threats to dissolve the Union or carry slavery by force of arms into the Northwestern free territory was irritating and galling in the extreme to the people of the North, and more so from the additional fact that that region was excluded from slavery by the original and sacred ordinance of 1787, and the Missouri compromise of 1820. They remembered that through their own negligence and credulity, and the volunteered aid of the Democracy of the North, one of those compacts had been ingeniously violated and set aside by the South, at least so far as to permit one more slave State within its bounds to be added to the Union. This only seemed to gratify but not satisfy the inordinate selfish ambition of the South, though easier to open a way for more, and finally to occupy the whole of the Pacific coast for their illegal and unrighteous purposes. Moral suasion had lost all force to touch the heart of slave-owners, petitions were of no further use as pellets of warning, and stones only thereafter could

be thrown with effect. The North rose with the terrible emergency, conscious of its whole duty, accompanied with the determination to fulfil its trust to the letter. Its original purpose was not to abolish slavery, but to save the Union and prevent the further unjustifiable extension of human bondage in Northern territory. Here and at this period of our national history we can justly claim that one great political party was formed, whose principles could not be construed into selfish or mercenary aspirations for pecuniary gain. The whole moral and religious sentiment of the North had been outraged; the peaceful Quakers, who had been so long unjustly maligned, the anti-slavery societies, containing both male and female members, who had ever been traduced, were now ready for a more effectual work, and joined the anti-Nebraska movement, and who finally came in full force to the Republican ranks. This party has already done a great work, but has much more yet to do through our successors. Its record is before the world, which, so far, has sustained its high moral purpose; and now that another emergency has arisen, it will not shrink at a full and critical examination of its past, or its recommended progressive work in the future. The two great antagonistic parties of the country are in the field of action, and are getting fully ready for the emergency.

Again the political tocsin sounds! Once more the mighty hosts of suffrage commence their earnest work. In silent but pregnant tones the ballot will soon speak, echoing East and West, North and South, from the Atlantic to the Pacific shores, the expressed will of sixty million souls. Never before in the history of the nation, and its free and united people, was this duty laden with higher or greater responsibilities. At no period of the existence of the republic was its moral or religious duty more plain or imperative, or its fidelity to the Constitu-

tion and laws more needful or pressing. The coming election and the pending crisis this time is under the undisputed rule of the civil law, uniting in one great moral and patriotic desire the whole people, to work out as a result the greatest good for the greater number. The ballot alone is to do the work without recourse to arms or any martial display of force. All will thus acknowledge that "civil law is more powerful than the sword."

The contests in the past, which have unfortunately been different, still come up before the minds of the people at the present day for justification or condemnation. So far as any party action is concerned in the past, as it may be in future, a righteous judgment cannot be justly taken or made thoroughly useful without a trial upon its merits of record, and such justification must follow as shall make it a safe guide for suffragists of the present day as well as for posterity. As Republicans, or as Democrats, we shall examine the evidence, and must again for the time abide the verdict of the people through their present judgment of merit or of party principle involved.

All nationalities within the historical scope of modern civilization have ever been controlled by political parties. Hence party creeds for us become organizers of methods, as well as originators of means and ends. Our country and government has proved no exception to this rule in the past, though no republic that we read of has ever had such gigantic moral questions to grapple with as has the United States. All opposing conflict has arisen through the pernicious effects of African slavery upon the body politic, which for a time blighted every progressive principle it sought to establish. In the midst of national blessings of the highest order secured for industrial thrift from the first, and while professing to the world personal desires of the strongest character to carry them

up to a point of perfect civilization, the unbidden curse of slavery was forced upon us by the mother country. This, for the time, became a destructive cancerous sore upon the minds of the people, visible by day to every eye, inseparable from their dreams at night, and a constant temptation at all times to degrade their own manliness by availing themselves of the gains and profits of slave labor instead of those secured by their own industry.

ORIGIN OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

The first State moving the organization of the Republican party was Michigan. She had also been first in the field to present an anti-slavery candidate for President. On the 6th of July, 1854, at the town of Jackson, with her free democracy and others, she organized and gave name to the Republican party of Michigan, which convention also brought the Whig and Freesoil parties together. It was a coalition which became permanent. Wisconsin, Ohio, Indiana, and Vermont met in convention for the same purpose on the 13th of July, and also adopted the name "Republican." Massachusetts followed July 20, 1854, at a mass convention on Worcester Common, and gave the name Republican to the new party in that State, adjourning to the 7th of September following, when state officers were nominated. New York followed on the 17th of October by convention of Democrats, Whigs, Freesoilers, and Free Democrats at Angelica, Alleghany County, and there took the name Republican, and the other Northern States soon followed. A synopsis of the principles and platform of the new party would be substantially as follows: —

The preservation and maintenance of the Constitution and Union at all hazards.

The enforcement of the laws against the African slave

trade, which were constantly being violated by the South by the smuggling of negroes from Cuba and other places, and consigning them to perpetual servitude.

The restriction of slavery within its then present bounds South, and prohibiting it in any new States north of 36° 30', as provided in the Missouri compromise.

Abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia.

Excluding slavery from Kansas and Nebraska territories by the constitutional means within the reach of all lovers of freedom.

Repealing or modifying the fugitive-slave law.

In two of the States, namely, Michigan and Massachusetts, at the same time additional resolutions were passed for suppressing the traffic in intoxicating drinks and using the moral force of the States and government for progressive temperance. They also adopted in various forms the recognized principles of the Whig party in regard to the protection of labor, mechanical industries, a tariff, internal improvements, and a banking currency system, followed by the future enfranchisement of women.

All these principles still remain to the Republican party, together with the addition of those for the full protection of the freedmen in the South, thousands of whom are now being unjustly convicted of crime without adequate proof, and are consigned to chain-gangs of servitude worse than slavery. The Republican party had not far to step to raise itself above one class of agitators both North and South, who from the days of Washington were, and still are, the curse of all good government, of moral and religious progress, of the support of the laws of civilization. They were of that body of restless citizens who early represented

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Who were lawless anarchists themselves, and who even became the ready unprincipled tools of party. This class exists to-day, and are working through anarchical teachings to demoralize all who come within their reach and influence. It was these who subverted the morals of the South on the subject of slavery, turned slanderers of the North to cover up their own infamy, and found sympathizers enough to echo their selfish schemes North, and try to uproot the political principles of all governments that did not pander to their selfish, avaricious, and gross passions. Although such have ever formed but a small proportion of the people, either North or South, they have, through their restless activity, sought to rule the better class with whom they associated in industrial pursuits or as servants of politicians, although personally doing but very little work to repay their employers for wages demanded. The industrious, temperate, and frugal associates of the latter, though numbering three to one, found it very difficult to keep independent of this pernicious influence thrust upon them, as they were constantly beset, laughed at, and ridiculed for obeying the higher laws of their being, both civil and moral. In addition to this, they thronged to large cities, and were ready at all times to barter their votes for expected "hoodle," or for positions where they could get three times the value for the little labor performed. A great many of the lower order went further than that, and stooped to sink every principle of self-respect by voluntarily throwing themselves in winter upon public institutions for their support. No parallel can ever exist between such and the real industrious laborer, mechanic, or trader, whose labor always has formed the better part of the capital of the country, and upon which

larger dividends were daily paid than upon simple pecuniary capital, and from whom emanate some of the highest and strongest patriotic citizens and principles that can build up and maintain good civil government. Parties that encourage and support a bad class of people must be held responsible for the injuries and evils which follow them. Although the majority of the people of the South did not comprehend the fatal effects of the use of such politicians, and as a mass were entirely above them in principle, they had to suffer, and will still have to suffer, for the encouragement and support given them. The North at the present time is realizing bitterly the consequence of the degrading influences of this order, the terror of which now forms a crisis which will have to be met, and the consequences overcome, or the North will soon have to pay as great a penalty for their ignorance or acquiescence as the South has heretofore done. There is no higher political duty that the veterans of the party can urge attention to, than that of combining at once all efforts, and, as one branch of permanent future patriotic labor, overthrow the corruptionists standing in the way of municipal and industrial reform. Large towns and cities, and some manufacturing districts, are now beset by a class of roystering and demoralized anarchists, that are more dangerous to good and honest government than were the so-called Democratic societies of the olden time.

WHAT CLASS THEN HAS BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR SLAVERY AND
ITS CONSEQUENCES?

We answer, first, the people who constituted the Democratic societies. Political science was in the beginning of our government, what it now is, a divine law, and can never be changed. Our fathers fought bravely for its support, as well as for the civil liberty they permanently secured

to themselves and us, against Tories and anarchists, through the revolutionary conflict. Time has proved that their work in political and social life, though stupendous, was not like ours of the present day, neither were its emergencies the same under the great practical tests of human progress, as a preliminary factor of future national civilization. Much more is expected from us than from them, while fighting for their liberties, while we have a settled permanent government behind us, and the higher law exacts from us the full measure and weight of our moral, civil, and religious obligations. Parties were necessarily new at the beginning of our present national government, and their character was as peculiar as were the circumstances under which they were formed and the men who constituted them. Washington, at least in his public administration of the government, was not a party man, though his cabinet was divided in its views. John Adams and Thomas Jefferson were strong men and true patriots, but were never formed by nature or education to belong to the same political party; while Alexander Hamilton, by his genius, would have formed a party by himself if suffered to work through his own individuality. All these statesmen, though disagreeing with each other, in many respects belonged to Washington's cabinet, and to each he was warmly attached. They with thousands of others, leading men of the country, were anti-slavery men.

FEDERALIST and REPUBLICAN were the parties formed at the beginning of the government; there was no Democratic party at that time. The "nearest approach to the name was that of DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES," who were sympathizers with the French Jacobins, but who were not countenanced by any other party, from their exceedingly radical sentiments low dissolute habits, and perpetual riotous

conduct. Adams was a Federalist, and Jefferson a Republican; to which parties they belonged until their death, which occurred on the same day, on the 50th anniversary of the independence of the United States. With them died, practically, both of the political parties they represented.

Where is the evidence that Jefferson was ever a Democrat, as often claimed in the modern sense of party names? He wholly ignored the Democratic clubs, as did Washington, Adams, Madison, and Monroe. All of the principal founders of the government that did not compose it, from the Northern and part of the Southern States, were practically anti-slavery men. Madison and Monroe through their administrations accomplished but little, with all their most favorable opportunity to found new and permanent parties. The moral of human slavery, however, had been fully settled in the minds of the civilized world, and since the emancipation of our own slaves during the war of the rebellion, other nations have followed in the same path of emancipation and freedom from involuntary servitude, and lately Brazil has freed her million of slaves. That slavery was one of the greatest clogs to civilization and the humanity of modern times, impious in the sight of God, destructive of every principle of human progress, and a curse to any national prosperity, few will now deny. We may consider that point fully proved and the question permanently settled. If we needed any support on that subject we have only to refer to the makers of the Constitution and the whole leading statesmen of the country who PERMITTED the continuance of slavery, which they were unable to extinguish, but which they felt would be CONFINED TO THE TERRITORY IT THEN OCCUPIED, and from its very unprofitableness would soon be killed out. It was not from absence of the conviction that slavery was a great sin that led or permitted the

fathers to agree to its continuance for a season, but because it was for the time being property, that, by the bill of rights, could not be disturbed, which forced them to accept what they could not avoid in the bond. One great moral wrong they committed by excluding the word "SLAVE" from the Constitution. It should have been printed in double-leaded red letters as a visible reproach, the moral benefit of which was needed by them and their successors. Such sugar-coated impiety as that should never be overlooked in estimating the great and true value of the moral influence of the old parties of the country, be they constituted of whom they may. Under such circumstances, and soothing themselves with the idea that slavery would soon die out of itself instead of increasing, the fathers launched the ship of state, leaving it for their children to save her from being wrecked upon the rock-bound and treacherous coast of commercial greed, as we now leave its future interest and work to posterity.

"FREEDOM AGAINST SLAVERY."

Was the watchword of the better class of people North and South, and before the Declaration of Independence a voice from South Carolina, as well as from other districts, with that of many individual statesmen of high character, was heard for emancipation throughout the States; but the mother country forbade it, and continued to prohibit such an interference with commerce even up to the peace of 1783. Royalty had established slavery in the British colonies, and participated in the profits of the slave trade, and was willing only to give up the traffic when it became pecuniarily unprofitable. After the peace and the ordinance of 1787, in which Jefferson attempted to fix a limit to slavery in the United States, and the adoption of the Constitution of 1789, and when servitude had been fixed and a fugitive-slave law enacted, time was given

for a review of the past, and gigantic aggressive schemes of slave-owners for the increase of that institution in the future. Ten years, alas, had not elapsed before an entirely new aspect was given to slavery by the advance of the value of the cotton, sugar, and rice crops of the extreme South. It only needed the cotton-gin, which soon followed, to complete the craze, and blind the eye of their previous moral and religious faith, so that the Christian Church, which before had been anti-slavery, was fully converted to the new mercenary faith that slavery, as a condition, was a DIVINE ORDINANCE. It was then that the restless renegades of the

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Both North and South, who had failed to get any standing with respectable political or social organizations, rushed first to the extreme South as a fertile field, for their selfish designs for entrapping both whites and blacks in some form of perpetual service to their own lust for greed and gain. Many were sailors, some of whom had been engaged in the slave trade, some in piracy, some in the army, some living with the Indians, to whom they sold slaves, and some as thieves and gamblers. A worse class never lived in any country, from which to form a nucleus for a political party, and especially if based upon the extension of slavery. Above these was often found a leading set of men who had better control of their appetites and passions, but who were perfectly devoid of all feelings of humanity as individuals; who acted as political or party go-betweens from the slave stealer or importer, and the planter or factor, who moved the crops. As a rule, the planters themselves were a good set of people, and, with some exceptions, were a highly respectable class; but on the subject of slavery and the profits of slave labor they

in many cases became morally blind, and accused the North of their own infirmity. A race of slave-dealers, negro-drivers, and plantation masters thus grew up as a class. From this original set of desperadoes there sprang an organized horde of low political tricksters who forever after led, so far as they were able, the more honest southerners on to the commission of all the tragic follies they afterwards had to become responsible for. They were the acting pioneers in establishing new plantations, girdled from the wilderness, and getting up and keeping alive not only slavery itself, but as furnishing a cover for their own infamy, as agents for generating jealousy and hate towards the North for asserted but imaginary wrongs. It is true that to the end of the slave power this class of people were as much detested and ignored by the respectable citizens of the South as the same class are now despised in the Northern States. The slave trade was still continued, and there must be a perpetual market for them, and so the demand for an enlarged field for slavery was constantly agitated. More slaves, and more territory upon which to raise and work them, was the constant cry of the slave-driver. During this period the INCREASE OF SLAVERY AS A POLITICAL ENGINE to get and keep control of the whole country was conceived. Such increase was planned and forced by all the power possessed by this class of low and sordid debauchees, as proved by the obvious mixture of white blood through the black race. The first great difficulty with the planter, upon the great increase of his living chattels, besides the mixture of blood, grew out of the promiscuous intercourse of the slaves themselves outside of the marriage relation, nearly half of the children being born illegitimate. This created difficulties in the Church which were never after fully overcome. Another difficulty arose from the frequent necessity of parting families, which was often done

to supply distant plantations, sometimes by members of the same family, but more often to strangers settling upon lands sold by speculators, with a certain number of slaves to be furnished, and be paid for at future times from the crops raised. For this sin conscience was ever after sensitive, but it soon became calloused over at least on the outside. Thus the lowest order of whites, commonly called by the slaves "white trash," became the agitators for more slave territory, and who in time played directly into the hands of the political wire-pullers. It was as much a part of their policy to deceive the respectable planters as to the true character of the people of the North, as it was to struggle to induce them to exertion to acquire new slave territory. Posterity have not these difficulties to encounter as successors of the veterans of the party in the great work they leave the people charged with.

THE WHOLE NORTH WAS MALIGNED AND SLANDERED,

And arraigned as the worst enemies of the South, while they were in reality their best friends. No real aggressions were made by the North against the South or slavery, at this time, while the institution was increasing from thousands to millions of slaves, and the territory purchased for extension was equal to a dozen more new slave States. In 1776 there were 450,000 slaves; in 1790, 700,000; in 1830, 3,250,000; and in 1860, 4,000,000. The more land grants the South received the more they wanted, and the greater and louder their denunciations of the North as aggressors, when there was no real aggression at all, the right of petition up to that time being practically all that was claimed by the North. Democratic societies were not confined to the Southern States, nor was the character of its individual members any better North than in the South. They were the bane of Washington's administration, as well, really, as of all

others since. They were at the bottom of the Whiskey-ring rebellion in Pennsylvania, and they have ever since come to the front in the same way in other States that sought in any sense by law to prevent the evils of intemperance. The abuse of Washington by these societies was incessant. They were perfectly lawless as nullifiers, seditionists, and secessionists, and insidiously attempted to obstruct the execution of the orders of the President, who finally had to call out the militia, and orders were on the same day issued to the Governors of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, for their respective quota of twelve thousand men. Happily that insurrection of anarchists was quelled without bloodshed through the wisdom and discretion of the President. Washington in his anguish said, "I had no conception that parties would, or even could, go the lengths I have been witness to, nor did I believe until lately that it was within the bounds of probability, hardly within possibility, that, while I was using my utmost exertions to establish a national character of our own, to preserve this country from the horrors of a desolating war, I should be accused of being the enemy of the nation, and that, too, in such exaggerated and indecent terms as could scarcely be applied to a Nero, to a notorious defaulter, or even to a common pickpocket." Such was the opinion of the father of his country of the Democratic societies of that day.

The honest and patriotic portion of both POLITICAL PARTIES OF THAT DAY then united as one man under Washington, and summarily put down the seditionists and nullifiers, who were opposed to good government. To be sure, these were no worse than those agitators of the present day who inherit the same principles from foreign and domestic anarchists, and who would pollute every fountain of industry or morality by the wantonness of

their dissolute habits and dissipation. It was this class more than any other which brought about the war of the rebellion of 1861, though then under the assumed control of the Democratic party, and they carried the mass of misguided Southerners with them, who were at least then fully protected by the Union and Constitution.

AS VETERANS OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY,

We should not fear the examination of the old party record if we demand justification, and the Democratic party should not blame us for laying their older, longer record open again, for the vindication of our own, while they were always the proved aggressors by the extension of slave territory. Besides all this, there is now a pending crisis more important to the future interests of the country than is generally understood by the people, and party principle and its record should be made perfectly plain to their understanding. We believe this, and in turning over our interests in the party management to the patriotic young, it becomes our sacred duty to prove the justice of our own action in the past, as well as to inspire an active and just work for them, to make even a better record in future of their own. The early plotters for the extension of slavery, and acquiring new territory for its growth, well knew they were transcending the laws of both God and man, and consequently their consciences were kept in perpetual action and anxiety for the result. This feeling extended in a measure to the planters themselves. Not a sentiment could be uttered adverse to the principles of slavery either North or South without stirring up the vials of wrath of the slave-dealers, though then perfectly secure in their unholy work. Even the peaceful Quakers or free negroes could not get a petition recognized by Congress, expressive

merely of their conscientious views on the subject of slavery, without being menaced by Northern Democrats, who generally decided the questions by their own vote against the right of petition. For forty years no greater or more formidable method of attack was made by anti-slavery sympathizers, even in the face and eyes of the fact that though the slave trade became punishable by death, 14,000 slaves from Africa and the West Indies were smuggled into the South in one year and doomed to perpetual servitude, notwithstanding the French and British governments by treaty maintained large fleets on the African coast to prevent their abduction. All this was an aggression against the North as well as humanity, and in direct violation of both the laws of God and man, as personally witnessed by many of us, for thirty years constant visitors and doing business with the South.

NEW FIELDS FOR SLAVERY.

The first new field that could be opened for a prolific harvest was the Louisiana territory. Jefferson had many misgivings about its purchase, both on account of his doubts of constitutional authority and the great number of new States that could be opened within it to slavery; but he finally acceded to the popular clamor of the South for its purchase, which was concluded in 1803 for \$15,000,000. This sum, increased afterwards materially by land grants and other expenses, made it a very heavy tax upon the government. There was more necessity for this purchase in a commercial sense than any of the subsequent acquisitions, the treaty for the free navigation of the Mississippi river being insufficient for our commercial purposes. The worst feature was its acting as an opening wedge sixteen years afterwards in the purchase of Florida, which cost \$5,000,000, and entailed an additional

expense which attended the war against the Seminoles of \$30,000,000 more. A much larger expense attended the forced and unjustifiable acquisition of Texas, a quarter of a century later, at a nominal price of \$10,000,000 at the start, supplemented by \$15,000,000 afterwards, and a war with Mexico which cost \$100,000,000 more and the lives of thousands of our soldiers. The great increase of slavery between these periods ought to have satisfied the slave-dealer as well as the politician that stood between him, the Democratic North, and the government. The territory under the ordinance of 1787, which would of itself have furnished sufficient land for slave enterprise and cultivation, and which Jefferson himself would have saved from slavery, was not sufficient to satisfy the traffickers of human blood; hence the before-named acquisitions. The slow and proper course pursued by negotiations was not fast enough to secure Florida, and General Jackson was sent down to violate the laws of Spain and endanger a war, before the treaty of purchase could be made. A greater wrong than this was perpetrated in securing Texas, which would make six or seven slave States, for by the laws of Mexico, slavery was prohibited there, and the initiation of the subject grew out of the double plot to wrench the Territory from Mexico by force, and then consign it to slavery within the United States.

All this time no acts of hostility were instituted in the North against the rights of the South, nor any official action except the claims for right of petition. And yet the South constantly arraigned the North as their most bitter enemy, and denounced both their principles and action in unmeasured terms of bitterness. It has been admitted by the slave-holders of the South that up to 1820 not the least act of aggression was committed by the North, and John C. Calhoun carries the

date more than ten years further off, the first anti-slavery party having been established in Philadelphia in 1835. We confine all aggressions to the single one of John Brown's raid in Virginia much later.

COMPROMISE WITH SLAVERY.

The Missouri compromise was one of the expedients resorted to for making more slave States, for which Calhoun gave his vote, afterwards to regret and denounce. Thomas Jefferson called the measure a political trick, and its fate we certainly may characterize, first, as a political comedy by its enactment, and a judicial farce in its overthrow. It was worse than this, for it was a fraudulent imposition upon the morals of the people, and an insult to the government. During these times Calhoun seemed to have forgotten his former action upon nullification and secession, brought forward in 1830, as also the personal threat of General Jackson, the President, to hang him, although he had resigned the office of Vice President of the United States. The Democratic party, whether it will or not, must take the responsibility from its modern creation by General Jackson of all future measures to increase both slaves and slave territory. The slave-owner had seemed dazed with greed at the great amount of pecuniary wealth from the increase of slavery. It blinded the eyes of their humanity, clouded their conscience, and made them become heartless to the natural rights of their slaves. The lower order of their citizens became infatuated with the idea of MAKING IT A TRIUMPHANT POLITICAL POWER to control the whole country, both North and South. In admitting the new States subsequently, it was claimed that as slavery existed within the boundaries before, that, as a matter of course, it must become a State institution. The North might with the same

propriety claim that slaves were free in South Carolina, because in 1760 she passed an ordinance prohibiting the further importation of African slaves.

FEDERALISTS AND REPUBLICANS.

James Monroe was claimed as both a Federalist and a Republican, but had no sympathy with the Democratic societies. They remained, as to political standing, a forlorn hope, and were deservedly despised and ignored by all other parties. During Monroe's administration they still kept up the slavery agitation, crying for new slave States South, and against the industrial institutions of the North. Through the administration of John Quincy Adams, although the slavery agitation went on, the country enjoyed a more than usual degree of prosperity in agriculture, commerce, and manufactures. The Erie canal bade fair to open the great Northwest to new and important commercial and agricultural interests, as since proved, and was one of the best of all the plans made then for great internal improvements, and which the ranker portion of the Democratic societies opposed. Washington had recommended a similar measure by a canal from the Potomac to the Ohio river. At this time the new elements began to combine for the formation of the Whig and Democratic parties. A tariff and other bills of improvement and protection were successfully passed during this administration.

It will be remembered, that early in life Mr. Calhoun contended with as much force and eloquence for a liberal construction of the Constitution as later for a narrow one. In 1818 he was the great champion of a national bank, a protective tariff, and internal improvements, and it was not until the radicalism of the Democratic societies abated, and the interests of his State changed, that he modified his own

action in relation to both these principles. The South, headed by Washington himself, approved the principle of a liberal construction of the Constitution, and of protection and internal improvements, as finally adopted by the Whig party. The South kept up the agitation for secession to cover up their domestic struggles with slavery at home, frighten the North, and convert the religious mind to the belief that the institution of slavery was one of godly construction. The wealth of the South increasing so rapidly, through the increase of slave labor and agriculture, felt that they needed no tariff protection, and as they could not manufacture with slave labor, that the North must not only protect themselves, but buy their cotton, rice, and sugar of them, while struggling with foreign competition in all their industrial institutions.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

When Andrew Jackson became President his own will became the law. He began by a tyrannical rule created by the first opposition to his policy. His character, though morally good, and his principles just, was completely transformed by any opposing dictation from others. The Democratic societies rushed to him like sycophants, and he unwittingly embraced a set of vipers and took them closely to his bosom. They thus became the first radical outer leaf to the new Democratic party, while their associates in the North, equally degraded, became the second, and between which covers the better portion of the real Democracy of the Union became and has ever remained sandwiched. This class has cost the party much. Railers and disunionists South, infused only by the baser passions; anarchists and disorganizers North, steeped in whiskey and selfish lusts, have claimed and received protection from the great mass of the Democratic party, who assume, prob-

ably with justice, as high respectability as any other class of people in the United States, but who have countenanced this class so long that if they would, they could not rid themselves of the associations, and who have had to partake of the odium and wrong which was sure to follow the lead of such, in their political organization.

Neither Jackson nor any other of the great leaders of the party had any real sympathy with them, nor did the honest mass of the people who were obliged to associate and vote with them. But this body has ever had great influence in promoting the difficulties which the party, in defiance of all their claimed greatness and goodness, have had to father. It is this class now existing through the country that is slowly but surely building up another great political crisis. If they prevail, adieu to good government; if not, it will be through an associative party of sympathetic principle, and which really combine three quarters of the nation in one bond of moral, religious, and temperate support of law and order, of industry and thrift, of education and the practical knowledge of good citizenship. Such a class do now constitute the moral of the republic, and if selfish party leaders would let them alone, and suffer them to combine and act together, we should have a government that can and will be a pattern to the civilized world.

ANDREW JACKSON

Had his good qualities, and they were many, but his character was so inconsistent with any logical or practical sequence that his whole life was one of confusion to himself, and a source of disappointment to his friends. He was brave, fearless, frank, affectionate, and honest; yet his violent temper and ungovernable passion, with his natural overbearing disposition, led him to be distrusted and feared

by many of his strongest political adherents. He was very credulous, and, if led through his impulses and feelings, could easily be imposed upon from his lack of ordinary discernment and diplomatic shrewdness. Martin Van Buren, sometimes termed a political mountebank, was his successor in office. He understood his character well, and through his cunning laid out the way for getting near to the heart of the President long before his own personal association would have warranted it. He became Secretary of State and subsequently minister to England. When Mr. Calhoun vacated the Vice President's office, Mr. Van Buren felt sure of the position, and fully aspired to what he subsequently accomplished, a seat in the presidential chair. General Jackson was a strong Unionist, and the attempts of the South to secede were met by him with the full force of his character in opposition, and the determination to put down the secession element at all hazards. The name Democrat was still unpopular in the South, and in many places in the North, as representing only a low order. For a time the President did not seem to be aware that the Vice President was plotting against the Union, and this, too, through the aid of the very pro-slavery Democrats of the South, that his administration was giving for the first time a party name. When he did learn the truth there was no limit to his wrath. There was to be no compromise personally between the two heads of the government, on account of having been elected on the same ticket, or their former private friendship. The President called the Union Whigs to his aid, and they were able to meet South Carolina, both in the Senate and the House of representatives, with an overwhelming opposing force.

Daniel Webster, as a champion of the Constitution and Union, won world-wide laurels with his oratorical artillery and intellectual logic, against the representatives of South Caro-

lina and their Democratic dough-faced assistants from other States. For once the South got enough of the fight, and for a short time laid down their arms, though the sordid avarice of their political masters, backed by an annual increase of slaves averaging over fifty thousand per year, were not permanently killed out, but slumbered for a greater effort further on. Governor Adams of South Carolina frankly came out in favor of opening the slave trade. General Jackson, through the importunity of his new Democratic party friends, made a perfect overturn of the civil and legislative management of the government. In these important measures he was again led by the lower order of politicians in his party. They clamored for position and office, and got up the most infamous charges against old office-holders, so that the President, after having become alive to the subject, entered upon wholesale removals and made a clean sweep. He also re-organized the Supreme Court of the United States to suit his own wilful purpose. During his administration he made six hundred and ninety removals in eight years, to sixty-four in the forty-four past years. This was an outrage which the lamented Pendleton and the brilliant Cox tried at a recent date to correct by Civil Service Reform; but the example had gone forth, and to-day, so far as the Democratic party is concerned, the principle is a nullity. Martin Van Buren came to the Presidency pledged to follow in the steps of "his illustrious predecessor," but made no improvement in the affairs of the government, and the South again began to cry aloud for secession. The disturbance in the mercantile and financial world became so great that there was such a financial crash as the country had never witnessed before. The South at this time had the best of it.

THE GREAT INCREASE IN VALUE OF NEGROES

As property, had begun to be sensibly felt, and the independence of the planters was only retarded by their customary habit of over-indebtedness to their factors, who, having stock in hand, were always willing to credit them, and who felt secure, pecuniarily, at all times. The income from their slaves was not simply for work done, for their progeny brought as much as their labor, yielding them \$20,000,000 per year. A healthy child of six years of age would bring four hundred dollars in the market, and this not only swept away the sacredness of all family relations, but often irrevocably separated parents and children forever to the four quarters of the slave territory.

The work of admission of new slave States went on. Webster and Clay, and many other of the great statesmen, understood very well what was being done, but were unable to resist the wave of slaveocracy. They were willing to give them all they were entitled to under the Constitution, for peace and continued Union, but the fight not being with the South alone, but now included the Democratic party of the North, who were open champions for the extension of slavery, and generally secured a majority vote against them, they found it difficult to confine the subject to its proper limits.

THE WHIG PARTY,

Claiming always to act in support of the Constitution, but always opposed to the African slave trade or its extension, had much influence South, but was felt to be too conservative on the slave question, particularly on account of the odium attached to the new name of the Democratic party by their friends South, or the anti-slavery associations North.

Many of the richer merchants of the North had strong pecuniary interests with the South through the cotton trade, some of whom were influential Whigs, who sympathized with the South and were willing to aid them in retaining their constitutional rights; but the anti-slavery sentiment had grown so strong as to leave them but little influence at home.

In 1840, the moral sentiment of the North became so strong against the extension of slavery that for the first time there became in national politics a triangular warfare, through the introduction of an anti-slavery candidate for President. The Democratic party were the open champions of the slave power, as they had always before been as individuals. They seemed willing to pander in abject servitude to the tastes of the pro-slavery South. The whig party maintained their ground as Constitutionalists, and elected their candidate, General Harrison, although the anti-slavery party had already become formidable as a moral influence, though doing nothing outside of moral suasion to endanger the institution of slavery. The death of General Harrison in one month after his inauguration, and the succession to the Presidency of John Tyler, resulted in a chaotic confusion of parties, and opened the way for greater Democratic pro-slavery success in 1844, by the election of James K. Polk for President, against Henry Clay, the Whig candidate. Many of the living veterans of the Republican party gave their first vote with the Whigs for General Harrison as the nearest hopeful step towards freedom.

ADMISSION OF TEXAS.

Texas, according to the popular Southern orators, must then be added to the Union of States, with its probability of five more to be subsequently made from it. The Democratic

party "buildd greater than they knew," for the victorious general of the Mexican war was elected President by the Whig party in 1848. Martin Van Buren was chagrined and mortified that his friends did not give him a second term, and and to pay them off he doubled the track, went back on himself and his pro-slavery principles, and became most willing to run as a candidate for President upon the Free-soil ticket of 1848. This really elected General Taylor, and finally made Millard Fillmore President at his death, who was one of Van Buren's most bitter enemies. The death of General Taylor and the succession of Millard Fillmore again aroused the South to a perfect fury, and "Secession and disunion" was the watch-word of the South, only amended by the Democracy of the North by the substitution, "Union and slavery," as their war cry. If the South had, even with their three million slaves, and territory enough on which to double that number, been satisfied, it is probable the institution would never have been disturbed; but no! Its perfect dominion through all coming time must be secured, and from that moment there was scarcely a political leader of the Democratic party in the South that did not intend to sever the Union of States at all hazards, for and through the imaginary fears that at some time and some hour the North would prevail against them and overthrow slavery. They were right only in the result, and not the cause, for it was Providence itself, and not the North, that did it, for as then constituted, it could never have abolished slavery with all the sentiment that the Anti-slavery party could have brought to bear against slavery in the South.

Webster, Clay, Seward, Chase, and other tried and distinguished constitutional statesmen of the Whig and Democratic parties, tried their utmost to avert the doom awaiting secession, but could not succeed, and the death of the Whig

party soon followed that of some of its most distinguished founders. Franklin Pierce, a Democrat of the Jackson character without his energy of purpose, became President in 1852, and gave the South all it could wish to protect its nearly 4,000,000 slaves and make full preparation, under his own blinded eyes, but not wholly secret, for a final separation. James Buchanan followed him as President in 1856, and kept the gate open for what he believed peaceable disunion, if desired. There is a mystery yet unsolved in regard to the means the fire-eaters of the Democratic party South intended to use to accomplish their ends. Let it be understood that the lowest class of the party, both North and South, always assumed to control the elections, and they were sometimes looked to in turn by the higher political managers to accomplish work which their own conscience and self-respect would never either organize or execute. This should be coupled with the fact that the large majority of the honest members of the Democratic party or citizens, North and South, not politicians, who generally acquiesced, were led on with the current, never did nor could understand its secret main-springs or philosophic principles, if it had any, and were held in darkness as to its interior movements, and so far as ignorance of the fact was concerned, were not responsible morally for the results.

NARROW ESCAPE OF THE UNION IN 1856.

The feeling became widespread, after the election of Buchanan and Breckenridge, that there was an attempt upon the life of the President before his inauguration, which, if it had succeeded, would have made Breckenridge President. In such case it would have been a miraculous escape from disunion, if the Union had even been preserved or saved at all. Just before Mr. Buchanan was inaugurated he and a number of

others were badly poisoned at the hotel where they were boarding, and a number died. Some suffered many months afterward under what was already proved to be poison by strychnine.

Mr. Buchanan was taken very ill the same day, and, though but little was said about it, those that were with him felt very anxious about his recovery. A gentleman sitting at his side at the table was sick at times for six months, although he was, as also Mr. Buchanan, able to keep about, the spasms continuing at intervals for that length of time. Later tragic occurrences have proved the possibility that some of the lowest of pro-slavery partisans were bad enough to take life itself to accomplish its despicable ends. As it was, the poor old man lived to see the Union dissolved, so far as the secessionists of the South could do so, by their own bold ordinances and resort to arms; his favorite steamer, bearing the pet name of his friend, was the first to receive a shot whose thunder presaged the final doom of slavery. Although the South had thus far been the victors, had nearly practically overcome the North in the right of petition, the moral suasion of the anti-slavery societies, whom they accuse of all the wrongs they had themselves committed against humanity and the American Union, — had increased their slaves from 450,000 to 4,000,000, and the possibility of carrying them up to indefinite numbers, and with territory to employ them, they still wanted more, and in defiance of all human right and virtue sent their armed minions to Kansas and Nebraska, to fix slavery upon sacred free territory. They were justifiably smitten hip and thigh, and at last paid a bitter penalty for their temerity in attacking the North by force of arms, whom they had ever traduced as cowards, and whom they found able to fight in war, as well as to petition and implore in peace, for the common rights of suffering humanity.

THE TRADITIONS OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

have always been held to with much tenacity, and often in their platforms have been mentioned as sheet-anchors to their political faith. What these are in detail that they should value, is hard to find out and understand. If they reach back to the beginning of the Revolution they find no living representation bearing the name. Such they were who afterwards joined the Democratic societies, of whom Washington speaks so plainly. In the early part of the revolutionary contests they were the cow-boys of the Hudson, the guerrilla renegades of the South, and the low terrorists of New England, who followed the army at a safe distance to themselves, committing all sorts of depredations, both to private citizens and army squads, gathering supplies, and who skulked around the liquor depots as drunkards and anarchists. Certainly the great Democratic party of the present day would not recognize or claim a lineage from such as these. If they laid claim to any fixed principles of commercial policy, protection, finance, or internal improvements, after the government was established, their record would be simply a negative to all that other parties assumed to do. If the question was one of credits or paper currency, the Democratic societies would cry nothing but SPECIE, when there was no specie in the country. If for internal improvements, not a dollar would be spent for international roads, canals, or improvements of rivers or harbors, though no products raised in the interior of many of the States could be got to market. As to protection of labor and manufacturers, the rabble wanted none, for honest work was out of the question with them, and slaves, both North and South, must be kept to do service in that capacity. The Democratic party of the present day, when they examine the old record,

will find nothing through TRADITION to give them comfort, credit, or moral support. Before the war of the rebellion, even after the days of Jackson, this class preferred to encourage MORE SLAVES, and the annexing of more SLAVE TERRITORY rather than support industry North. This has been the great and fatal mistake of the Democratic party, which should have been a progressive leader of civilization, instead of a participant with the low order of a minority of its disorganizing followers, who attached themselves to it and claimed its protection.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

At the time of the formation of the Republican party in 1854 was that of a perfect union with the pro-slavery South, and their selfish interests. There were no private or political measures for the increase of slavery or slave territory, or for the protection of slavery, that Northern Democrats were not willing to pass. Their position was perfectly defiant, while that of the South was ever aggressive. The hate of the Southern slave-driver towards all citizens of the North who were not in sympathy with their accursed institution, was cankered, constant, and despotic. Their malignity was fairly gangrened with venom, reacting within their own breasts upon hearts self accused, and tortured at every voluntary throb. Humanity as a motive power had died out, and the woe-stricken slaves under their lash were made to bleed the more that Northern sympathy, though known to the master, could not reach through his stony heart the abject suffering martyrs of slavery. Already the garnered wealth of flesh and blood had made their souls plethoric with greed, yet "more! more! more!" was the constant cry of avarice within their iron pulse-beating hearts.

What did the lower order of the Democracy of the North

say in sympathy with all this? Press on, press on, it is all in the BOND, the pound of flesh is yours, but the drop of blood shall not flow! The inciser we have shown you how to forge and helped you use draws no blood, for it cauterizes as it cuts, and the bow-string could do no better. Give us political power and dominion with your votes, and we will return you gains of an hundred fold, the drop of blood that would have flown will quickly multiply and be your harvest; you shall also be dressed in purple and fine linen, and sit in high places with us, and share, yes share liberally in all, except the "boodle." While your home guard keeps up the false war cry of oppression, wrong, and aggression from the North, and talk secession, and make them think you mean it, we in the mean time will march with you over Jefferson's promised deadline, and you can follow with your slaves into the free territory, and perhaps, as you have before said, some time, may reach Bunker Hill with them, — who knows? Our national guns are very near that point to protect you. We got Missouri for you, Kansas and Nebraska, with a constitution to suit, comes next, and then we will wipe out the Missouri compromise and you will be well started and all right, on your road to the Pacific.

There was never a greater piece of self-deception entertained than by the deluded part of the Democratic party, who used to pander to the South, than when it was shown them finally that the South *did mean what they said*, and attempted armed secession. Franklin Pierce was a little stunned sometimes by the reverberating thunders of the South about secession, but could not believe them in earnest, though giving them the rope with which they finally hung themselves. Once, to be sure, his heart was saddened and his face blanched to snowy whiteness when on a visit in the midst of his Presidential term to his native home, and riding a magnificent

charger in procession from the point of his reception. The cavalcade passed under a magnificent American flag of some sixty feet in length, hung between masts on each side of the road. Just as the President reached the spot, and while looking up at the beautiful ensign, a gust of wind struck it and wound it round the foot spiked masts, and tore it into ribbons, fourteen stripes and bars, with stars at the head, being thrown to the winds. He nearly fell from his horse at the portentous spectacle of the rending of the American Union over his head.

James Buchanan seemed dazed and stupefied when the first thunders of secession came, and it was hard to tell whether he believed in the reality of the threats and intentions of the rebels or not. But at any rate little was done by either of the two last Democratic Presidents to prevent, even if they did not believe secession would follow, the outrages of the South.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

Was thus conceived amidst the thunders of an impending political crisis, which was to decide the destinies of a nation, the birth of freedom to the slave, and a coveted blessing for all time for suffering humanity. Its birth and early growth was watched over with great care and solicitude by its paternal founders, who were gathered from all complexions of previous party citizenship, and who had become warmed into higher life from witnessing the wrongs of human slavery. They could not longer withstand the demands of action and immediate patriotic duty, and humanitarian impulse for work upon their conscience. There was much danger of strangulation from the start, both from bitter enemies without and over zeal within the legitimate pathway prudence marked out for its dangerous journey, but the march was ever onward

and upward. It brought together the highest and purest class of philanthropists, the most temperate and industrious citizens from all classes and professions, and who with energy and honest purpose never for a moment halted in their determination to prevent the harsh, unjustifiable aggressions of the South in consigning free territory to human slavery. For the first two years the work of organization was difficult, and was rendered more so from the constant howling outcries of injustice and secession from the South, and its determination by force of arms either to carry *slavery* into Kansas, or go out from the American Union. During this time the new party accomplished something in securing an influential foothold in the legislatures of the various States, and in the national Congress. From some of their number who looked to the moral alone of the great question of African slavery, conscience and the higher law constantly urged immediate and retaliatory aggression upon the South and slavery, upon the ground that they had totally forfeited all of their rights of protection in the Union. But by far the larger portion of the Republican party intended to abide by the Constitution, and only enforce the restrictions to slavery, to which the ancient laws confined it. In 1856 the party was made wholly national and united in the nomination by its various clans of membership, John C. Fremont as their candidate for President. At this time it had become a great and united party, but was overcome by the democracy both North and South in the election of James Buchanan. In 1860 its force had become very much enlarged, and the fiery cross was sent from clan to clan, from farm to farm, and through the mechanics' shop and their industrial schools, into all professions of freemen who loved liberty better than dishonor, and who for a season would yield time enough, which in many cases was their most valuable capital, for accomplishing the

humanitarian purpose of uniting a strong party for the coming work. These citizen laborers formed a united body such as the South never before knew, and such as no nation had ever before sent forth to battle. They presented a picture that no party before had ever numbered in their hosts for political or martial conflict. The Southern planters and their slave-drivers had little real knowledge of the character of the honest, temperate, and industrious laborer, the ingenious, thrifty mechanics who lived upon their own honest earnings, educated their children to industrial habit, and who became themselves intelligent and even learned in all the duties of citizenship, and yet who first shrank, but not in fear or cowardice, from the conflict of arms that they began to fear inevitable. And, this too, through their higher instinctive sense of appreciation of the delicate moral duty to themselves, to society, and their God. Among them were not gathered the selfish, dissolute, dishonest, and intemperate set around them, which class in early times formed the Democratic societies, and the nucleus of the later Democratic party to which they were now opposed. The South could not appreciate this class, and the moral force and vigor, with the material strength that could be gathered from the use of the hammer, the anvil, the plough, or the sickle. They called us cowards, and in their boasts often rated one Southerner equal to five Yankees, and it was that belief in part which led them into the war of rebellion. During this unhappy period so great had become the treacherous and rash influences of the South as to inspire some of their leaders with the belief that it was their Christian duty to resort to personal violence with bludgeons to attack leading citizens of the North. With this mistaken and cowardly purpose which many will remember, Preston S. Brooks, of South Carolina, attacked Mr. Sumner, of Massachusetts, in the Senate of

the United States, and stealing behind him in the most dastardly, premeditated manner, with a bludgeon studiously fitted for the purpose, felled him senseless from his seat to the floor. Not satisfied with this, he challenged a number of fellow-representatives in Congress to deadly combat, and threatened to attack Mr. Banks, then Speaker of the House, in the same manner that he had treated our Senator. Failing to accomplish any satisfactory object with his vociferous threats, he finally prepared to carry out his purpose of attacking the Speaker on a certain occasion, but was so intoxicated on the contemplated evening that he could not rise from his seat, and a Democratic Senator, then a candidate for the presidency, took him from it, and carried him bodily from the capitol. There were too many such scenes like this to enumerate, but they all counted in the building up and aggregating the Republican party, with the practical determination to prevent such outrages in the future. During the administration of Mr. Buchanan the whole South was alive with the cries of disunion, and the war was carried on in Kansas for the supremacy of the slave interest in free territory. Pending the campaign in which Abraham Lincoln was elected, full preparation had been made in the South for his destruction and their own secession, and their representatives in the Congress of the United States, and their cabinet officers were permitted to plunder the property of the government for their purposes, and make every preparation necessary, including the final robbery of the arsenals, the mints, and local treasuries, for an unrighteous war. It was this state of things that the Republican party had to meet, including the cold-blooded and infamous treachery of the lower order of Democratic managers both North and South, who brought about the war of freedom for the slave, and through it the vindication of the Republican party.

It is not necessary for the purposes of this paper, now an historic epilogue, perhaps already too long to rehearse in detail the stirring and terrible events of the war. President Lincoln was inaugurated, and the first shots from the South had already extinguished the last ray of hope from the North of a peaceful settlement. The supply ship "Harriet Lane" had been turned back by a boom from rebel cannon. The destruction of Sumter soon followed. Union soldiers were murdered in the streets of Baltimore while on their way for the defence of the National Capital. The war commenced, and the army march carried desolation and death in its path. The demoralization and distress of the Southern people was beyond description. They for the first time learned the reality and truth of the terrible situation their own temerity had precipitated upon themselves. There was no retreat; their plantations were stripped to supply the needs of their own soldiers, and their homes were made desolate by the double loss of the common comforts of life, and the guardians of their own domestic firesides. Hundreds of thousands of such were driven to the war by the same political tricksters that had sealed their fate by their wanton and overreaching determination to increase slavery. The North was aroused to arms in defence of their rights, and were compelled to protect by the sword what they had a right to secure by honest ballot. The Democratic party was in a painful dilemma. Their radical leaders had both created the cause of the rupture of the Union and furnished the means of support for the rebels that would overthrow it. The higher, more intelligent and patriotic class repudiated the action of their subordinate, but officious, leaders, and, as in the days of Washington and Jackson, rushed to the support of the Union that their indiscreet manipulators had shattered. It was saved through four years of desolating war, the loss

of 1,000,000 lives, and directly and indirectly ten thousand millions of dollars. The Republican party stood forth and took the responsibility of conquering the South that so long had imposed upon the credulity of the North. The mighty battles but showed the strength of the American people when really aroused to martial combat. The study of the record of one hundred and fifty battlefields from Bull Run to Richmond, and from Santa Resa Island to Appomattox, where the Confederates were thirty times victorious over the Union army, will show the desolation wrought; and but a small part of the anguish was buried in a windrow of graves reaching from the Potomac to the Florida Keys. Libby, Anderson, and the Chattanooga prisons tell a tale of woe that the living will never forget, and the dead remembered to their last dying breath. The fire and the sword had swept much of the evidences of civilization from the fields of the South, and the patrician families so long masters of the States learned the sad lesson that they had been deceived, grossly wronged, and ruined by their own people, who had even led them politically and morally astray.

The Democratic party, more than all else, were responsible for this, and the stay sought by the majority and better portion of them after the evil of the fight began, was ineffective and useless. As well might the tidal-wave of the Gulf Stream be stopped, or the terrors of the simoon be lessened, while their natural forces were unchecked and subdued. One beautiful picture was left upon the vast scene of desolation, where a few orange blossoms still opened as an earnest of what once had been, and the mistletoe shared its nourishing branch with festooned moss which hung by its sides, where the cotton blossom changed its pink to blue, and wove itself a shroud of snowy white; the mocking bird still sang its varied song, and the oriole joined the

old melody ; and this picture was a living moving panorama of five hundred miles in length, of freedmen kneeling in fervent prayer for the masters who had made them slaves, and the wives and children they had learned to love. The reaction was tremendous, and many an army veteran who hardly knew he had a heart, when again returned to his own fireside was for the first time melted down to tears, when he saw the devotion and interest his old bondsmen still took in his comfort and welfare. The old enemy, the slave-driver, was sometimes near, and no comfort or safety to the manumitted bondman came from his heart. It was not changed ; the old method of binding the chains again must be and was used. This time it was not the lash or blows, but whiskey, that did the work. And so that harvest went on, until by the thousand the poor blacks may now be found in convict chains their crime urged upon them, while the old slave-overseers stand with a rifle, authorized to shoot them down if there is the least pretext to do so, for dereliction of duty under the contract law. But the scene changes ; the Confederate army were allowed their horses and arms with many another souvenir that would be useful on the home plantation, and so the great armies were broken up, and the surviving Northern mechanic and laborer was again permitted to visit his home. Alas ! how many times so changed that he knew it not. There must still be another tragedy. Venom and hate must find an existence in half a dozen associations, and the good, the great, the generous Lincoln must be the first victim, by mere accident the only one, to satisfy the malignity of one class of this conquered people, the lowest, the vilest, the most depraved but still existent class of the old school of anarchists who brought on the war and were not shot as they better deserved to be than the hundreds of thousands who fell in battle

or died from wounds there received. From the beginning of the war to its close, what motive could the Republicans have in fighting its battles except those among men of the highest and purest character? None! Allowing the Democrats that fought by their sides the same credit of motive after the war began, can we forget the cause of the war in which they, as members of the Democratic party, were sad contributors? A part of them never can be forgiven, or, at least, never forgotten. But the party! the great organization again in power! What of them? Are they not responsible for their doings in the past, and must they not be held responsible for their actions in the future? Are they not striving to-day as a party to use the same lower order of politicians in the South to accomplish their political objects, which brought on, after years of anarchy, the rebellion of 1861? The best evidence we can get is that they are. We must hold them responsible for the company they keep, as we hold ourselves, as Republicans, innocent of the war. If the Democratic party cannot prove itself innocent of it, they must be charged with its terrible consequences.

But there are proofs nearer at home of the unfitness of the Democratic party to again hold the government. If we accord to them — the majority of them — the same high political character we profess for ourselves, we cannot do so for that active minority who are working with them, and whom they support, who are to-day as dangerous to a good government as were the Democratic societies of the days of Washington, Jefferson, and Adams, and whom they abhorred. Does the Democratic party claim Jefferson as its founder? If so, when did he join the Democratic society of his day, or where and when did he ever utter a principle they adopted as a guide of action for themselves? Democritus, the sage of Abdera, was said to be a philosopher deeply

learned, but he was a materialist in every respect, it is said, and had a very mean opinion of both the nature and destiny of man. This class of his votaries certainly followed that part, if any, of his opinions. Did the Democratic society ever profess one of his virtues, or the semblance of a noble political idea? We answer, never! and that all they ever could have adopted of his principles was those belonging to the legitimate interpretation of his low estimate of human nature. This view they also took and loved with a vengeance that amazed and distressed their own generation, and transmitted their character unimproved to their posterity. We will not compare the majority of the Democratic party to them, but we must hold it responsible for their acts, and especially for those of the same class the present day who work with them. Lest we may be misunderstood we now again exclude such as those who are unfit through anarchical principles, insobriety, laziness, want of moral principle, yet active, that are corrupting the honest and temperate of our large cities, becoming ballot-stuffers, hoodlers, and rioters. It is the Democratic party, the most of them, who are responsible for these, for they all vote together, and they are rewarded for their services by positions which they are unfit to hold, and who, if suffered to go on, will ruin every city in the Union which comes under their influence. Three quarters of the voters of the American Union are honest, true men, and why should party ties not unite these stronger in all that goes to support thrift, morality, and good government, as against those too weak or lacking motive or moral principle to become rational members of society, but who are led by the lowest passions to uproot every social or political principle they can find in others around them? When the Republican party was formed in Massachusetts it was distinctly stated in the platform where it received its

name, that it would be conducted on Jeffersonian principles, and they have lived by them. There must be a sad obliquity between our interpretation of the principles of the great statesman and those of the Democratic party, if theirs enable them to practise, through the lowest class of people, the evils that have already fallen upon the South, and are sure to come to us if permitted to go on. The Republican party believe in the highest moral and political principles, and never have cultivated any influence with it which has been inconsistent with that end. We believe in an impending political crisis which must be met upon high moral as well as political ground, and cannot stand upon any other.

Be it remembered that the extension of slavery, or the acquisition of slave territory, was being opposed by the whole moral sentiment of the North, and by the views of the Whig party generally, who expected their members of Congress to stand by the Union and the Constitution, but to restrict slavery to its then present bounds. But with all their efforts of humanity they were beaten, and generally so by the Northern Democratic voters, who threw their casting ballot with the South, and thus gave majorities in favor of slavery extension.

The South has not yet reached its normal equilibrium. The Republican party and the honest whites are the natural guardians of the emancipated slaves, but neither have yet done their full duty to the negro. It will take generations yet to raise the colored race to an intelligent, independent, and self-sustaining condition. If the honest whites now neglect their duty, the selfish, arrogant, and unprincipled leaders of party will step in and debauch and control the weaker blacks, and consign them to infamy through their appetites and passions. The old natural affection which in very many cases they felt for their masters and the families by whom

they were raised will disappear and die out, and hate and revenge will take their place, making them lawless and dangerous, and which spirit will be encouraged by the low whites of the same class. All sorts of anarchical difficulties would in such case arise. The laws of temperance among the blacks as well as the whites, must be observed, and whether natural or municipal, must be enforced or perfect demoralization will follow. In the North the same class of weaklings, whether black or white, must be controlled, or a perfect pandemonium will soon exist here. Besides this, the honest laborer must be protected in his industrious toil, and through this be provided with proper support, and the dishonest and selfish libertines be put down, who would entice him from duty and the laws of religion and morality. Besides all this, the countenancing of all parties, whose servile would-be leaders pander to the passions of the low and ignorant masses, now so prevalent in the large Northern cities, and who are willing to sell their votes for gain, must at all hazards, and at once, be rebuked and discountenanced, or party itself will become of little avail, and bloody riots and insurrections will follow. Already the expenses of the city governments of the North are three times as much, through needless extravagance, as they ought to be. This evil now forms as much of an impending crisis as did that preceding the anarchy which swept away and made deserts of the ancient cities of the old world. It is the duty of the Republican party to aid in the work of reformation, and follow up with every possible moral and legal means the designs of the founders of the party that has already accomplished so much for humanity, and fearlessly promise, with the aid of the present generation, a further glorious moral work in the future.



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