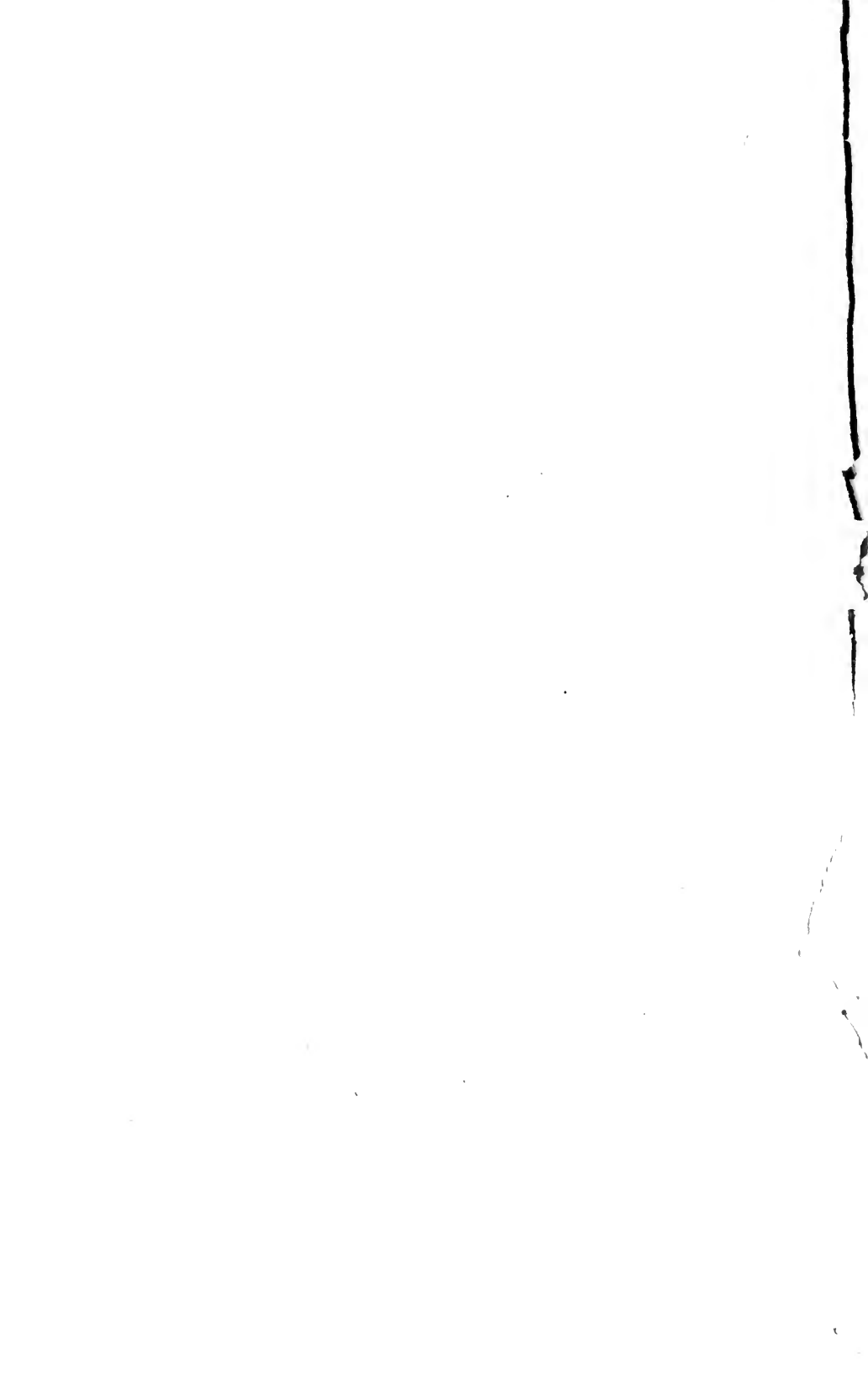


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LIBERTY AND UNION!



SPEECHES

DELIVERED AT THE

EIGHTEENTH WARD

REPUBLICAN FESTIVAL,

IN COMMEMORATION OF THE BIRTH OF

WASHINGTON,

Held at the Gramercy Park House,

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 22, 1860.

ISSUED FROM CHARITATIVELY BY WILLIAM A. GIBBS

NEW YORK:
BAKER & GODWIN, PRINTERS,
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PROCEEDINGS.

THE EIGHTEENTH WARD REPUBLICAN ASSOCIATION commemorated the birth of WASHINGTON by a public festival at the Gramercy Park House, on Wednesday evening, February 22d, 1860. At 8 o'clock, the members of the Association and the invited guests proceeded to the dining saloon, where a sumptuous repast was provided. ELLIOT C. COWDIN, Esq., Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, presided, while JOB L. BLACK, Esq., President of the Association, and WM. K. STRONG, Esq., occupied seats at the head of the tables on either side of the President, supported at the opposite ends by Messrs. JAMES M. CROSS, JAS. M. THOMSON, and J. AUSTIN STEVENS, Jr. Rev. Dr. BELLOWS, in a very appropriate prayer, invoked the Divine blessing upon the assemblage and upon the cause of liberty; after which, the company partook of the bountiful provision that had been made for the gratification of their alimentive desires. Having spent an agreeable hour in discoursing the bill of fare, the cloth was removed and the intellectual programme was presented by—

The PRESIDENT, who, in announcing the regular toasts, addressed the company as follows :

SPEECH OF ELLIOT C. COWDIN, Esq.

Fellow Republicans :—In assuming the duties of the post which the unmerited partiality of the Committee of Arrangements has assigned me, I claim your generous indulgence.

While I am not insensible of the honor, I know full well that there are many, very many, of my fellow Republicans of the Eighteenth Ward, better qualified to discharge the duties of this occasion, but there is no one more earnestly devoted to the noble cause which has brought us together. (Applause.)

We are here as neighbors and friends, to interchange friendly and social salutations, and to declare anew our unalterable attachment to the principles of the Fathers of the Republic.

We are assembled as Republicans, to rejoice together with exceeding joy, that, after a well-fought battle, a signal victory has been won by the Representatives of the nation, and that the Banner of the Constitution is again planted on the walls of the Capitol. (Loud cheers.)

We meet to commemorate the birthday of the pure and noble Washington—that hero, sage, and patriot, “whom Providence left childless that a nation might call him Father.”

Other heroes have won more brilliant battles; but none have closed so glorious a career. Others have fought to enslave; he to give freedom. Others fought for power or a kingdom; he for Independence, and no other throne than the hearts of his countrymen. (Loud applause.)

Amid the darkness of the Revolution, he exclaimed, "I see my duty,—that of standing up for the liberties of my country; I dare not shrink from it; and I rely on that Being who has not left to us the choice of duties, that while I shall conscientiously discharge mine, I shall not finally lose my reward." How nobly were those duties performed! And after a life of unparalleled devotion and sacrifice in the public service, what a priceless legacy he has left us in his parting counsels!

He earnestly charged the people to be *united*, and to preserve "the unity of government which constitutes us one people," as "a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad, of your safety, of your prosperity, of that very liberty which you so highly prize." To discountenance "whatever may suggest even a *suspicion* that the Union can in any event be abandoned;" to "observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all;" to disclaim, "as matter of serious concern," all "geographical discriminations."

He declared that "the Constitution, which at any time exists, till changed by the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all," and that "all obstructions to the execution of the laws * * * are destructive to this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency."

As for slavery, none deplored it more than Washington. (Cheers.) He proclaimed that it was among his "first wishes to see some plan adopted by which slavery in this country may be abolished by law." But the idea of extending it—of *discriminating* in favor of that one particular *geographical* and *sectional* interest, was never for a moment entertained; he stood where all the statesmen and patriots of the Revolution stood, uncompromisingly on the side of freedom.

Gentlemen, on this day, at least, it is well to pause and reflect on his words of wisdom and candor. Let them be engraven on our memories. Let them warm our hearts, excite our patriotism, and strengthen our hopes for the great Battle of *Liberty* and *Union* that is before us. (Prolonged cheering.) Be of good cheer. A voice of encouragement comes to us from the plains of Kansas, exclaiming in trumpet tones:

"Easier were it
To hurl the rooted mountain from its base,
Than force the yoke of slavery upon men
Determined to be free."

(Renewed applause.)

Fellow Republicans, our duties are plain; let us meet them like men. There can be no doubt that the great majority of the people are opposed, utterly and irreconcilably opposed, to slave aggression. Let us, then, unite in a spirit of justice and fraternity, and put an end to oppression and misuse.

"The time was," said Lord Chatham in the British Parliament, "when I was content to see France brought to her knees; now I wish to see her laid on her back." Can we say less of the minions of Slaveocracy? Already we have brought them to their knees, by the choice of a Republican Speaker (Loud cheers); and by the blessing of God, in November next, we will lay

them on their backs, by the triumphant election of a Republican President. (Enthusiastic cheering.)

To effect this, let *Union, Union, Union*, be our watch-word. A union among Republicans, and a union with all who are opposed to Federal corruption and misgovernment; opposed to forcing slavery upon the national Territories to the exclusion of the laboring white man; opposed to robbing weak and defenseless neighboring nations of their territories, over which to spread the blight of human slavery; opposed to latter-day Democracy out-and-out, in all its forms. (Loud cheers.)

With such men, I say, let us unite, in a spirit of just conciliation, with "principles—not men" for our guide, and the good of our common country our sole aim.

The wild fire of fanaticism on the one hand, and violence, menace, and disunion on the other, are but as passing clouds in the serene and everlasting heavens. Be not dismayed. Planting ourselves firmly on the Constitution and the Laws of the land, with the light of the principles of the Declaration of Independence to illumine our path, and the example of the fathers of the Republic to direct our steps, let us go forth without fear, and with manly hearts.

"Let our noble motto be,
God—the Country—Liberty;
Planted on religion's rock,
Thou shalt stand in every shock,
Laugh at danger far and near,
Spurn at baseness, spurn at fear;
Still with persevering might,
Speak the truth, and do the right."

The President resumed his seat amid great applause.

The first regular toast—

"Our Country, Our Whole Country, and nothing but our Country,"

was drunk with a hearty good-will, Dodworth's band playing "Yankee Doodle."

The chairman said, the second regular toast was one which appealed to their patriotic feelings, and he trusted it would be received with all the honors.

"The President of the United States."

Music,—*"The Star Spangled Banner."*

The President said he held in his hand a letter from the third highest officer in the United States, our *Republican* Speaker of the House of Representatives; which was the signal for loud and long-continued cheering.

He read the subjoined letter.

LETTER FROM SPEAKER PENNINGTON.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON, }
Feb. 14, 1860. }

DEAR SIR:—I received your very kind invitation, as Chairman of your Committee, to attend a meeting of the Republicans of the Eighteenth Ward of the city of New York, on the 22d inst. While it would be a source of great pleasure could I be with you at that time, you perceive my pressing duties here entirely forbid it.

While I do not think any man is called upon to surrender principle to

expediency, yet there are occasions, and that time is now with us, when all sound and patriotic citizens should exercise calmness and moderation, and avoid, as far as practicable, every unnecessary excitement.

The perpetuity of the Union should be inscribed on every banner, and never yielded but in the last extremity. For myself, I have no fears, depending as I do on that love of country which pervades our people. As our institutions were established for us by wise and noble ancestors, it would seem a sad event if we could not preserve so valuable an inheritance. Have no fears, our country will yet remain one people.

I beg to offer you my best thanks for your invitation, with the following sentiment :

Our Country and her Free Institutions—May our Union be perpetual !

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

WM. PENNINGTON.

ELLIOT C. COWDIN, Esq., Chairman, &c., &c.

The third regular toast—

“The Governor of the State of New York,”

was drunk with great enthusiasm, the band playing “Hail to the Chief.”

The President had the pleasure to inform the company that he had received a letter from his Excellency, the Governor, which he proceeded to read :

LETTER OF GOVERNOR MORGAN.

STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
ALBANY, Feb. 21, 1860. }

ELLIOT C. COWDIN, Esq., Chairman, &c.—*Dear Sir*: It would afford me very great pleasure to unite with the Republicans of the Eighteenth Ward, in the celebration of the anniversary of the birth of Washington.

There is everything to encourage us in the political aspect of the country ; and I fully believe that we can attain, as we shall deserve, success in the approaching national contest, by united and consolidated effort. There must be union, concession, and labor ; and every gathering like the one proposed will, of necessity, promote their attainment.

My duties here forbid me to be present with you in person, but I send you as a sentiment :

The Republican Party, faithful to its principles, it will fulfill all the guarantees of the Constitution, and will demand that they shall be fulfilled by others.

I am, with great respect,

Very truly yours,

E. D. MORGAN.

The President in announcing the fourth regular toast,

“The Birthday of Washington,”

said: It happens that we have here to-night, as one of our Vice-presidents and a member of the Committee of Arrangements, a son of a Revolutionary hero who served under General Washington in several battles—in those of White Plains, Trenton, Princeton, and Brandywine. He was near General Lafayette when he shed his first blood in the cause of Independence. He,

himself, was afterwards wounded at the battle of Germantown; and though sixty-two years an invalid, lived to a good old age. He was ever *strong* in principle; *strong* in his love of country, and *strong* in his attachment to the noble cause which we are met here to-night to stand by and to uphold. I have the honor to introduce to you the son of that worthy sire, our neighbor and friend, WM. K. STRONG, Esq.

SPEECH OF WILLIAM K. STRONG, ESQ.

MR. STRONG, on rising to respond, was received with several rounds of applause. He said,—

Mr. President: At no period since the American Revolution, or at least since the adoption of the Federal Constitution, has there been greater necessity than now to recur to the principles which governed the founders of the Union under which we live. This is, therefore, a most appropriate gathering of friends who respect the political faith of their ancestors, and who are united in the support of what they deem to be the essential and unchanged principles of their fathers, which underlie and overspread the whole structure of our Government. What occasion could be more fitting to hallow our remembrance, to awaken our admiration, and to stir within us grateful emotions, than the anniversary of that day which gave to the world and to our country our beloved Washington? History has already treasured for us many noble names, which have rendered acknowledged service in the rearing of this American Republic. We will here and always render fitting homage to their memory. When we have done this, how much is still left, in every heart, of love and veneration, and, upon all lips, of praise, honor, and gratitude, for that name and for those deeds which the life and virtues of Washington have inscribed upon our annals, where they will forever remain, the glowing theme of his countrymen and of the world! The occasion would very properly admit of a much more elaborate reference to the great personal qualities, and to the civil and military exploits, which have made Washington so renowned in history, and so dear to every American heart; but I am restrained from doing so by the brief time allotted me. I will, Mr. President and gentlemen, with your permission, devote a single thought to a comparison of our position as a political party—to the great doctrines and principles which Washington avowed and adhered to up to the close of his eventful life. We are here assembled to night in the character of Republicans, belonging to a large and powerful party, comprising probably at this time a majority of all the legal and qualified voters of the nation; we have united and organized upon a platform of principles enunciated in the Declaration of Independence, and embraced in the cardinal features of our Federal Constitution. Now, if this be so, and I do not think it can be successfully disputed by any one, then we are certainly standing upon the ground occupied by Washington and his cotemporaries at the formation of the Government, and to which they adhered in the administration of its affairs for a long series of years following the adoption of the Constitution. We are here to-night, Mr. President, to assert, in the presence of each other, and to fling the assertion broadcast to the world, our devotion to those principles of our fathers which ushered this Union into life; and we are here to pledge our undying efforts to its support, maintenance, and perpetuity. In that spirit which animated our fathers “to risk all and to peil all” in the establishment of this Union, we are here to say that we will avert, in blood if it be necessary, as they would say (if here to vindicate this priceless blessing),

the first parricidal blow that shall be given for its dismemberment or destruction. We are here to say we sympathize in no lawless incursions upon the just rights of States, or in any violation of the laws and guaranties by which their institutions and sovereignty are upheld and secured. And we are here also to utter our outspoken denunciation of that atrocious violation of the provision in our Constitution which guarantees "to citizens of each State all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States," in the expulsion and banishment of citizens without any allegation of crime, unless that be one which prefers Freedom to Slavery, and the expression of a desire that all should share and enjoy its blessings. We are here furthermore to request of our countrymen in the South, to desist from all further threats and combinations which menace disunion; and to say to the men of the North, Do nothing and say nothing that will increase or inflame the discord that is now temporarily with us. The truth and the right will prevail; moderation will soon prove to be the harbinger of justice and peace, and all sections and all parties will, with patient and wise counsels, soon feel the genial glow of strength in our re-established fellowship. Our relations will then be to each other, as those that bound our ancestors in a common bond of union; and the inscription on our country's banner will then be, as it floats over land and sea, A Happy, Prosperous, Powerful, and United People. (Loud applause.)

The fifth regular toast was—

"The Constitution of the United States.—Let us never forget that its purposes, as declared by its framers, were "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

The President remarked that no formal introduction was necessary to present to the Republicans of the Eighteenth Ward the HON. GEORGE OPDYKE. This was a signal for a most enthusiastic welcome, the whole company rising to greet Mr. Opdyke, who responded as follows:

SPEECH OF HON. GEORGE OPDYKE.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:

Accept, I pray you, my grateful acknowledgments for this warm and generous reception. It is as unexpected as I feel it to be unmerited. The best return I can make you, at present, is a promise that I will not detain you long from the richer treat that awaits us in listening to the distinguished gentlemen who will follow me.

But, Mr. President, I fear you have committed an unkindness, if not an indiscretion, in awarding this toast to a mere layman, when I see around me so many professional gentlemen whose minds are richly stored with legal and constitutional lore. Nevertheless, since you have so ordered it, I will not hesitate to respond, and that most heartily, to the well-chosen sentiment you have just announced.

It is never out of place to recur to first principles; for they are our surest reliance against the misleading tendencies of passion and prejudice. But it seems to me peculiarly appropriate, on an occasion like this, when we have met as members of a political party to commemorate the birth of Washington, that we should bring to vivid remembrance the noble principles and purposes which actuated him and his associates in laying the foundations of our government. Nor should we be satisfied in simply holding these principles and purposes in

grateful remembrance. They are so just and pure, and so admirably designed to secure the blessings of well-regulated liberty, that we should cherish them as the perfect standard by which to test the soundness of political creeds and party purposes of the present day.

The early statesmen of this country were rarely gifted. Everything they did seems to have been prompted by a purity of purpose and an unselfish wisdom, in striking contrast with the selfish aims and prejudiced views of many of the public men of our own times. We must bear in mind, however, that they were surrounded by circumstances the most favorable for developing patriotic and statesmanlike qualities. The strong pressure of external danger kept them compact and united. Even their least enviable qualities were raised to the dignity of patriotism, by being directed against the aggressions of an insolent foreign enemy; and the galling tyranny they had felt led them to exert all their higher qualities in devising political institutions that would protect them from like evils in the future. Thus favored, and thus incited to effort, we can scarcely feel surprised at the purity of their patriotism, or at the unexampled proficiency they attained in the science and art of government,—a proficiency which found its ultimate expression in that highest achievement of political wisdom, the Constitution of the United States. (Cheers.)

That Constitution has made us a prosperous, united, and powerful nation. For these auspicious results we are less indebted, I think, to its letter than to its spirit. Its provisions are admirable, it is true; but they are merely designed to give form and expression to the noble purposes which actuated its framers. These purposes are declared in its Preamble, in the terse and comprehensive language of your toast. They represent the principles on which our government is based. They mark out its boundaries, enumerate its objects, and indicate its duties; and it is safe to say that human wisdom has never furnished a better definition of the true province of government. (Applause.)

Mr. President, at a time of political excitement like the present, it is well that we should ask ourselves and each other whether there is anything in the principles and policy of the Republican party that is not in harmony with the declared aims of the Constitution. Do we advocate or desire any relaxation of the bonds of "union?" On the contrary, we love and venerate the Union, and claim to be its truest friends. We aim to perpetuate it by scrupulously observing all the compromises involved in its origin, and by insisting that all others shall conform to its spirit, so that it shall be what its authors intended it to be, a just, honorable, and intimate union. *I believe it is safe to say, that there is not one true Republican that favors disunion.* That sentiment, so far as it exists at all, is chiefly monopolized by the Southern portion of our political opponents.

Are we opposed to "justice?" Do we aim to deprive any section or individual of natural or acquired rights? We are sometimes charged with this, but the charge is utterly groundless. On the contrary, while we maintain all rights that emanate from principles of natural justice, we support with equal firmness all rights that the Constitution has established. Circumstances compelled the framers of that instrument to compromise with one grievous wrong, by recognizing the right of slavery in the States where it then existed. That compromise we stand by; and although we deeply lament its necessity, as did all the early statesmen, we shall never falter in its maintenance. (Renewed applause.)

We are steadfast friends of "domestic tranquillity," and hold ourselves in readiness at all times to support the government in suppressing insurrection. No

matter whether the insurrection appears in the form of a madman with a few misguided followers, as at Harper's Ferry; or that of a sister State attempting to rise above the Constitution and laws of the United States, as in the case of South Carolina on the tariff question; or in the more portentous aspect of the secession of a platoon of States, as is now threatened in a certain contingency by imperious Southern politicians,—we are, in any and every case, its stern and uncompromising foe. No matter in what quarter the defection or danger may appear, we shall zealously aid in its suppression; for we are resolved, at all hazards, that the supremacy of government and the unity of the nation shall be maintained. And this proves that we are also in favor of “providing for the common defense;” for it is only from an internal source that any future danger is to be apprehended.

And, finally, we aim “to promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity,” by arresting the spread of slavery, by upholding the Constitution in all its parts, and by striving to emulate the spirit of justice and benevolence which animated its framers.

The first and highest aim of the Republican party is to subordinate slavery to freedom by confining it within its present limits. We regard slavery as sectional and freedom national—slavery the accident, freedom the ruling principle of our government. We believe with Washington and Jefferson and all their contemporaries, that the institution of slavery is a wrong and an outrage on the enslaved, and a terrible misfortune to the slaveholder. Thus believing, we desire to preserve the Territories of the Union from its blighting presence, and to hand them down to posterity as a rich inheritance for the untold millions of freemen who will hereafter occupy them. It was chiefly for this end that the Republican party was organized; and for this end it will, I trust, unflinchingly labor until its beneficent purpose is securely attained.

And now, Mr. President, permit me, before taking my seat, to briefly review the policy and aims of our political opponents. Their purposes appear to me very unlike those enunciated in the preamble of the Constitution. The Democratic party, it is true, professes great reverence for the Constitution; but it is prone to manifest its regard by ingenious attempts to pervert the meaning of some of its provisions, and by an open repudiation of that spirit of freedom which so pervaded the minds and hearts of its framers that they would not tolerate the word slave on its sacred pages.

It is no injustice to say that one of the leading purposes of the Democratic party, as now constituted, is to render slavery paramount to freedom. It is under the control and direction of Southern leaders. These leaders are intensely sectional. Their political vision seems incapable of taking in any other interest than that of slavery. They can see scarce anything in the Constitution but imaginary prerogatives of that institution. In truth, they seem to regard that instrument as a contrivance for extending slavery and crushing out freedom. To justify these views, they have found it necessary, of late, to assume a new and most offensive position. They now shamelessly declare, that freedom is the abnormal condition of society, and that slavery is just, wise and beneficent. And they further declare, that they will at once dissolve the Union if the people elect a President entertaining different views. In other words, “rule or ruin” is now their motto.

These offensive sentiments and sectional aims, so different from those of the Constitution, are openly avowed by the Southern leaders of the Democratic party; and I regret to say, that they are at least tacitly acquiesced in by the great mass of that party even at the North. They seem to have lost sight of

the true purposes of our government, and to have blindly enlisted under slave-holding leaders, who are waging a relentless warfare against the spirit of our free institutions. These leaders are impelled less by their regard for the material interests of their section than by their love of power and place. They seem determined that 350,000 slaveholders shall continue in the future as in the past to control the destinies of this government, and take the lion's share of its honors and emoluments. Be ours the duty of rebuking the insolence of their demands by disappointing their hopes. Let us wrest the government from the hands of the minority who have usurped and misdirected it, and place it in the hands of the majority, where it rightfully belongs. This is the true mission of the Republican party. In its accomplishment we may safely count on the co-operation of a large share of the Northern Democrats; for it cannot be that honest and intelligent men will prove faithless to their own manhood and to the interests of freedom. Let us, then, be of good cheer. Our cause is just, and with proper efforts we can scarcely fail of early success. (Loud applause.)

The President announced the sixth regular toast—

“*Washington's Example.*—His life was devoted to three great objects, the Independence of his Country, its Union, and its Freedom. Whoever thinks only of the first and second, forgetting the last, overlooks the completeness of his character.”—

and called upon WM. M. EVARTS, Esq., to respond.

Mr. EVARTS, on rising, was greeted with vociferous cheering, the whole company rising and giving expression to their appreciation of the gifted champion of freedom, in demonstrations of applause which must have been exceedingly gratifying to the eloquent orator. When silence was restored, Mr. EVARTS addressed his hearers thus :

SPEECH OF WILLIAM M. EVARTS, Esq.

Mr. President :

I feel greatly honored by the invitation of your Committee to take some part in this festival of friends and neighbors, associated in the same sentiments regarding the safety, the honor, and the glory of our country, to celebrate as befits all its citizens, the great day which in the birth of Washington gave so large promise for the future of this nation and for the hopes of the world—a promise not too large for the achievements of his life and the influence of his character to redeem. (Applause.)

Mr. President, your sentiment has truly stated the great objects, the great purposes, the great achievements of the life of Washington. The freedom of his country, its independence, its union, were the purposes of his life; and by his life and its actions he accomplished them all. And you are right, Sir, in saying, and saying fitly to the political temper of these times, that he who looks at his example or at the great acts of the American Revolution as being concerned wholly or mainly with the establishment of our National Independence and of the Federal Union, as objects distinguished from, or superior to, the *liberty* of the people and of the nation, greatly errs.

Why, Sir, so far from this being the last, it was the first in the thought, first in the plan, and first in the action of Washington and of his contemporaries.

It was a struggle for liberty against oppression before the ideas of Inde-

pendence or of Union had developed themselves. Why, Sir, after the battle of Bunkers Hill, in '75, when Washington passed through the city of New York, on his way to take command of the forces at Cambridge, he was addressed by the Provincial Congress of New York. When they expressed their full assurance to him that "after success in the glorious struggle for American liberty,"—to result in an accommodation with the mother country—he would lay down the important military trust committed to him and reassume the character of a citizen, Washington replied to them for himself and the officers who stood around him: "We shall most sincerely rejoice with you in that happy hour, *when the establishment of American liberty*, on the most firm and solid foundations, shall enable us to return to our private stations in the bosom of a free, peaceful, and happy country." This, Sir, was a year before the Declaration of Independence; Washington was animated, as the whole country was inflamed, by the sacred fire of liberty, for the men, the women, and the children that occupied the territories. This was, then, the heroic position of Washington. And, for myself, I love to contemplate his attitude in the maturity of manhood, a British subject, but fighting for liberty, as a rebel, not against the Constitution of Great Britain, but against the tyranny of its King and Parliament. (Applause.)

Look at him as he stood avowing these sentiments, concealing nothing, with no equivocation. "Peace, peace, I hope, Gentlemen, with you, shall come, but only when the establishment of American liberty on the firmest and most solid foundations shall enable us to return to our private stations in a free country." (Renewed applause.)

How noble, as he uttered these words, does he rise before us, in mien and in feature! With how brave a heart, and with what power in arms, did he adhere to that purpose.

As the opening contest showed larger and larger dimensions to the question of freedom,—involving independence of Crown and Parliament to escape their tyranny—as a part of the energetic effort for liberty, and subordinate always to that, he counseled and fought for the Independence of the country. And when, the Independence of the country gained, its preservation, its maintenance, still always for the surer protection of liberty, demanded a nearer and clearer union of interest and of government, he, as the President of the Convention of 1787, completing its labors in the Constitution of 1789, consummated the last act in the same great drama of American Liberty, thus "established upon the most firm and solid foundations" of National Independence and Constitutional Union. (Applause.)

Now, to Washington, to Jefferson, to the Congress of '76, and to the soldiers of the Revolution, Independence was but one, and Union was but another, of the firm and solid foundations of American Liberty; and except as the foundations of Liberty, they were nothing. (Cheers.)

Mr. President, I will not recite the familiar story of the public life of Washington. As it began so it endured to its end, faithful and true to the love of liberty.

As he approached the close of his public career, by the completion of his second presidential term, he warned his countrymen of the dangers that beset *their liberty*, in the celebrated Farewell Address—quoted, now by the party that follows the single idea of Americanism, in those parts of it which relate to foreign and entangling alliances, and now by another party that would smother under the great sentiment of Union the still more sacred sentiment of Liberty. (Loud cheers.)

What is his Farewell Address? What is its object and its purpose? and what stands in the fore front of it? It is the earnest hope "that the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of *liberty*, may be made complete by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing as may acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and the adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it." (Great applause.) And when he approaches that portion of his Address in which he expresses his farewell solicitudes and gives his farewell counsels, he speaks first of the love of liberty, saying: "Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of our hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment;" and then he proceeds to enforce the prime necessity of maintaining the Independence of the nation, then feeble and youthful, against foreign interference, as the first and most dangerous avenue to the overthrow of its liberty; and then, he warns against all that shall tend to distract or weaken the Union of the States, as the next formidable foe to the preservation of our liberty.

If the temple be thus sacred and deserving of every pious care, that its foundations should be kept secure, let us never forget that the deity that inhabits it is greater than the temple. (Loud cheering.)

Mr. President, the last month of the expiring century put out the light of that life which, with steady and ever-growing luster, and more than any other human life that ever shone among men, shed a benign influence upon the fortunes of his country, and upon the hopes of his race. The seal of death stamped his life as fortunate, and consecrated in the hearts of his countrymen a shrine that never shall be deserted. (Applause.)

Mr. President,—Sixty years have passed, the period of two generations has passed, and we to-day, amid the responsibilities of active life, are to look upon our country, its liberties, its independence, and its union, and see what are the issues in controversy for our time and for our action. Suitable as were the counsels of Washington, as to the dangers which might threaten our national independence in the feebleness of our youth, who shall say that *now* it is an important practical lesson or duty of ours to be solicitous about any assault upon our independence from abroad? Why, Sir—until, within the last few months, we heard a base suggestion from Virginia that the horsemen of a foreign emperor should trample our sacred soil, and his fleet vex with their keels the free waters of our coast—no voice has dare to question our absolute safety against foreign power. Until from some more potential voice than that foolish Virginian's we have an intimation or a threat of foreign invasion, we need not fear danger to our national independence from any foreign source.

And then, Sir, as to the Union: two generations of men have grown up to know and to feel,—shall I say the *advantages* of the Union? No! it is putting it upon too low considerations to speak of the *advantages* of the Union; two generations of men have grown up to know and to love their country, and that country is the Union. Are we, for the first instance in the world's history, a people who rest their love of country and their jealousy for its integrity, upon a calculation of its *advantages*? Why, one might as well put his affection for his mother upon a question of gain, as to talk of his love of country being limited and regulated by a calculation of its advantages. (Loud applause.) No! Gentlemen, the Union is our country; we have no other. What is smoothly called a "dissolution of the Union," is the dismemberment of our country. When dismembered, it is no longer the country of our love—but, bereaved and exiled, we are to find or make, as best we may, a new home for our affections.

But, Gentlemen, while this sentiment of patriotism of a proud and powerful people thus guaranties the preservation of our country in its complete integrity, and while great lakes and rivers, and the intercourse of society, and the railroads and the telegraphs, make it quite impossible,—if we were so poor-spirited a race of men as to calculate nothing but the advantage of preserving the integrity of our country,—quite impossible, I repeat, to dismember it, let me say to you that neither the power that makes us secure in our independence among the nations of the world, nor those causes which make sure as the ground on which we stand, and perpetual as the sky over our heads, the preservation of the Union, that none of these immense guaranties of independence and of union are, alas! in their nature or of necessity, guaranties of our *liberty*. Great nations have not always been free; none ever has been free till ours. Here, then, is the point of danger and responsibility, and here come in the duty, the solicitude, the interest, the vows of the Republican party. Their independence being safe, and their Union being safe, the *liberties* of these United States must and shall be preserved. (Enthusiastic applause.)

Mr. President,—What is the Republican party, and what the public service it purposes?

Its purpose is to restore the liberties of the country threatened by the policy and purposes of the Slave Power, as carried out through the action of the General Government as administered by the Democratic party. That is the impending danger against which the Republican party has rallied; and as distinctly, let me say, Sir, under the name of Washington, as the nation ever rallied under that name in the war of independence. (Cheers.) It is a mistake to suppose,—and all the people that so flippantly make the charge do not suppose so,—but it is a mistake to suppose, that the Republican Party, primarily or at all, is concerned with the civil condition of the black race within the States of the Union. We know our duties as men, and we know our duties as citizens. The Republican party is a *political* organization, distinctly and boldly assuming all political duties, but distinctly and honestly abstaining from all duties, in connection with this question of slavery, that are not political and are not constitutional. (Great cheering.) Now, how is it that the threat to the liberties of this country has arisen? How is it that danger to our liberties may be expected and feared from the institution of slavery? Is it that our material strength or prosperity shall be impeded or overthrown by the presence of four millions of slaves in our population, already numbering twenty-six millions of free white people? No! But, Gentlemen, it is that the essential idea on which that institution rests, is force, is power against right and against liberty; and when great political communities, as the States of this country in which that institution exists and is cherished, have, as the foundation of their social structure, this principle of force and power, against right and against liberty, why, the maintenance and confirmation of that institution, cherish and expand the idea of power and force against right and against liberty; at length, the immense social interest that rests upon this basis, of necessity urges and compels a wider and wider subjection of right and liberty to force and power. It is this that has required, and has effected the social subordination of the non-slaveholding white population of the slave States; that, has, finally, insisted upon the complete suppression of liberty of speech, liberty of the press, liberty of religion, liberty of travel, and, in fine, of *common American liberty*, over one third of this nation. (Great applause.) And when this original force is aided by this immense acquisition, it will extend, and, unchecked, will accomplish what it now distinctly attempts, the moral subjugation of the free States of this coun-

try, in order that the social institution of actual slavery may be secure. Thus, step by step, grows the colossal power of slavery, which, already, so bestrides this whole land, that we, the freemen of the free States, can only "peep about to find ourselves dishonorable graves," or manfully meet the controversy with the weapons that belong to it, and resolve, like Washington, that "not until American liberty shall be *re-established* on the most firm and solid foundations, will we return to our private stations, a free, a peaceful, and a happy people." (Protracted cheering.)

And now, Gentlemen, the example of Washington is not merely a subject of commemorative reverence—it is a bright and living spirit that should be accepted and adopted as the guide and leader of our action in the warfare of politics, which belongs to a free people whenever public affairs require redress. The *sentiment* of the country has, by recent occurrences, manifested itself in the most laudable manner. The women of America have visited the sepulchre of Washington, and have rescued it from the neglectful hands of his kindred, and from the careless keeping of that State of which, alas, so much of the greatness lies buried in his grave. This is well. But the spirit of Washington appeals to the *manhood* of the country, wherever it can be found, to rescue the great monument reared to his fame in the peace, prosperity, dignity, power, and liberty of the American people from the disgraces and the dangers that the neglectful hands and the careless keeping of that portion of this nation which claims him as nearest to them, have involved them and us in. The manhood of the nation is not all found in the Republican party, but all that there is in the Republican party is manful and brave; and if it retains its manhood and its valor, it will soon embrace within its numbers and its strength all the manhood and the valor of the American people. If it will follow its principles, follow its leaders, abide their fortunes, and consider nothing gained in political success in which a true leader of the forlorn hope does not himself plant the true standard of the Republican party upon whatever height we may gain, our cause, our triumph, our glory is secure; but if we fall short and waver, the liberties of the country will need other aid and other defenders, and will find them.

Now, Mr. President and Gentlemen, I have but glanced at the topics which your toast suggests, and yet I have detained you longer than I intended, and longer than I should have done. I will close with asking you to do honor to this sentiment:—

The Republican Party: The example of WASHINGTON is its impulse and its guide to whatever labors and sacrifices may be necessary, to bring back the administration of the Government to the love and the defense of LIBERTY.

The sentiment was received with great enthusiasm; and Mr. EVARTS was loudly cheered on resuming his seat.

The President announced the Seventh regular Toast,—

"The Union of the States,"

and called upon E. DELAFIELD SMITH, Esq., who was received with loud cheers. After the band had performed "The Star Spangled Banner," Mr. JAMES M. THOMSON proposed three cheers for E. Delafield Smith—"a Smith who would weld the Union so strongly together, that it would be impossible for the disunionists to sever it." (Laughter and cheers.)

SPEECH OF E. DELAFIELD SMITH, Esq.

Mr. President and Fellow Republicans :

My acknowledgments are due to your Committee of Arrangements for the position assigned me in these festivities. I am honored in rising amidst the distinguished gentlemen who immediately surround me, and honored yet more by the honest acclaims with which the working Republicans here assembled have greeted me, under the lead of one of the most trusted and laborious of their number. I am honored still further, by following in speech, as I would in effort and aspiration, the eminent advocate whose eloquent and cogent address was just concluded. (Applause.)

In responding to the patriotic sentiment—"The Union of the States,"—I am reminded, Gentlemen, of the incident in Shakspeare's play of *Much Ado about Nothing*, when that model officer, Dogberry, arrested a culprit of high degree, charged, among other things, with having borrowed money in the name of God to such an extent and so dishonestly, that no one in all Messina would longer give any faith or credit when the words "for God's sake" were used. Thus, the Democratic party has so often, "for the sake of the Union," obtained from the North a confidence which it betrays, that I fear some Dogberry in our metropolitan police may arrest me for a false pretense, or a meditated imposition, when I attempt to gain credit and applause in the sacred name of the Union. (Laughter.) My defense shall be, that I speak not, like a professional "Union-saver," for Slavery and the Union, but, like a true son of Washington, for Liberty and the Union. (Cheers.)

While the halls of our national Congress are ringing with the disunion cry of the Southern Democracy, amidst the craven silence and occasional concurrence of their Northern colleagues, it is a part of Democratic tactics, in their war upon Republicanism, to work, not alone upon the timidity of trade, but also upon the apprehensions of patriotism. Devotion to the diffusion of liberty and efforts to "restore the government to the principles of Washington," are rebuked as disloyal. Slavery advances in the livery of patriotism, and he who raises his voice against her desolating progress must wear any brand which her dark finger chooses to mark upon his brow. Thus the glorious old steed of the Union is disengaged from the car of Freedom, and linked to the dragging wheels of Slavery, as if the horses of Phœbus were cut from the chariot of the morning, and harnessed to a dirt-cart! The charge of disunionism is a powerful weapon—less so since the recent exposure of our opponents in Congress—but still effective. It should be met with a bold denial, and with diligent efforts to disabuse the public mind. It is a pernicious aspersion. It seeks to produce an unnatural severance between sentiments which the Revolutionary period united. It is a crime, not alone against Liberty, but against the Union itself, because it tends to impair, among the most reliable of our citizens, that sentiment of Union which should co-exist with devotion to Liberty. (Cheers.)

In seeking to oppose effectually the consciences of the nation to both disunion and slavery, we encounter two classes of extremists, possessing points of mutual resemblance, and emulating each other in hostility to the Republican organization. One of these classes—comprising the ultra, non-voting abolitionists—finds a scanty sustenance here in the North. It proclaims that the Bible and the Constitution are each pro-slavery. It opposes both. It is ready to impart to us a share of the public odium which rashness and violence excite, and then withholds all aid and recompense at the ballot-box. It is a stranger to the wisdom of moderation, and wars upon hopeful, practical effort. (Cries

of good, good.) The other class of disunionists belongs to the South. While a certain fanaticism for the right, may plead for a mild judgment upon the one, the other, with its black creed, is beyond apology. This class, like the first, sees the seal of Slavery upon every page of both the Constitution and the Bible. Each is insane and headlong in its course, and destined, I trust, to its own destruction. In one respect, however, all parallel ceases. One class is weak, the other is strong; one few in number, the other a host. Here the difference is palpable and important. The band of Northern disunionists are without a constituency, and impotent except for occasional and fitful evil. Southern disunionists, on the other hand, have a constituency in half the Gulf States, in Arkansas and in South Carolina. They constitute the staple of the Democratic party; they control and shape its policy; they send to Congress a controlling majority of its representatives. Its whole position and character, its efforts and its destinies, are held and moulded by the dark power of slavery and disunion. Under this shadow, the once proud Democracy wears the badge of servility at the South, and of hypocrisy at the North. To both bands of disunionists, the Republican party is opposed in principle and purpose. It maintains that the Bible is a freedom-breathing book. (Applause.) It contends that the Constitution is a freedom-disseminating instrument. (Renewed applause.) Upon each it swears forever to defend the Union and the Right. (Cheers.)

Yet the Republican party is accused of disunion tendencies, because it follows the faith of our Republican fathers, and struggles against the expansion of an impoverishing and demoralizing system of labor. It is not denied that our principles are sustained by a majority of our countrymen in the East, the North and the West. They are opposed with unanimity, only in the South. To test the charge, let us suppose that a political party should arise and unite all the states in one section of the confederacy in favor of so altering the national Constitution as to permit state governments to depart from the Republican form and introduce limited monarchies. Would it be sectional or unpatriotic for the other portions of the country to unite against such a party? That Slavery is a system that should be limited and discouraged, is proved by its practical operation. On the one hand, its effects upon the mass of white men in the South, can be realized alone by those who have seen what are there called "the poor Bockra," scattered through the agricultural districts. Once meeting with a railroad det-ntion in North Carolina, far from any village, the cars were surrounded by a motley number of snuff-dipping negroes (most unfavorably contrasting with those seen about the domestic hearths), and by a mingling crowd of miserable whites. If you could have looked into the pale and sickly faces and gazed upon the feeble forms of those white men, you would have declared that they had been subjected to the most devastating disease to which humanity is liable. In answer to my wondering inquiry, an intelligent Southern gentleman remarked, that in many districts, the poor white population was so poorly clothed, housed, and fed, and so destitute of animal food, that they had not the average of human health or strength. The wealthy planter may enjoy his northern jaunt and his home of idle plenty, while men like these, with only snatches of reputable employment, dishonestly barter with his negroes, and sink to the degradation of voting with him to perpetuate their own debasement. What a contrast with the moral elevation and muscular energy of the northern laborer! Labor is the foundation of wealth, and nourishes the root of a nation's prosperity. Let it not be degraded! (Applause.)

On the other hand, the inhumanity of Slavery makes resistance to its ag-

gressions the most sacred duty. It is unjust and iniquitous—at enmity with every sentiment of righteousness and generosity in the human heart. There are those who have seen a woman of twenty years, with a child by her side (both whiter than many who would scorn the imputation of negro blood,) placed for sale upon the court-house steps of a Southern village. There are those who have beheld the mother and daughter knocked off by the auctioneer—the woman to one trader; the child to another. That tender, womanly form falls into the arms of the rough auctioneer; the contract is broken—the chattel is not delivered—the mother is dragged to a retreat, to linger insensible, and at last to die.

These instances, indeed, are exceptional and occasional. Admit that they are rare. They are sometimes witnessed, and they are sustained by law. How many droves of fat, sleek negroes can efface such a stigma from the system? Are its revolting features ever softened when it extends to new domains? Are we not bound by every obligation—as we ourselves may one day be in extremity and require help in need—not, indeed, to enter upon any unconstitutional, futile, or absurd interference with Slavery where it now exists beyond our jurisdiction, but to wage an uncompromising warfare upon the organization of a system like this in territories now unscoured by so cold a despotism? (Cheers.)

Obedying the noblest instincts of humanity, and the highest appeals of patriotism, the Republican party is marching on to a full possession of the government at Washington. (Applause.) We mean to change the whole moral aspect of the nation in the eyes of its own people and the world. Slavery shall cease to be lauded in the high places of the land. It shall no longer be the passport to office or civility at our national capitol. Our ambassadors, unlike a recent American minister to Brazil, shall boast of our freedom and be silent of our slavery. Corruption shall be rebuked at home, and our country bear abroad a noble example to the nations of the earth. (Loud Cheers.)

“What are monuments of bravery,
Where no public virtues bloom?
What avail in lands of Slavery
Trophied temple, arch, and tomb?—
Pageants!—Let the world revere us
For our peoples' rights and laws,
And the breasts of civic heroes
Bared in Freedom's holy cause!”

We mean to open to free labor the vast expanse of our western territory, whose extent cannot be conceived without a careful calculation; we mean to consecrate to free institutions embryo states whose very names are now strange to us. Our cities shall be drained of their surplus population—emigration be invited westward—and opportunity to labor be given to free white men, wherever may have been their residence or origin. To these aims, we add the determination to reform our public-land system—make it tributary to the interests, not of speculators but of the people—and secure to the honest actual settler a free and inviolable homestead. (Renewed cheers.)

In reply to those who allege that our advance to the power which sooner or later awaits us, will be followed by commotion and disunion, we point to the history of the last few years. The threats which failed to intimidate our friends while nobly supporting Mr. Banks for the Speakership of the House of Representatives, were hushed upon his election. In the midst of a profound calm, he was conducted to the chair by a South Carolinian. And at a recent period, we have seen at Washington, how Republican power, when once achieved, subdues

the waves of faction. I have heard it related of a band of insurgents, that when a regiment of troops approached in the name of public order, the insurrection was only heightened and its tumult augmented, because the muskets were believed to contain blank cartridges. In a moment, a mutter of thunder is heard from the sky, followed by a terrific peal. The rabble sink down in silence and awe! Thus the advance of the Republican party, preparatory to its final triumph, may be attended with the irritating clash of arms, and the rebel Democracy may continue and increase their disordered cry of disunion; but when the thunder of our principles shall be heard from the high places of the land, and we shall calmly acquire and firmly maintain the true power which those principles shall assure us, they will bow to the voice of the right, and thousands shall confess with shame the part they took in opposition to our peaceful and patriotic progress. (Loud and protracted cheers.)

Our power, once established, will banish the dread of our success, which is the secret of the commotions in the discomfited ranks of our opponents. The phantom of disunion shall sink, and the ship of state move smoothly, proudly on to the accomplishment of noble purposes. Let us, then, rally upon her deck, with the flag of Union and Liberty at her mast head, and a tried commander at her helm. Let our natural leaders be our real leaders, thus attesting our sincerity and convicting the public judgment that ours is a party not of spoils but of principle; a party intent upon no merely temporary triumph, but determined to achieve a glorious and beneficent victory. (Prolonged and enthusiastic cheering.)

The President announced the eighth regular toast—

“*The Territories of the Union.*—As our common property, they should be administered by our common Government; as the refuge and support of overflowing populations, they should offer to every man a free home; as the germs of future civilization and power, they should be made free and prosperous States.”

WM. CURTIS NOYES, Esq., who was called upon to respond, on rising was received with loud cheers, evincing a right hearty welcome.

SPEECH OF WILLIAM CURTIS NOYES, Esq.

Mr. President:—

I shall gratefully remember your kindness, and that of the Republican Association of the Eighteenth Ward, in which I happen not to reside, for inviting me to this festival. This is the first occasion, during the agitations which have distracted the country for the last three or four months, when any respectable portion of the Republican Party has been convened for the utterance of its sentiments. I regard it, therefore, as peculiarly fortunate that we have here those who may, in some sense, speak for the party; and while it is a very wet night without, Sir, and so far as I can discover, a very mellow one within, you seem to have given me rather a dry subject—certainly if it is not dry, it is very trite; because for the last six or eight years, indeed for the last ten years almost, scarcely any question has been agitated more thoroughly than that connected with the organization, government, and the existence of liberty in the Territories of the Union. Before I come to that subject, however, and in order that I may not be misunderstood, and in order that the party that I in part represent, may

not be misrepresented, I beg to call your attention to a few general matters. You are aware, Sir, that the North is charged—the leaders of the Republican party are charged, with fomenting a dissolution of the Union. I repel the insinuation or assertion with scorn. (“Good,” and applause.) I repel it in behalf of the party; I repel it in my own behalf, as an humble member of the party. No falsehood more atrocious has ever been uttered against the Republican party. (Applause.) The North, Sir, never has been in favor of disunion—never. We have had a most salutary example upon that subject in the North. The members of the Hartford Convention, now over forty years ago, were suspected,—*suspected* only,—of disunion designs. They were really not guilty of entertaining them; because they were in the main pure, upright, and patriotic men—mistaken it is true, in their views of duty to the country in a time of war and disaster; and the very suspicion of a desire for disunion at the North, destroyed the political existence of every one of them. (Cheers.) They were permitted to go into retirement, as honorable gentlemen, not thereafter to be entrusted as leaders of any party. That is the first example. We have had another, still more significant. We rebuked disunion at home, or measures which looked to disunion, because people faltered in support of the government in the perils of war; and because the Hartford Convention had that tendency, it was looked upon with disgrace and dishonor. But we have had another rebuke of disunion at the South, FROM THE NORTH.

Thirty years ago, when the standard of nullification was raised at the South—in South Carolina—when it sought assistance from its sister States,—who was the foremost in rebuking it? Who was the most eloquent, earnest, and devoted advocate that put it down? Who so successfully seconded the exertions of ANDREW JACKSON, and succeeded in destroying and demolishing the treasonable structure of nullification which had been raised? It was the great orator and patriot now sleeping in his honored grave at Marshfield. (Loud applause.) Blessed be his memory! Long will it live in the affections of the American people! (Renewed applause.)

Here are the two instances, then, in which the North has rebuked disunion at home and abroad; and the good sense of the country has kept it down, has crushed it, for more than forty years. I remember, thirty years ago, having some connection with a newspaper, writing an article which I have yet, and which I have examined within a few days, rebuking the Executive of the State of Georgia, who threatened disunion, in one of his messages, because the government did not remove the Indians from the State. And so it has been at the South, whenever anything was a real or supposed cause of dissatisfaction: disunion was the remedy. But there is no disunion at the North. There is a settled purpose to have liberty in the Union and in the Territories, but *no disunion* anywhere. We desire to observe, we are determined to observe as a party, as sovereign States in the North, every portion of the social compact contained in the Constitution of the United States; and what is more, Sir, we are determined to compel their observance by others. It is obligatory upon them as well as upon ourselves; and we are met here to-night for the purpose of rebuking disunion and everything which tends to disunion, whether it be here or whether it be elsewhere: and while we are determined to observe and to have others observe, all the compromises of the Constitution, we do not desire, in the slightest degree to interfere with any of the domestic institutions of the South. As the distinguished gentleman who has preceded me has said, with the internal condition of the States, whether it be in respect of slaves or in respect of any-

thing else, we disavow the right to interfere. We disavow any authority on the part of anybody but the people of the States themselves, to interfere; and what is more, Sir, we will aid—if there be domestic insurrection, or if there be violence from abroad, from whatever quarter it may come—we will aid, with all the powers of the Constitution, and with all the appliances of the State government, in putting down everything which may disturb the tranquillity of any State or any territory. (Applause.) Yes, Sir, we go further than this. We will observe, with a fidelity which knows no abatement or reserve—we will observe, as citizens and as politicians, not only the statutes of Congress, which may be properly passed upon subjects over which they have proper jurisdiction; but we will observe also, the decisions of the Supreme Court, where they are deliberately pronounced upon matters in judgment and necessary to the decision of the particular question pending, in regard to which that tribunal has exclusive authority. (Applause.) We will observe them with the same fidelity that we would obey our own statutes or the decisions of the highest tribunal in our own State. But, Sir, we require that those decisions should be properly pronounced, upon matters necessarily in judgment, and that there should not be any extra-judicial opinions—whether designed or not, we care not—any extra-judicial opinions, got up for political purposes to aid a political party, and attempted to be forced upon us contrary to the well-settled rule which prevails in cases of that description. In other words, we respect and obey the tribunal in the exercise of all its legitimate functions, as we do in respect of our own judicial tribunals; if it goes beyond that, we do what the State of Georgia did; we do what General Jackson did; we do what other States at the South have done,—in declaring that when that tribunal steps beyond its proper boundaries under the Constitution, its decisions are not binding upon us, and we will seek their reversal and overthrow. I wish to be understood, however, that this is to be done in a lawful, peaceable, constitutional way—not by disregarding even an extra-judicial decision, but by presenting the question again to the Court, as we have a right to present it, and as I hope a distinguished gentleman who has just addressed you [Mr. Evarts] will hereafter be able to present one case which has greatly agitated the country; so that the Court, upon a deliberate review of its judgment, will pronounce it to be erroneous, and declare, that the Constitution of the United States is a constitution for liberty, and not a constitution for the propagation, extension, and perpetuation of slavery. (Great cheering.) In other words, what the Republican party proposes to do is to be done lawfully, under the Constitution; by force of persuasion and argument, by the operation of deliberate conviction peaceably produced, and not by violence or outrage, or by a wanton disregard of the decisions of the Court. Further, we do not propose, in the event of the election of a President who does not suit us, whose political opinions do not agree with our own, to dissolve the Union. We leave that matter entirely for our Southern brethren. (Laughter.)

We believe, and act upon the belief, that any man elected according to the provisions of the Constitution—fairly elected—without fraud, without violence, is entitled to be President of the United States for his whole term. (Applause.)

We do not agree with the doctrine of Gov. Wise, or the doctrine imputed to him, that if a President is elected whom the South does not admire, they will march to Washington and prevent his inauguration. I should like to see that operation tried with a Northern President. (Voices—So would I.) I should like to see it tried; and I hope the Republican party will put these proud boasters in a way to try it. (Cheers.) I think that the patriotic hordes of the

North would march to Washington, and that those who came there to effect so ignoble and so treasonable an object, would show less courage even than was exhibited during the war of 1812, at Bladensburg.

Now, while we observe all these guarantees, while we mean to follow all the compromises of the Constitution, implicitly; the people at the South must understand, that we will do so in the full exercise of our own opinions upon all subjects having a connection with civil liberty and with the ultimate progress of this country, in social advancement and in Christian civilization. (Voices—"Good," and applause.)

We allow them to entertain just such opinions as they please, to express them here if they please, upon all these subjects; to keep their domestic institutions to themselves, so that they may not interfere with us and with our rights of conscience; but, at the same time, we claim for ourselves—and we will have for ourselves—the right of private judgment; and we will exercise our conscientious convictions upon any and every subject within the scope of our civil institutions, as understood by the Fathers of the Republic. (Cheers.)

We maintain that there shall be no fettering of our consciences: no padlocking of our lips, will be tolerated. ("No, no," and bravo.) We will not, of course, speak our sentiments so as to create or incite domestic insurrection; but here, at the North, we will speak, we will write, we will think as we choose upon all these subjects. (Prolonged applause.) And if it be expected that the Union is to be preserved at the sacrifice of any of these rights, the sooner our Southern brethren undeceive themselves the better.

I do not apprehend any difficulty upon that subject. (Voices—Nor I either.) I do not apprehend that in the event of the election of a Republican President there will be any difficulty. It will be marvelous how pleasantly things will settle down when that is accomplished. (Voices—That's so.) It has always been so. And so far as I am concerned; so far as the Republican party is concerned, in my judgment, if we should be defeated in the next canvass—if they should elect Stephen A. Douglas, or Jefferson Davis, or Gov. Wise, or even Judas Iscariot or Barrabas—we will sustain the Union; and we will try again the next time, and we will enthrone a Republican President in the Capitol as sure as time progresses. (Protracted and loud cheers.) Moreover, if it be expected that we are to adopt the doctrine recently promulgated in high quarters, that slavery is the normal condition of the black race, that it is a Divine Institution, that it has the power and right of missionary benevolence to sustain it; if we are to sustain that doctrine; if that is to be forced upon us as American citizens, we shall see what will be the sad result. It is lamentable that after one encroachment upon another has been made upon the principles of freedom, that this new dogma is also added to the list of enormities. It is substantially proclaimed by the highest judicial authority of the general government. It is proclaimed in the city of New York, and I felt indignation and shame, that such sentiments promulgated in the city of New York, at a large public meeting, held for the laudable purpose of saving a Union which was in no danger, should not have been instantly met with universal disapprobation. (Applause.) Why, Sir, it is going back three centuries in the race of civilization. (Renewed applause.) It is returning to the dark ages, and to the darkest period of the dark ages. (Voices—That's so.) It is an insult to an intelligent, civilized, and Christian community, to ask them to believe it, and to sanction such a doctrine in order to appease their Southern brethren and induce a greater love for their *domestic* institutions. Let them keep these institutions if they will, but never at the expense of our consciences. Let us entertain our own

opinions; let us express them on all proper occasions; for we cannot, we never will, surrender our right to advance our own sentiments—sentiments characteristic of the civilization of the age in which we live and alike creditable to our humanity and our manhood.

Now, I maintain, Sir, that it was the design and understanding of the framers of the Constitution, that slavery should cease by the gradual operation of laws to be passed by the several States in which it existed at the time of its formation. That sentiment is found in the speeches, in the public newspapers, in every source of information to which we can resort for the opinions which prevailed at that day. It is found, indeed, in the Constitution itself, because, after twenty years, the importation of slaves was expressly forbidden, in order to prevent their increase. We at the North have observed that implied stipulation. We have observed it because slavery was wrong in itself, injurious to the best interests of the country, destructive of the progress of freedom, and a violation of the spirit of the instrument; and especially of the Declaration of Independence, out of which that instrument grew; and it has not been till lately that the Southern people have maintained a contrary doctrine, and insisted that slavery not only existed in the States under the Constitution, but was carried by it into the Territories. Now, is it carried into the Territories by the Constitution of the United States? I maintain that it is not; and while I shall not go into the legal argument upon that subject, I will state some views that seem to me to have an important bearing upon it. It is said to have been decided in the *Dred Scott* case, that slavery does exist in the Territories in virtue of the Constitution of the United States; but, as I have already intimated, that was not a binding judgment; the point not being necessarily before the court. It was so declared at the time by several of the judges. I believe the court will review that *obiter dictum*, and come to a different conclusion. That decision, however, goes upon the ground that the spirit of the instrument sanctions slavery, and that it protects slaves as property, because fugitive slaves are required to be surrendered. It is conceded that there is no express provision upon the subject. It is claimed as incidentally inferable because property in slaves is substantially protected; so that the remark has been well made that the only property protected or recognized by the Constitution of the United States, is property in patents and in Negroes. (Laughter.)

It is not pretended by the advocates of the doctrine, that slavery is carried there by any express provision of the Constitution, or that it is established there by the Constitution, but that it attaches as an incident to a slave taken by his owner (the slave being property) into a Territory; and then the power is denied, not only to Congress but to the Legislature of the Territory to prohibit or establish slavery; and you are aware that in the Territory of Nebraska, a bill abolishing slavery has been vetoed by the Territorial Governor, and that Governor is retained in office by the President, because his veto re-echoes substantially the sentiments of the President.

Suppose, then, we concede, that a slave is property, and that he is so in virtue of the law of the particular State in which he is held in bondage. There is no common law authorizing slavery. The common law of England, which is our common law, is against it. Cowper said, a long time ago,

“Slaves cannot breathe in England,
They touch our country and their shackles fall.”

It is a rule of law, also, that colonists when they go from a particular country into a territory of the parent State, carry with them the common law of the country whence they depart. There is no common law of the United

States; no statute law of the United States regulating slavery, or any of our domestic institutions; not even of the domestic relations of parent, child, guardian, or ward, or any thing of that kind. What sort of law, then, do our colonists carry with them when they go from a State into a territory where there is no organized law? Why, of course, they carry with them the general principles of the common law, that English law which is in favor of freedom, which does not recognize slavery; and when they take a slave therefore as property, he is not held in slavery in the Territory under any territorial law, because there is none, nor under any common law, because there is none; but as the court has said, he is held in virtue of the law of the State from whence he is taken. But this cannot be. We all know that a law cannot operate extra-territorially; so that there cannot be any legalized slavery, growing out of any positive institution or positive state of the law in a Territory, for there is none. Then it attaches to him, as the court has said, because it is incidental; because being a slave in the State from whence he was taken, therefore he is a slave in the State to which he is taken, or any territory to which he is taken. Well now, let us try that argument in another form. I fear I am wearying you; (loud cries of "No, no, go on") but if you will listen to me for a few moments, I will end this discussion.

Suppose we concede that this is one of the compromises of the Constitution, that a slave may be taken into a Territory as property. It is also one of the compromises of the Constitution that a man may go from a free State and hold whatever property he has, and exercise whatever rights he possesses, precisely the same as the slave-holder may go from a slave State with his slave. The rights of each are equal—neither is exclusive. And is it possible that the Constitution of the United States protects the slave-holder alone, and does not protect the free white man when he goes there. Why, what does the free white man carry with him? He carries with him, first, a conscience that does not tolerate slavery (good)—an educated conscience, that does not tolerate slavery. It is his property, just as much as the slave is the property of the slave-owner. It is more, it is a trust delegated to him by his Maker, which he is not permitted to abuse or pervert. And yet, if a slave-holder may go there with his property thus, and thus only, establishing slavery, and preventing the exercise of the rights of conscience of the free white man, who goes there with a freedom-loving conscience, where is the toleration that the Constitution of the United States furnishes? Where their equality of rights under the Constitution? Why, he cannot speak upon the subject of slavery; he cannot print any thing upon the subject of slavery; he cannot do any thing that is displeasing to the slave-holder, without being in danger of a summary tribunal which executes *justice or vengeance*, without trial and against law.

Take another instance: He takes with him a printing press and printing materials; he carries with him a firm determination to advocate civil freedom for all, and religious liberty; he is forbidden by the very atmosphere which surrounds him, if slavery is tolerated there, from using that printing press, from publishing his sentiments, from exercising the dearest rights which have ever been conferred upon human beings, and all this because the Constitution of the United States only permits property in slaves. And where, then, is the equality for which our Southern friends so much clamor? and where is the regard for the rights of Northern men, of Northern sentiment? and above all, where are the rights of the laboring man, the poor laboring man, the foreign emigrant? Who doubts that but for slavery he would seek our wide and beautiful territories, populate them, and make them free, republican, freedom-loving States? (Cheers.) They cannot, they will not be such, if slavery imprints its deadly

stain upon them. The home-seeking laborer is turned away from them, and they are given up to the dominion of the slave-owner, the slave-driver, and to the many evils which inevitably follow in the train of slavery. In truth, its existence is a practical exclusion of emigrants from the free States. I deny, therefore, that there is any thing in the Constitution of the United States, which protects slavery in the Territories simply because the condition of slavery attached to a person in the place from whence he was taken. I say it does not, because maintaining that doctrine is subversive of the rights of Northern men, of free men, of free labor, of the proper advance of civilization, and of the spirit of the Constitution. (Applause.)

How, then, are we to advance the sentiments, the principles, which we maintain? It is by a firm, consistent, straightforward course, interfering in no respect with the rights of Southern men, and demanding that they shall not in the slightest degree interfere with our own, and by going forward to success if it may be, or to defeat if it may be, under our own chosen leaders—not any half-way leader, not any man of doubtful sentiments, not any man who may be against us the moment he is inaugurated, and of whose antecedents we have very little knowledge. Let us take a representative man (applause), one long identified with us. There are enough of them; able, distinguished, honest men; let us take one of them, and as sure as time advances, the strong spirit, the earnest will and the honest efforts of the republican party, will succeed. (Cheers.) It may not be immediately. I think it will be immediately, but it may not be. We can live, and trust, and hope. I should as soon think of taking a feeble man, a man little known to us, for our candidate, as those who rose at the bidding of Peter the Hermit, would have thought of rescuing the tomb of Mahomet from the hands of the infidel, instead of the Holy Sepulchre. Let us, then, go forward with one of our representative men. Let us present our own chosen son of New York. (Protracted and boisterous cheering. The whole company rose and cheered lustily for several minutes.) Let us present him to the Chicago Convention; let us secure his nomination if we can, and let us secure his election, if he be nominated. He is not faultless; he may have made some mistakes; but where will you find an honest record? (Applause.) Where will you find a person who, in a long career in the Senate, going there under contumely and reproach, unkindly treated by his associates—where will you find one who has borne himself so meekly, so wisely, so discreetly, so distinguishingly? Our preference is for him; but we go for any other nominee, equally a representative man. We have our preferences, but we do not adhere to those preferences if the Convention, in its wisdom, should think otherwise; but if we take a representative man, we shall have in the Territories, from henceforth and forever, free soil, free speech, a free press, free consciences, and free men. (Great cheering.)

The Chairman then read the next toast:

“*The Republican Party*—It believes in the faith of the fathers of the Republic; cherishes their traditions, and venerates their examples. It is devoted to the union of the States, and to the freedom and honor of each. God’s will and the laws of the land are the only authorities to which it professes allegiance. Wherever it bears rule, it preserves order, maintains law, and secures every man’s rights. There is not a Republican State in which any person may not travel in safety wherever he pleases, pursue his business without molestation, and write and speak on all subjects, as his conscience and self-respect may dictate. Its principles need only to be extended, to present the same spectacle throughout the whole land.” (Applause.)

He called upon DAVID DUDLEY FIELD, Esq., to respond. Mr. FIELD was loudly cheered when he vacated his seat to speak to the above sentiment. He said :—

SPEECH OF DAVID DUDLEY FIELD, Esq.

Mr. President and Gentlemen :

“ It need not surprise us that the Republican party has encountered misrepresentation and abuse. A new party, advancing rapidly to power, offering a firm resistance to the aggressive policy of the slaveholders—a policy begotten of the love of money and the love of rule—must expect to be vilified in proportion as it is feared. The weight of government cannot be transferred from one side to the other, any more than a burthen can be shifted from one shoulder to the other, without a temporary stagger. Power never passes from the few to the many, or from the many to the few, but after a struggle; and when an oligarchy is giving way, it strikes with a violence short-lived, but vindictive and cruel.

“ It is not in any offensive sense that I term the slaveholders an oligarchy. I know how many estimable persons there are in the South, and I would say nothing against them personally; but the slaveholders, of whom there are scarcely more than three hundred thousand in all, have combined to rule, and they have long ruled, the country; and it is because this rule has become at last oppressive and intolerable that a majority of the free people of the North, moved by a common impulse, have united in resistance. The body thus united is the Republican party.

“ I have said that this party is new. It has arisen and grown to its present vast proportions within the last six years, but its principles are as old as the Constitution itself. Perhaps I cannot better use the few minutes which I can venture to take in response to the toast just given, than by re-stating some of the most prominent of those principles.

“ First, let me say what the Republican party is not. It is not an abolition party. There is, perhaps, some confusion of ideas, growing out of the prevalent use of the word abolitionist. If it were taken to mean only one who would desire to see slavery abolished all over the world by some safe process, just alike to the master and to the slave, there is a vast majority of men and women throughout Christendom, the Southern States themselves included, who would be abolitionists. That, however, is not the meaning now affixed to the word in this country. Nor does it mean a citizen of a slave State who aims at the gradual emancipation of the slaves. Such a person we call an emancipationist. There are many such in Kentucky and Missouri, as we know, and elsewhere in the South, as I doubt not. But if the word abolitionist means, as I understand it, one, who, living in a free State, would interfere actively in the slave States to abolish the slavery which they tolerate, then I say the Republican party is not, never has been, and never will be, an abolition party. It will not directly nor indirectly interfere with slavery in the States whose laws permit it. Our doctrine is, that the States are sovereign and independent, except so far as they have ceded their rights to the Union. We believe that New York has no more right to unmake a slave in Virginia, than Virginia has to make a slave in New York. We go further: we regard all the States not only as legally competent to the management of their own concerns, but as morally competent; as the best judges of what is for their own good; as equals in rights and in dignity; as entitled to fraternal respect as truly as legal deference. By no means, therefore, whether by law, by violence, or by the pressure of external public opinion, would we attempt to coerce them into a change of any of their institutions.

“The Republican party is not a disunion party. It loves the Union, not with a cold, calculating love, but with a warm, heartfelt devotion. It loves it for the heroic past; it loves it for the glowing future. The traditions of brotherly help and counsel, the history of sacrifices and successes, side by side, are stored in the memory of all Republicans. Every consideration of duty, interest, affection, binds us to the union of these States. Nay, we believe not only that the Union ought to be preserved, but that it cannot be destroyed. If, in the madness and folly of the moment, there should be an attempt to sever the republic, partially successful, it could not remain disunited. The Almighty has stamped his law upon the hills and rivers of this continent, that they shall be governed by one race, and under one rule. The valley of the Mississippi can no more be parted, than the great river itself can be cut in two, and half of it rolled backward. They who own the upper waters will own the lower also, let politicians, disunionists, conventions, States even, say what they will.

The Republican is not a sectional party. What is meant by sectionalism? Not surely that the majority of those who profess particular tenets, or even all of them, live in a particular section. That might happen, nay, must happen, in all cases where a movement is not from the start universal. The philosophy of Plato and the jurisprudence of Rome were never sectional, though for ages the one was shut in Greece and the other in Italy. The Republican party would not be sectional, though in the whole century not a single republican should live in a slave State. The test of sectionalism is the nature of the tenets which the party professes, and the conduct which it aims to pursue. There is nothing in our tenets or our conduct which is incompatible with Southern life and Southern institutions. There are Republicans good and true in Kentucky and in Missouri; there might be the same in Virginia or in Georgia.

Having thus stated what the Republican party is not, let me state what it is, what it professes, and what it aims to accomplish. Its most distinctive principle lies in its opposition to the extension of slavery. With existing institutions it does not intermeddle; but, believing slavery to be a moral, social, and political evil, it will legislate, when it legislates at all on the subject, in favor of the good and against the evil. Upon this principle it will preserve and enforce the laws against the slave trade; it will punish the slave-trader as a pirate, and keep a federal squadron on the coast of Africa to intercept and suppress the infamous and cruel traffic in human beings. Upon the same principle it will protect the Territories from the spread of slavery. Whether it shall do this by prohibiting slavery by act of Congress, or by giving full effect to Territorial laws of exclusion, the motive and the end are the same. We believe that Congress has the power of legislation over the Territories, and may exclude slavery. Whether it shall do so actively, or leave the subject to the Territorial Legislatures, one thing is certain—Republicans will never consent to an act of Congress extending slavery to the Territories, or protecting it there. If slavery ever again enters a Territory of this Union, it must enter it after the Territorial Legislature has assembled and passed a law in its favor; which event, I take it, is not likely to happen, if the law of freedom, which is the primal law of the land, be enforced until the Legislature shall act. It is plainly the unalterable determination of the Republican party, that Congress shall never again pass a law in favor of slavery, under any circumstances whatever. So far as human servitude is to be protected and encouraged, the States must do it for themselves, and within their own borders, where they shall be left undisturbed either by the federal arm, or by their sister States.

A second principle of the Republican party aims at the maintenance intact of

all the rights of the States. The Union defends the States, the States defend the citizens. Such is the general theory of our institutions. The freedom of the citizen is mainly dependent upon the spirit, dignity, and authority of the States. To these we are unalterably devoted. We of New York, for example, mean never to allow slavery to come into this free State, no matter how many laws Congress or the other States may pass. If a slave escapes hither he may be reclaimed. Such is the compact formed by our fathers, and we will abide by it; but beyond that we will not go; and whenever a master brings a slave here, the moment he touches our soil he shall be free. Our opposenents maintain the contrary, if we may judge them by the late attempt of the State of Virginia to procure a decision from the courts, that a Virginian may bring his slaves into our State and hold them here. We think that New York and Virginia both may declare what persons, not citizens of the United States, may enter their possessions. We hold, also, that Congress cannot pass a law to punish a citizen of New York for any writing or speech uttered here. So long as this sovereign State gives us leave, we shall write and speak without the favor of Congress. Our opposenents appear to think differently, as we gather from the late debate in the Senate of the United States upon Mr. Douglas's proposition.

A third principle of the Republican party is, devotion to the law and legal methods of redress, in opposition to disorder and violence. It holds with inflexible tenacity to the doctrine that for all legal wrong, the law furnishes the only legal remedy; that disorder and violence are not more the symptoms of decay, than presages of Revolution. There are other principles of great importance, though of less magnitude than those I have mentioned; but I have not time to pursue them further.

These principles, as I have said, are as old as the Constitution itself, though the party which professes them is new. They have been taught us from the cradle, we have read them in every volume of our history, and when the occasion came for vindicating them by acts, a whole people sprang to their feet, and the great party of which we are speaking, took possession of almost all the North. No wonder that a movement so spontaneous and general should have been made. The greatest name known to us, and perhaps to the world, is that of Washington; and next to him in popular regard is Jefferson. The Republican creed can be extracted from the writings of Washington and Jefferson alone. We are aiming at nothing new—we are seeking only to preserve, maintain, and defend the old. Ours is the true conservative party. We stand upon the principles, we pursue the policy, of our fathers. Their principles were tried in the fires of the Revolution; their policy was the development of their belief and their experience. Under the first Presidents, in the first Congresses, when the immortal men who had led the nation in war, and framed its constitution in peace, were living and acting, devising the laws and determining the course of the republic, then were laid down the maxims of government which the republicans to-day profess as the creed of their party. By them we are ready to stand—I was about to say, stand or fall; but we cannot fall. For, in the language of that simple and sublime hymn which the faith of the early ages has handed down to us through the Catholic church, to the joy of all believers:—

For right is right, as God is God;
And right shall surely win.
To doubt would be disloyalty,
To falter would be sin.

Mr. FIELD sat down amid enthusiastic cheering.

The President read the tenth regular toast —

“*The Next Presidential Election*—It will show that when the constitutional majority elects a President, the nation has both the power and the will to enforce submission to his administration of the government.”

WM. W. NORTROP, Esq., to whom was assigned the duty of responding to this toast, generously withdrew to afford Mr. SMITH an opportunity of proposing “*The Clergy*,” Rev. Dr. BELLOWS being about to retire.

Mr. E. DELAFIELD SMITH arose, and addressing the President, said he wished to interrupt the regular order of the proceedings for the purpose of proposing a toast which he was confident would meet with the unanimous approval of the assembly. He gave as a sentiment—

“*The Clergy*—Eminent men among them encourage us to expect the active aid of the moral and the religious in the promotion of our cause.”

He called upon the Rev. Dr. BELLOWS, who in obedience to the demand spoke substantially as follows:—

SPEECH OF REV. HENRY W. BELLOWS, D. D.

Mr. President and Gentlemen :

I should have been very much obliged, if you had denied the prayer made in my behalf by the courtesy of the last speaker; for certainly I came here only to hear and be instructed, not otherwise to participate in the exercises which we have so richly enjoyed. Yet, though unprepared to offer anything deserving a place among the deliberate and weighty speeches of this evening, I am prepared to express the satisfaction I have had in seeing the policy of the Republican party expounded with such clearness, shaped with such prudence, and with so strict a regard to constitutional obligations and moral principles, by the learned and eloquent leaders to whom we have listened. (Applause.) I hold it a most auspicious beginning of the campaign now before us, that its first words in this city should have been pronounced so prudently, distinctly and harmoniously. (Renewed applause.)

It has seemed to me for some time one of the greatest dangers of our Northern sentiment in connection with the slavery question, that our people did not fully consider the limitations placed by the Constitution upon their rights and their obligations in reference to this subject; that they were in danger of confounding what natural justice and universal principles must lead them to desire, with what alone they have a right to demand, or to seek to effect, under a constitution of original compromises and adjustments. It is natural, Sir, in a country as happy and free as ours, to forget that any difference exists between the actual and the ideal, or that any obstacles are to hinder theoretical justice and absolute humanity from being realized in our practice. But all civil and social compacts involve limitations and compromises—a choice of evils, a patience with defects; and it is high time that the sensitive but not always sufficiently enlightened conscience of our republican constituents, were relieved of a sense of general responsibility in respect to matters over which they can have no legitimate political control. My own sympathies and affections are active enough, I trust, to enable me to respect and admire the generous humanity which drives our Northern heart to desire and to aim not merely at the constitutional restriction of slavery, but also at its extinction through political agitation. (Cheers.)

But I feel, as a citizen, that this ardor ought to be self-restrained; that this generous humanity must be regulated and kept within the banks of a strict constitutional allowance, and not permitted an unchecked and irregular sweep through our domain. I confess it is a painful necessity to be called on by political obligations to restrain humane impulses. But I know not how, with proper regard to oaths and compacts, we can still claim political blessings and rights and permit ourselves to construe our political obligations by anything more or less than the fair spirit of their original meaning. (Applause.) I say this with a full knowledge of what is expected from a Christian minister—whose leanings should be to the largest liberty and the most humane interpretation of law. But when such precious things as society itself, political existence and national integrity, are threatened by moral and philanthropic enthusiasm, it is important for religious teachers to consider the respect due to positive law, and to ask themselves whether natural justice and the prospects of universal liberty are to be served by seeking them directly, and at the risk of written and legal obligations. As the friend of the slave, as one who considers him cruelly wronged by the existing institutions of the slave States, I still believe that his best and speediest chance for liberty is in having the sympathy of a Northern public, which strictly regards every *political* obligation it has entered into with the South, and thus secures its right to exert whatever *moral* influence it can in the slave's favor. If the slave knew his interest he would implore us to be faithful to our constitutional compact.

I know that the clergy you have just honored with a sentiment, are somewhat open to the charge of disregarding their duties as citizens—of uttering intemperate and exciting sentiments, incompatible with civil and political obligations. Doubtless, they could profit by more intercourse with the legal profession, and by a habit of considering more attentively the relations between right and rights—conscience and law. The country owes at this juncture vast obligations to the legal profession for its careful and just discriminations; and when legal acuteness and sobriety are animated by patriotism and illumined by conscientious and religious feelings, they furnish, as we have seen to-night, safe and invaluable pilotage to our national vessel. (Great applause.)

Allow me, Sir, to dwell for a moment on another point. Whatever our dislike of slavery may be, or our sympathy for the slave, I think duty, charity, and policy require us to abstain strictly from insulting and irritating observations towards our Southern fellow-citizens. They are, at this hour, the most unhappily circumstanced people under the sun. Living under the moral censure of the civilized globe, for being the heirs of an institution which has unexpectedly grown into almost sudden vastness—which has from political and economic causes insiduously interwoven itself with their social and material interests in an inseparable way—they have been overpowered by a temptation too strong for human nature to resist—overtaken by an evil too mighty to be successfully withstood. (Applause.) Their pecuniary interests, their hereditary customs, their natural prejudices and affections, their local pride, their climate, and their peculiar industry—all commend servile labor to their support. Their position, as American citizens, the heirs of a revolutionary struggle for the rights of man, their federal connection with a reformatory and progressive sisterhood of States, their necessary participation in the moral and political light of the nineteenth century, their own secret sense of the intrinsic perils of this anomalous and belated element of barbaric despotism in a free political atmosphere, of the ever-increasing necessity of bringing to an end, what none can propose any practicable method of safely ending—all unite to make slavery a subject of alarm, anxiety, self-reproach, and perplexity. (Loud cheers.)

Was ever a great and generous, and chivalrous people placed in a more pitiable position?—the World, Humanity, their Country, Morality, Religion, Personal Security, pointing them to a path which neither their economic interests, their political pride, their hereditary customs, their internal passions and prejudices, their climate, nor their experience permit them to take! I do not suppose our Southern brethren are different from ourselves, or that we, in their circumstances, should have acted better than they. I believe that never in the history of the world, was a community of States capable of rising so far above the blinding power of its temporal interests, as to feel the obligation to abandon on moral grounds, what almost every other consideration induced them to cling to. The emancipation of the West Indies, done by the parent country for a colony, was not a parallel case. Under these circumstances, the South merits our sympathy, our charity, and our forbearance. Nor must her passionate unreasonableness, and abuse of Northern rights and Northern character, provoke or excuse retaliation. Being right, we can afford to submit to temporary injustice. Being wrong, she cannot but be unhappy and unjust. The sense of doom from the public opinion of the world, is upon slavery, and the South is too intelligent not to know it, and too sensitive not to feel all the pain of such a frown. It drives her to madness, perverts for the time her moral judgments, leads her to say, "Evil be thou my good;" makes her deny the wisdom and humanity of her own great ancestors, and to enunciate not only a slave code, but a Morality, a Biblical Interpretation, a Literature, a Public Law, and a Philosophy of History, all her own. (Applause.)

Can we not estimate, by this tremendous retrogradation, the enormous pressure of interest and feeling under which the South is living? and should it not soften our judgment, temper our indignation, and sweeten our tones towards her, to reflect that only irresistible common causes could produce so general, so abnormal, so extraordinary a perversion of universal morality; and that such a condition of things cannot be mended by crimination, abuse, or taunts. I hope that however the evils of slavery may be exposed in the present campaign, slaveholders themselves will be treated with a sympathy and tenderness which, though they may affect to repel and despise, they obviously need, and I sincerely think, really deserve.

I will say no more (cries of "Go on," "go on"), except to add my most hearty assent to the opinion expressed by several gentlemen here, that duty and policy require the Republican party to put in the place of standard-bearer in the coming campaign, a thoroughly-known representative man. If "it is better to be right than to be President" it is better also to do justice and honor to right principles, than to make a President by compromising them. We are aiming to create a proper public sentiment, by fair political agitation and discussion, and action; and to place this honest public sentiment in actual power if we can. But if we merely put into the Presidential chair one that has not a republican heart in his bosom, but only wears one on his sleeve—one that has not helped to *make* the republican sentiment of the country, and is not actually in sympathetic relations with the moral and political feelings of the party, we shall have achieved no real triumph; we shall have done no work that will not remain to be done again, or probably undone and then done over! Beaten with a candidate like Seward, we shall have made more ground, than victorious with an equivocal or compromise man. (Applause.) If we sacrifice to immediate success, the duty of supporting with all the force we have, our grand moral policy as embodied in some man whose record stands in the eyes of all the world for this policy, we shall lose real influence and dignity throughout the

country and the world. (Cheers.) Let us show that we are not aiming at patronage and spoils, nor at mere party and sectional triumphs, but that we are conscientiously and religiously resolved to support, under the Constitution, that political policy which represents undying opposition to the least extension of slavery. (Cheers.) That is the thing for which we contend, and he who best represents that opposition—represents it in the most constitutional, temperate, and able manner,—not only best deserves our support—but can best secure it, and if beaten, will leave us stronger in the country, than though we possessed the government with a political Hybrid, his chief merits being no record in the Presidential chair.

With a standard-bearer that truly stands for us, we shall have, I doubt not, the party, the world, and Divine Providence, on our side. (Great applause.)

The eleventh regular toast—

“*Our own noble City*,—She will not always be the spoil of the Sham Democracy.”

was responded to by JAMES M. CROSS, Esq., Ex-member of the Board of Councilmen.

SPEECH OF JAS. M. CROSS, ESQ.

Mr. Chairman :—

It is to be regretted that the gentleman who was expected to respond to this sentiment, has been called away. He could have done the subject better justice, and would have entertained you better than I can. He is fresh from our municipal council, where he was permitted to sit out his term in peace. He was complimented with a renomination, in which also he has the advantage of me; therefore, under the circumstances, his absence is peculiarly unfortunate.

To speak of what constitutes the greatness of New York, is like repeating a thrice-told tale. Who is not familiar with it as with household words? What can be said of her that you do not already know? In an enlightened age like this, with a free press, with avenues to knowledge broad and numerous, it would be presumption in me to attempt to enlighten an audience like this, upon the past history or present greatness of this heart of the western hemisphere. The ubiquity of her commerce, her commodious harbor, her commanding geographical position, her palatial buildings, her public charities, her common schools, her private hospitals and asylums, her public works, of which the Central Park will be the crowning glory,—these are known to you all; as well as that other evidence of importance so peculiar to New York—I mean high taxation. (Laughter and applause.) Other evidences of distinction are abundant, of which it would not become us to boast. Take for example our municipal government. Where is there a city that can come within gun-shot of us? (Laughter.) I am aware that mankind do not like to be told of their faults; but I insist that a real friend will not withhold the truth. Doubtless, you have all heard of the traveler who preferred being put into a room with a pickpocket than with a New-York alderman. (Renewed merriment.) Gentlemen may draw their own conclusions. I am decidedly of the opinion the traveler did not entertain a very exalted opinion of New-York officials. Let *Sham Democracy* boast of their great and reliable majorities in this city. It is my solemn conviction, if it has nothing better to commend itself, than the city government, and the status of the men it sends to the Legislature and to Congress, the

sooner their majority is wiped out, the better it will be for the city and the country. (Loud cheers.)

One of the greatest elements of the city's wealth and prosperity is the intelligence and enterprise of her merchants. Admiring that element as I do, I am mortified at the course some of them have recently adopted in respect to the Southern trade. I would ask those merchants, why not extend the principle, and they themselves apply the test, to commission merchants, and to manufacturers of New and Old England, and of France and Germany, and refuse to buy from those who are not "sound on the goose"? (Laughter.) If Boston and Philadelphia had disgraced themselves as New York has done, there would be some comfort in the thought; as it is, we are alone in our humiliation, and it will be a long day before the stigma will be wiped out. Mr. Chairman, we have had in this and other cities, what were called Union-saving demonstrations. Now, Sir, if those proceedings could be paraphrased, they would read thus—"Pray, Messrs. Fire-eaters, be so kind as not to break up this happy, money-making Union, in the event of the election of a Republican President. We will use our best endeavors to convince our neighbors that human slavery is benignant; that it is a benign institution, and should be extended, and that labor is degrading to the white man. All this we promise faithfully to perform, and we humbly beg you not to withdraw your trade from us, and that you will permit our Senators and Representatives to go to and fro at the seat of government unmolested, and that you will not pull down the Pillars of the Capitol." (Great laughter)

Sir, the best Union-saving process that can be devised is, to thrust from power the present corrupt Sham Democracy, and elect Republicans. (Loud cheers.)

If there are any who fear that the success of the Republican party next fall will endanger the Union, I say to them that all that the friends of the Union need fear is, corruption in high places. Pay no attention to the threats of pro-slavery men. The election of one bad man to a high office of trust and power, endangers the Union more than the threats of all the fire-eaters in the land. I conclude by offering this sentiment:—

Quadrennial Dissolutions of the Union—A disease engendered by President-making. It is indigenous to the South, where it affects the head. In the North, its symptoms are a weakness in the knees, supposed to be induced by fear of the loss of trade or "Government Pap." It is not considered dangerous; nevertheless, Republican doctors are preparing a remedy to exterminate it.

The twelfth regular toast,—

"*The Press and the Ballot*—The two weapons of the Republicans, with which they will overcome fraud, menace, and violence,"

Was responded to by ROBERT A. WEST, Esq., of the *Commercial Advertiser*.

SPEECH OF ROBERT A. WEST, Esq.

Mr. President and Fellow Republicans :

I think if the proposer of the *tenth* toast was excused from speaking, most assuredly the proposer of the *twelfth* ought to be allowed to keep silence. I like this toast most truly, Sir; but while one of old said, "What shall that man say who cometh after the king?" I may ask, What shall that man say who not only cometh after the king (meaning your honorable self, Sir), but after the princes of the Republican family also? We have had here to-night, Sir, true

representative men of the party with whom we are associated; and they have traveled over all the ground that any speaker can be expected to occupy this evening. They have told us what we are and what we are not; they have told us what we shall do and what we shall not do; but just at the very point when the great act of our lives is to be performed, your speaker to your teeth toast, I know not who he is, shuts himself up in silence, and what we are to do for the presidential election is left for the press and the ballot to say. (Good, and applause.) Well, Sir, I almost think that the press and the ballot will say it; and nobody can hinder the press and the ballot from saying whatever they like to say. It is my firm conviction, Sir, that the Republican press and the Republican voters can do just about what they like, if they are sincere and honorable and earnest in their purposes. So far as the Press is concerned, it becomes me to say little. Although not a very old man, still I am the representative of a paper which is older than anybody here, I believe; but the ballot-box is older than the Press. I thank God, Sir, that in this day we have the Press *and* the ballot, and that by the Press and the ballot we can and we will defeat all attempts to intimidate the Republican party, and to stifle freedom of thought and freedom of speech, by violence or by anything else. (Applause.) Sir, as long as the men who conduct the Press and the men who have a conscience and a voice—so long as the free men of the North—are what they are, no power, no violence, no oppression, nothing at all, can hinder them from saying, “We are freemen, and we will have a free government.” (Cheers.) Sir, you cannot give us an oppressive government, you cannot maintain a government that shall favor oppression, so long as we have an independent press and a ballot-box. The ballot-box may be made of glass or anything else; but while the voice of the people is heard, freedom shall reign, freedom of speech, freedom of thought, and freedom of labor, everywhere. (Applause.) Sir, I will not trespass longer upon the company this evening. I did hope when I heard so much eloquence and truth, so many expositions of the true principles of the Republican party, that surely I might say nothing, enjoy my dinner, and go home to my family; but when that toast came to me, I felt as though my heart swelled, and when I heard Dr. BELLOWS pray this evening that the spirit of WASHINGTON might be infused into our spirits, I felt to say “Amen” to his prayer. God grant that as long as we live the spirit of WASHINGTON may entirely suffuse and impregnate our whole life and action, and make us men loving freedom, loving free thought and loving free utterance, wherever we are! (Applause.) And, Sir, this shall be so, as our esteemed friend, Mr. FIELD, and the other speakers have shown to us. In days gone by there was no idea of stopping freedom of speech, or the freedom of the press and of the ballot-box; and in reference to these past days, I say, with my whole heart and soul,

“Long be our fathers’ temple ours!
Woe to the hand by which it falls!
A thousand spirits guard its towers,
And crowds of freemen watch its walls.”

“Long be their shield by us possessed!
Lord, rear around our blest abode
The buttress of a freeman’s breast,
The rampart of a present God!”

The thirteenth regular toast was then read—

“*Agriculture, Commerce, Manufactures, and the Mechanic Arts*—The pillars of all our real independence; the great sources of our national prosperity. May our Federal Government be ever watchful of the best interests of each!”

Elliott F. Shepard, Esq., responded. On rising, Mr. Shepard was received with three hearty cheers, after which he spoke as follows :

SPEECH OF ELLIOTT F. SHEPARD, Esq.

Mr. President and Fellow Republicans :

I have been entertained this evening in listening to the presentation of the political aspects of the question of the ascendancy of the Republican party ; and I esteem it no small honor to have been assigned the social aspects of the triumph of this great party. (Applause.)

We are sprung from the sod, we "go down to the sea in ships," we make ourselves, we thrive by the arts. And this is true of nations as well as of individuals. Agriculture, Commerce, Manufactures, and the Mechanic Arts presuppose intelligence, they are themselves educators ; and with this implication in it, I can conceive of no more appropriate sentiment for a patriotic occasion than the one you have proposed.

Agriculture is production ; Commerce, adventure ; Mechanic Arts, ingenuity ; and Manufactures, one of the results of that ingenuity. With an ingenuity that is proud of being useful, and with a spirit of adventure that produces permanent progress, a nation must be strong and happy at home, and respected and imitated abroad.

You have given me, Sir, the edifice of our Independence, built upon four pillars.

If it were not heaven-constructed, it might seem to have a slender support ; but the whole race of man is sprung from *one* father, and *four* pillars are enough for our edifice. Sir Christopher Wren showed how the vast building, containing ten thousands of people, which Samson pulled down at his death, was supported by only *two* pillars. The only Samsons which can destroy our temple of liberty will be that one of Sloth undermining the pillars of Manufactures and Mechanics, and that one of War bending between the pillars of Agriculture and Commerce.

When Sloth and War shall become our national characteristics, then, and not till then, need we fear the falling of our Independence. (Applause.)

You have given me our national prosperity as flowing from *four* sources. Yes, Agriculture is the Gihon ; Commerce, the Pison ; Manufactures, the Hiddekel ; and Mechanic Arts, the Euphrates—the four rivers of Paradise flowing from the four cardinal points of the compass ; and our national prosperity is the Eden that they water.

Of these four occupations that have in all ages divided the attention of mankind,—sometimes each ruling a nation to the exclusion of the others ; but all of them happily blended in our own,—we may designate as the type of the first, the patriotic Cincinnatus ; as the type of the second, the god-like Columbus ; as the type of the third, the brilliant Arkwright ; as the type of the last, the living Morse.

The Roman Cincinnatus is reproduced in our own Washington (applause), whose acres of Mount Vernon are as celebrated as the Palace of St. James, and who united all these four elements of prosperity in himself, in addition to his other wonderful endowments.

George Washington, Sir, raised wheat (laughter)—he was an agriculturist ; he had a mill—he understood the mechanic arts ; he made flour—he was a manufacturer ; he shipped his barrels to the West Indies—he was a commercial man. And, Sir, it is said, that flour branded "George Washington," sold in the West Indies without the universal custom of being re-weighed ; so sure did every one who purchased it feel, that every barrel contained exactly the one

hundred and ninety-six pounds paid for. (Laughter and cheers.) What else would we have expected of George Washington's flour ?

From the period when the first President was a farmer, to the present time, the interests of our Republic in agriculture have grown with its growth in territory and population, and may now be set down at \$4,500,000,000 annually.

Of Columbus we cannot say too much, nor think too often. There was a divinity in his trial trip. His little fleet, the "Pinta," the "Santa Maria," and the "Niña," were a very trinity ; and, as by a divine energy, the shores that they discovered now annually send forth 8,000,000 of tonnage.

On Arkwright, the *Goodyear* of Cotton, we seem to pronounce a eulogy as we speak his name. He was a *wright* of the most subtle and yet practical kind, and he has put the immense interests of manufactures into an *ark* where they shall be forever saved to the world. This interest in our cherished Republic is annually \$1,300,000,000.

Of Morse it is, and it is not, too soon to speak. His fame is already an immortal one, whilst we still may hail him as a cotemporary, and a fellow-citizen of the very city and the very ward we live in. When thought shall cease to be envious of a physical compeer in electricity, when intercourse between man and man shall die, and when lightning shall cease to be terrible, and its uses wonderful, then shall Morse be consigned to oblivion. The interest of the Republic in the Mechanic Arts can but poorly be stated in figures, for they are commensurate with the worth of genius, and the power of invention and discovery.

Almost within the reach of my voice, there lives another of our distinguished fellow-citizens, who, with princely liberality unexampled in the new world, and a philanthropy boundless as human nature itself, has erected and founded an institution "To Union and Art," where these four departments of knowledge are to be inculcated gratuitously for the benefit of that very national prosperity which you have said was based upon them. And their mention inseparably connects itself with his name. Where they hereafter shall go, the honor of Cooper shall be. The poor and aspiring, the learned and inquiring, shall together have their Saint *Peter*. And the name of his institution shall be consecrated by all the legends of patriotism, and "Union" be a synonym of Independence. (Loud applause.) We have shown that the pillars on which it is founded, are immense ; they must endure.

You have given me the prayer that our Federal Government should ever be watchful of the best interests of each of these four original forces or principles of a commonwealth.

I believe the Federal Government *will* be mindful of their best interests, when that government becomes Republican. (Applause.)

In proof of this, I can bring the fact that the great principle of giving land to the landless (cheers), a farm to every creature who bears the image of the Great Father, whose offspring we all are, for the purpose of stimulating the productions of agriculture, and raising the individual to the same independence personally that our nation enjoys collectively, is a Republican measure, first announced and advocated by Republicans, and based upon Republican principles.

I can bring the fact that our own glorious State, the first in commerce of all this Union, is a Republican State.

I can bring the fact that the spot of our Union which is the home of our Manufactures, is Republican New-England ; Republican, and, therefore, New England.

I can bring the fact that the great record-house of the Mechanic Arts, the Patent Office in the Federal city, shows that three quarters of all the inven-

tions and discoveries and improvements of the Union, come from Republican States.

With these proofs in view, who doubts that the Federal Government *will* be watchful of the best interests of Agriculture, Commerce, Manufactures, and the Mechanic Arts, when the Republicans shall have a complete majority in both houses of Congress, when they shall once more wear the ermine of the Supreme Court, and when they shall fill the Presidential chair with their own favorite chief!

Mr. Shepard sat down amid loud and long-continued applause.

The regular toasts having been disposed of, the PRESIDENT said, There are several other gentlemen present whom we expect to hear from; and he had great pleasure in introducing Mr. HENRY BEENY, a gentleman who has rendered signal service in his advocacy of the rights of the laboring classes; and he begged to associate with his name a subject to which he had long devoted special attention—“*Home for the Homeless; Land for the Landless.*”

SPEECH OF HENRY BEENY, Esq.

Mr. President:

“*Land for the Landless.*”

This sentiment, Sir, is the sentiment of humanity, and I love it; it is the sentiment of our theory of government, and I love it for that; and it is the sentiment of the Republican party, and I love it also for that.

Would to God it had an abler champion here to respond to it—“*Land for the Landless!*” What thoughts, what feelings, what aspirations it awakens in the minds of the industrious and wealth-producing millions of the country! It bids the laborer cheer up and toil on, politically as well as socially—telling him he can vote himself an independent home on the Public Lands of his country, and assures him of a brighter, a better, and a happier time coming, when the rights and happiness of the individual will not be lost sight of in the desire for national greatness. (Applause.)

To the merchant, it is a guarantee of large sales on short credits, dispelling the fear of a commercial crisis; for give the people land and they could and would consume ten times as much of the products of the manufactories of the world as they now do; and the money not being locked up in corner-lot speculations, there would be none or very little protested paper from the West to drag a long and doubtful existence through a number of years, perhaps only to be repudiated at last or redeemed at from 50 to 75 per cent. discount.

To this great and glorious Republic it is the cement that is to hold the Union of these States together, against any treasonable attempts either of foreign or domestic foe.

“*Land for the Landless!*”—the watch-word that is to lead us triumphantly through the coming contest; and why? Because it appeals to our humanity, to our patriotism, to our personal interest. It is the sentiment underlying our Declaration of man’s rights to “*Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness;*” for happiness depends upon liberty, liberty upon life; life upon sustenance, and sustenance is derived from the soil. It is but mockery to proclaim man’s right to be, and deny his right to a place wherein to be; and how many of the millions that make up this nation are without a place, without a home! Vastly too many for the security of life or property.

But are we sincere in our battle-cry of *Land for the Landless*, and would we make our party the successful one? Then let us give the people the assurance of our sincerity and the necessary information on the subject, and we place

our party beyond the shadow of a doubt of its success, and lay a sure foundation for realizing that the people are sovereigns and not subjects.

I close with the prophetic foreshadowment of Land Reform in the future as seen in the poetic vision of one of its firm friends :

“Were our national legislature constantly to provide every man with a plat of land, and as constantly protect him in its enjoyment and its development, whilst the other nations of the world pursue their present policies of monopolies in government and noble blood, a spirit from the land of light would fail in an effort to paint the contrast in perfection in half a century. From Vermont’s green hills to the land of flowers, from the sea-gull’s home in the Atlantic to where he dips his snow-white wing in the Pacific; from the rich cañons of the Rocky Mountains, deep buried in their base, all round every way, you would behold the joy-lit faces of boys and girls, of old men and women, millions of cottages of happy freemen, untold fields of living verdure, rivers and lakes filled with steamers rich in freight, and richer still in human forms that crowd their decks; trains of merchandise and travel succeeding each other till the eye is wearied in beholding; villages with their church spires and academical cupolas dotting the landscape like clouds at sunset; cities with their marble palaces lining the shores of both oceans, and the great inland seas; harbors crowded with the ships of the world, their commingling colors floating from their masts; above all, though unseen to mortal eye, a realm of virtuous intellect, loving its country and adoring its God.” (Enthusiastic applause.)

The President remarked that many of our best Republicans in the 18th Ward were found among *our adopted citizens*, especially among the Germans; and he would be happy to hear from PHILIP FRANKENHEIMER, Esq., in their behalf.

SPEECH OF PHILIP FRANKENHEIMER, Esq.

Mr. President :—

Surrounded as I am by a galaxy of orators, I acknowledge that I am flattered in being called upon to respond to this toast—“Our Adopted Citizens.”

I am proud to know that I am an American citizen—a citizen by adoption of this our beloved country, whose Father’s birthday we this day celebrate.—Sir, before I proceed any farther, excuse me if I stop to cast a lingering look to the land that gave me birth, once “mine Fatherland,” where I spent my childish days; where I received my primary education, where father, mother, and kindred dwelt, where all and everything to a childish fancy seemed perfection, where merely spelling books and common readers were taught, and sacred obedience to kings and potentates, strongly inculcated, as if by right of God, and blindly obeyed.

Sir! nature demands her debt; from a child I came to be a youth, began to read and understand books, pamphlets, and periodicals of a maturer kind than those stamped and privileged by despots. Ideas expanded, senses worked their functions; and the desire ripened to better my condition, to pursue happiness, to flee oppression, to throw off the moral shackles that fettered me, and to set at defiance the will of that king, who in our childhood was instrumental to poison our mind with the belief that he was born to govern, to act, to think for us, “by the grace of God.”

The resolution to emigrate was formed; the eve of my departure drew near; and with my father’s blessing, I left clandestinely that home no longer mine nor desired as such. Emotions of anguish force themselves on my mind,

when I call back that moment when my father and kindred bade me farewell. What gloom and anxiety was depicted on their countenances, not for my leaving, but for the fear that I might be chased, hunted, and brought back, and made to serve the King of Bavaria.

But Sir, there is a King, a God of a higher grace, who willed that I should go unmolested. He guided my bark as if carried by the wings of angels, and my good Mayflower landed on these shores a pilgrim, as good a Republican as ever breathed the breath of life. (Cheers.)

Although but a child, I began to realize my youthful dreams. I had life, I had liberty, was surrounded by unknown fellow-Republicans, and by their example was shown how to pursue happiness.

Fate ordained that I should be reared and brought up in the State of Alabama. It was there, Sir, where I abjured my allegiance to Ludwig, the King of Bavaria, and swore to support the Constitution of the United States, and was thus made an American citizen. (Cheers.) Surely no Roman of old was prouder to say that he was a Roman citizen, than I was when I knew that I became an American. (Applause.) Sir, we think it unfair in the leaders of the American party to read us out of it, and to endeavor to deprive us of this our sacred second birthright.

Sir, I am well convinced that I express the sentiment of every one of our adopted fellow-citizens, that we all cherish the strongest attachment to this our beloved country.

Should there be but a single one in this land who has been made a citizen according to the Constitution of these United States, and yet finds room for a single spark of allegiance to any Power in Europe, then he has perjured himself, and is guilty of constructive treason.

Sir, good, true, and sincere Americans as we are, we are forbidden to visit our parents, our kindred, and are forsaken the right to pay a tribute to the tombs of our fathers: tyrants and despots would seize us, press us into their armies, and would make us suffer. This should not be the case; and we trust the day is not far hence, when our government will legislate for the protection of every American in every corner of the world. And we might, with propriety, extend our sympathy to other civilized nations struggling for liberty; and to the East we may say, "Be of good cheer;" we send moral aid from this our western hemisphere.

The PRESIDENT said:—We have with us another representative of the Fatherland, whom we should be glad to hear from, a gentleman connected with the cause of education. All must admit that common schools, whether in the Old World or the New, are the best nurseries of virtue, liberty, and independence; and I beg to associate with them the name of Prof. THEODORE G. GLAUBENSKLEE.

SPEECH OF PROF. GLAUBENSKLEE.

Prof. GLAUBENSKLEE, in obedience to the call of the President, said, that the honor conferred upon him was as undeserved as it was unexpected. He owed the compliment, in the first place, to having been born a German. There was not a man within the room who did not boast of descending from that great family of nations that we were accustomed to call the Germanic nations. There was not one among them that was not proud of thinking that he was the representative of that family of nations which had conferred the blessings



of civilization upon this beautiful globe. Ab were tired of what they had risen to thus far; light to break upon them. That light was which introduced Christianity into Germany; and he argued that Christianity and civilization were synonymous terms. He thought that those who had the honor of being descended from that race would never forget their great calling; they would never forget that the great object for which they were sent into the world was to proclaim and defend liberty from the North to the South, from the East to the West. (Cheers.) Although it might appear differently, he claimed that they had done so. He reminded them of the fact that Charlemagne was a German; and also that the Pope said of the greatest of German Emperors, Frederick the Second of the House of Hohenstaufen, that the only fault he had was that he was born three or four centuries ahead of his time. He reminded them of the fact that one Martin Luther was a man who reformed some things. (Applause.) He might also mention Emanuel Kant, who reformed Philosophy; Schiller, and a number of others; and if he appealed to their personal feelings, he would name Steuben and De Kalb, both of whom gave up high and exalted positions in coming to this country to show their devotion to the cause of liberty. He (the speaker) did not think that one fact escaped the attention of his hearers—namely, the interest which the Germans took in the cause of education. Every human being was composed of *beast* and *God*; the beast element was the *body*, the God element was the *mind*. The speaker maintained that the divine part had never been cultivated as much as it was among the Germanic races. That had been proven from olden times to the present, with the exception of the last fifteen years, for since that time the United States confessedly took the lead in the cause of education; but, at the present day, there was not a country in Europe that gave the masses a more thorough scientific education than did Germany. He congratulated them upon the fact that the State of New York had taken the precedence in educational matters. In conclusion, the Professor alluded to the fact, that the Free Academy, an institution in which the citizens of New York had represented their intention to give their children a finished education, was in the Eighteenth ward. He was proud of being a laborer in that institution of learning, and assured his hearers that there were very few in the Free Academy who did not believe in the great principle of human liberty. The Professor sat down amid loud applause.

The Chairman called upon JOB L. BLACK, Esq., President of the 18th Ward Republican Association, who rose and said:—I thank you very kindly for making use of my name this evening. I do not mean to say any thing further than to propose the following toast:—

Cassius M. Clay, able, eloquent, and fearless; ever faithful to the one purpose of his life, the liberties of the people and the Union of the States.

The sentiment was received with great applause. Mr. SHEPARD then proposed three cheers for ELLIOT C. COWDIN, Esq., for the able and efficient manner in which he had presided over the festive board, which was responded to with acclamation, the company rising amid great enthusiasm, and soon after dispersed, delighted with the exercises of the evening.

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