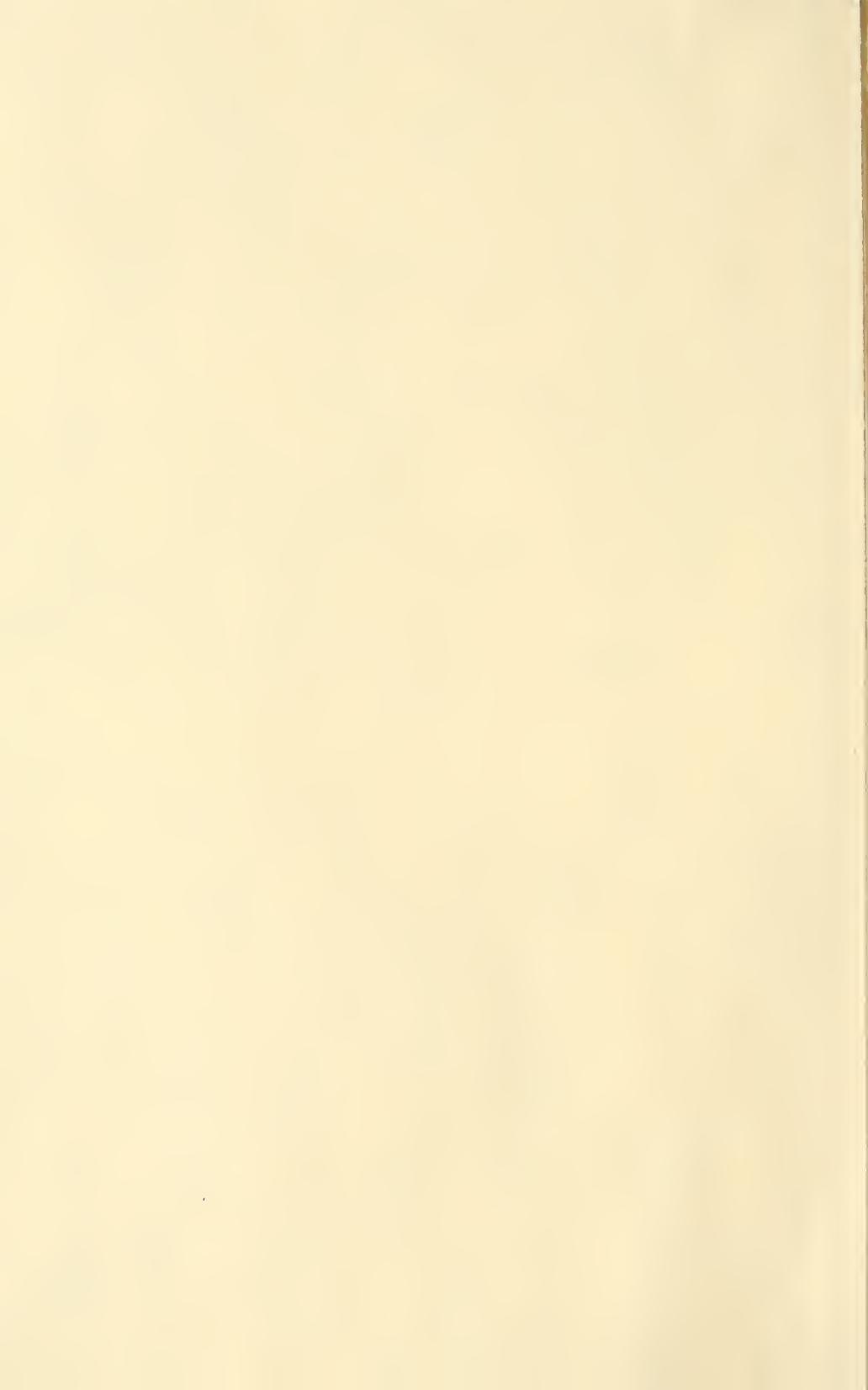


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# PURITANISM IN POLITICS.

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## SPEECH

OF

# HON. S. S. COX, OF OHIO,

BEFORE THE

DEMOCRATIC UNION ASSOCIATION,

*2510*

January 13, 1863.



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# PURITANISM IN POLITICS.

## S P E E C H

OF

## HON. S. S. COX, OF OHIO,

BEFORE THE

Democratic Union Association, Jan. 13th, 1863.

The rooms of the Democratic Union Association, at 932 Broadway, were crowded, on the evening of the 13th of January, to their fullest capacity, so that all the aisles and entrances were filled, to listen to an address from Hon. S. S. Cox, of Ohio. The audience was of the most intelligent and enthusiastic character.— Among those present were Judge Barbour, Judge McCunn, Hon. E. P. Norton, Hon. Jas. Brocks, and Hon. Gideon J. Tucker. The hall of the Association has been newly arranged, painted and decorated, and is well lighted, warm and comfortable. Over the speakers' platform is a gas jet forming the word 'Union.' It is the intention of the Association to hold weekly or semi-monthly meetings, to be addressed by the most prominent Democratic orators of the country. The course promises to be most interesting and effective.

Hon. Luke F. Cozzens, the President of the Association, introduced Mr. Cox, in a few appropriate words.

Mr. Cox was received with great applause. When the applause had subsided, he spoke as follows:

GENTLEMEN OF THE YOUNG MEN'S DEMOCRATIC ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK:—If this hearty enthusiasm were before an election I could more readily understand it. It seems, however, that you have begun the campaign of 1864. (Cheers.) Let us be patient and persevering; and if the great central States will

stand by the West till then, as they did last fall, we may rescue the government from the hands of the spoilers, and reinvigorate the national life from that fountain of all power, the people. (Great cheers.) Gentlemen, a New England orator, Tristram Burgess, once said, that "we were surrounded, protected and secured by our Constitution, from the power and violence of the world, as some wealthy regions are, by their own barriers, sheltered from the ravages of the ocean. But a small, insidious, persevering reptile may, unseen, bore through the loftiest and broadest mound. The water follows its path, silently and imperceptibly at first, until at length a breach is made; and the ocean rushing in, flocks and herds, and men, are swept away by the deluge."

Puritanism is the reptile, which has been boring into the mound, which is the Constitution, (cheers) and this civil war comes in like the devouring sea! Its rushing tide of devastation will not be stayed until the reptile is crushed and the mound rebuilt. This will never be accomplished until an administration obtains control, which, in the language of Gov. Seymour, can grasp the dimensions and control the sweep of this sanguinary flood. (Great cheers.) To obtain such an administration, the people will, unhappily, have to wait for some two years. Meanwhile, what new schemes of division may further distract us. My apprehension is, that before the people can thoroughly reform themselves or the conduct of their government, another and tenfold worse civil strife may be raging; not the South against the North; not slave against free States, but the North against itself. I pray God in his mercy to avert such dangers. The hatred not of New England, but of its arrogant, selfish, narrow and Puritan policy, now dominant in the Federal government, will, I fear,

never be allayed until blood is shed in our northern States. There is but one policy which could have stopped it; the maintenance by the Administration of the policy marked out in the summer of 1861, which declared no war for conquest—no anti-slavery crusade. This alone united the North. This might have preserved that unity. But I see no hopes of a return to such a policy. The bigots of New England have their Chancellors in Michigan and their Greeleys in New York, and the anti-slavery pressure continues. Indeed it is now questioned whether any policy can now restore the Union. Abolition has made the Union, for the present, impossible, ("That's so.") An aroused people may strike blindly and madly, and the result may be the formation of new alliances among the States and fresh conflicts among the people.

As a western man, representing the capital of the leading State of the north west during these past six years, I have not been unobservant of the signs in that quarter. I have persistently opposed all schemes of secession and division. I yet oppose them. But I am far behind the impulse and sentiment of the West. The erection of the States, watered by the Mississippi and its tributaries into an independent Republic; standing on its own resources, mineral and agricultural, with a soil so fat that if you "tickle it with a hoe, it will laugh with a harvest;" [cheers.]—a connection with which, would be sought by the South and the East, yet choosing for itself its cheapest and best outlet to the sea; banded together by river and homogeneity of interest—is becoming something more than a dream. It is the talk of every other western man. All fall into it, with a facility which is shocking to the olden sense of nationality. I speak of these schemes only to disapprove and to warn. Just as in 1861, in my seat in Congress, I warned of similar southern schemes, but in vain. All warning fell on sodden hearts. In vain the lamented Douglas urged; in vain the noble Crittenden plead [Cheers for Crittenden!] New England fanaticism made compromise impossible. Let us now be warned in time! As patriotic men, loving our whole country, we must understand the sources of this new discontent. The West protest now, as New York and Pennsylvania and New Jersey protested in the last elections, that they desire to stand in the Union, protected by all the monuments of the Constitution. Gov. Seymour (great cheers) means much and well, when he says that these central and western States will at last assure us of our old union. [Cheers.] They are willing to perform the voyage—desert the ship who may. They will keep all the shipping articles—break them who may. They do not intend to be ruled, however, by the Constitution-breaking, law-defying, negro-loving, Pharisæism of New England! [A voice—"let her slide"—cheers.] No. We will keep her in on her good behavior and cast forth the seven devils of clerical meddling and monopolizing aggrandizement from this political Magdalen. [Laughter] From the social and political ban which will be issued against this pestilent section, will issue another and a better order of things, under the Constitution.

I entreat the Democratic young men of New York not to countenance any of these schemes of dismemberment, which we of the West will strive to repress; but never cease day nor night, to warn the people of the new rocks and fresh breakers which threaten. He who is

most faithful in pointing them out in time, though he may be reviled, gives the best proof of single-hearted loyalty and will be approved by his conscience and his God. Denying all sympathy with any scheme which would in any way mutilate the Republic, I boldly declare to you these new and growing dangers. Jefferson Davis is aware of these things; and counts largely upon the weakness, inconstitute and division engendered by the fatal errors of this Administration. Already the Democratic organ of Cincinnati and the Republican organ at Chicago, are issuing their warnings in season. The latter advises its friends in Congress, that the farmer who is selling his corn for ten cents per bushel, if he does not use it for firewood, is not easily satisfied that there does not exist, somewhere, a way through which those who act for him at Washington may afford him relief. At last, he will, if the relief cannot be instant, want to know why it should not be prospective. He is perfectly aware that while New England is getting the benefits, the West is suffering the burdens of this war. In New England, the merchants and manufacturers have accumulated fortunes with Aladdin-like rapidity. There, wages are high and contracts abundant; while the West, with the Mississippi sealed, is charged extortionate rates in the transportation of its produce, and in the price of its purchases. Its people are robbed by tariff, and robbed on what they sell and what they buy. Mr. Beecher has boasted that God has given the Yankee that intelligence that knows how to turn to gold all it touches. [Laughter.] It is his insatiate cupidity, mingled with his Puritanism, which is now making men study the new Census; which makes New York wonder why, with a less population, New England has twelve Senators to her two! Ohio, too, ponders the fact that her population is greater, by 435,294, than five New England States, yet they have ten Senators while she has two! The West is beginning to ask whether this political equality among the States, made for a wise reason, is to be used for her oppression; whether to that source is attributable the partial legislation which fosters manufacture and burdens the consumer; which hampers the free interchange and enterprize of this great emporium; which shuts off the competition of the world and gives to New England fabrics the monopoly among ten millions of western farmers. Why are we to pay fifty per cent more for goods, and lose fifty per cent on wheat, and corn and pork? Fifty per cent! I should say ninety per cent, adding the cost of gold, in which the tariff is paid, to the custom duties, which the consumer at last pays. To gratify one favored class and section, are the laws of economy suspended with the Constitution? (Laughter and cheers.) Is free trade good, when it takes off the duty and stops the revenue on madder and coloring matter, but bad if it lets in free cotton and woolen fabrics? Is it right to tax Illinois whiskey until the manufacture is stopped, to gratify the members from Maine, and let the tariff remain on wood-screws, to enrich a Rhode Island company? One is made in the West and the other in New England; but is that a reason why the one should be burdened by an internal tax to destroy, while the other bears an external tax to foster? Do you wonder that, at public meetings West, it is resolved that the Mississippi Valley shall no longer be tributary to Yankee cupidity and folly, and that men madly cry out: "New England fanaticism and speculation have made Disunion! New England stands

in the way of Re-Union! Perish New England, that the Union may live!" (Great cheering, and a voice, "We've had enough of her.")—There is a legend related of St. Lawrence. As he lay on the gridiron, conscious that he was sufficiently done on one side, he requested the cooks, if not too inconvenient, to turn him over and do him on the other. (Laughter.) I fear the West will never be canonized, if it requires such double sacrifices to reach the saintly calendar. (Laughter.)

But these economic abuses can be righted by another Congress. The evils are temporary.—They would be borne, but unhappily they seemed to be accompanied by an element harder to master—the PURITANISM of New England.—(Hises.) This is bred in the bone. It is the same now, that it was hundreds of years ago. Like begets like. Generation succeeds generation, with the same stamp of Puritan character; taking success for justice, egotism for greatness, cunning for wisdom, cupidity for enterprize, sedition for liberty, and cant for piety. (Applause.) The West do not complain merely that their interests are sacrificed by New England capitalists, for their aggrandizement; but they detest the idea of Puritan politics, that sins should be reformed by the State, and that the State should unite its functions practically with the church, for the propagation of moral and religious dogmas. For these objects the laws of economy and the dictates of public opinion which ever look to the interest of sections and men are disregarded.—He who fails to observe these laws, understands little of the science of government.—New England may be accounted smart in intellect, cunning in invention and energetic in industry. She may boast of her libraries, schools, churches and press. She may understand the science which subsidizes the lever, the pulley, the cylinder and wheel. She may study, as the worm does, how to draw a thread fine, and, like the spider, how to make the web. She may understand the mechanism of matter, and may boast of an Archimedes and a Jaquard in every factory; but such smartness may be unable to comprehend the machinery of a State. It may bring—nay, it has already brought—crash and confusion where better minds evolved beauty and harmony! (Applause.) It is not true that New England is smart in the sense of wisdom. It is not smart to be informed on one side of a question. One-sided information is the blindest ignorance. A man who reads the *Tribune* exclusively, has but a crazy activity of mind. (Laughter.) It is no evidence of smartness that New England should array against her the ideas of the rest of the Union. She showed no smartness in allowing this war to begin, when she could have prevented it.—She has shown none in her estimate of the formidable character of the rebellion. She has shown none in her Morrill tariffs and her schemes of emancipation. Is it smart to build factories and destroy the very sources of the cotton which runs them? Is it smart, to over-tax, for her own benefit, a more powerful section, as she has the West? If she is not driven from the Union, she will be humiliated in it. (Cheers.) But it is neither wise nor just to impeach a whole people for the misdoings and errors of a part, even when that part is dominant. While, therefore, I analyze the elements of New England Society, and their relations to our politics, I shall not confound that which is good with that which is mischievous. In Colonial times, the resentful bigotry of an Endicott was relieved by the amiable

character of a Winthrop; as in later times Daniel Webster (cheers) stands like a granite rock repelling the wave of New England isms.—(Cheers.) I would not confound Rufus Choate, Chief Justice Shaw, Benjamin F. Thomas and Judge Curtis, and such illustrious men (cheers) with Theodore Parker, Wendell Phillips, Gov. Andrew, Charles Sumner, and the lesser spawn of Transcendentalism. (Hises.) The one class have ever cultivated the graces of civil order; the other have been and are the Marplots of the Republic.

I speak of that ruling element, which even before it reached our shores, while it was in exile in Holland, while it ruled in early days at Plymouth and at Boston, and which has since been distributed all over our country, presents always the same selfish, pharasaical, egotistic and intolerant type of character. We find it in our politics to day, as the Tudors found it three hundred years ago, ever meddling for harm; and yet seeking its own safety by concessions, but never conceding anything for the welfare of others, unless, thereby, it could help itself in larger measure. (Laughter and cheers.)—Even in the time of Elizabeth, it compromised with its persecutors, by agreeing to the passage of a bill by Parliament which shielded the Presbyterians, but provided a punishment for the Separatists. Ho,kins closes his history of the Puritans of that time, by saying, with discriminating justice, that "we do not claim for them that they had well defined and correct ideas of civil liberty. For example, the dispensing power of the sovereign—utterly in mockery of all legislation and practically a canker at the root of civil liberty—seems to have been generally admitted by them." Just as now, when it suits their interest and object, they clamor for the proclamations and confessions, which dispense with the Constitution. (Applause.)

It were to take their own account of themselves, as for instance, when garished with the rhetoric of Baucroft, one might infer that they deserved the eulogy of Macaulay, and that every petty presbyter was the viceregent of the Most High, specially anointed to reproach mankind with its shortcomings. (Laughter.) The truth is, that their history, as written by themselves, has been glossed with falsehood.—Investigation is fast rubbing off the lacquer, and the rotten framework of their ethics and politics is beginning to appear. If they are permitted to write the annals of this present war, the truth will never appear. (Laughter.) But so momentous a conflict as this has awakened better minds; and in the history, which posterity will read, the Puritans will play the part of intermeddling destructives, self-willed and intolerant, beyond any characters yet known to history.

The grand keynote of the Puritan is, the "slavery" was the cause of this war, and they as men and Christians, we should extirpate it. I do not intend now to refute this fallacy. Our past seventy years refute it. Because slavery was meddled with, and returned in violence what was given in wrath and malice, it does not follow that it was the cause of the violence. The doctrine of the French Socialist Proudhon, that property is robbery, and should be abolished, is a sample of the same fallacy.\* What is known as Abolition is, in the moral sense, the cause of the strife. (Cheers.) Abolition is

\* I am indebted for this felicitous illustration speech of the distinguished member of Cong Kentucky, Hon. John W. Menzies.

the offspring of Puritanism. Until Abolition arose, the Union was never seriously menaced; the Constitution was never endangered. Puritanism introduced the moral elements involved in slavery into politics, and thereby threw the church into the arena. Our Christianity, therefore, became a wrangler about human institutions. Churches were divided and pulpits desecrated. A certain class in a certain section were sinners and were damned forever. Speculative discussion about a higher law than the organic political law, poisoned politics and beget asperities of sections. The first harrangue of George Thompson, in this country, under the auspices of the Fessendens of Maine and Garrisons of Massachusetts, was predicated on the idea that slavery was a sin against God; and that no Christian people should tolerate it. I hold in my hand the letters and addresses by George Thompson, during his mission here. In his first address, at Lowell, October 5, 1834, he laid down the dogmas which are now being worked out in disunion and blood. He said: "The medium through which he contemplated the various tribes that peopled earth was one which *blended all hues* Toward sin in every form, no mercy should be shown. A *war of extermination* should be waged with the works of the devil. . . . Misguided patriotism spread the alarm, 'the Union is in danger.' But whom should they obey? He boldly answered God, who required that men should cease to do evil." He demanded that the Constitution should be changed "What though the Union was in danger!" said this interloper; "there is every disposition among British Abolitionists to extend to you their sympathy, their counsel and their *contributions*." We are now getting in overmeasure the sympathy, counsel and contributions of these lovely kinsfolk—the English Abolitionists. (Cheers and laughter)

Following this, as the logical consequence of these higher-law notions, came another volume, which I hold in my hand: "The Constitution, a Pro Slavery Compact, or Extracts from the Madison Papers, &c., selected by," whom think you? Wendell Phillips! [Hissee] In this volume, it was shown, as I quote: "That a compromise was made between freedom and slavery in 1787, granting to the slaveholder distinct privileges and protection for his slave property, in return for certain commercial concessions on his part toward the North. They proved also, that the nation at large were fully aware of this bargain at the time, and entered into it, willingly and with open eyes." In the same volume are collected from the speeches of Webster and Quincy Adams, certain passages, showing that slavery had its protection in the Constitution, and therefore, the Constitution was a league with death and a covenant with hell. It wound up with the demand: "No Union with slaveholders."

Perhaps Wendell Phillips may not be considered by some as a representative of the Republican party. But he does truly represent this Administration, with its proclamation of liberty. Look at the votes in Congress on my motion on yesterday, to lay on the table a resolution by Thaddeus Stevens [hissee] to raise 150,000 martial negroes. [Hissee] Why, one would judge from that that the white race in this country, like the Yankee's calf, was "pretty nearly gin out." [Great laughter; a voice, "They want to get the niggers cheap, so that they won't have the trouble to colonize them."] I cannot see any especial difference between the republicanism that sustains emancipation proclamations and the real old genuine Congo Ab-

olitionism [Cheers.] They are two separate links of the same sausage made out of the same original dog. [Great and continued applause and laughter.]

I refer to these volumes to show that over thirty years ago, the popular instinct feared that the Union would be in danger from these insidious borings of these Puritanic reptiles. The riot's then consequent upon such enunciations, were the instinctive outpourings of the Union loving masses, fearing a speech too free and a cause too reckless for the stability of the government.

These extracts are the germ of the power now overshadowing the land. We may learn from them, that the religious element was invoked as the ally of this crusade against slavery. What though slavery was a part of the practical structure of society South, no matter. What though it was a part of the Provisional order, just as it was in the time of Moses and the Saviour, no matter. Moses sought not to abolish it; Christ and his apostles meddled not with it, but taught those general rules by which it might be regulated, outside of civil government. But a new evangel was preached by the Abolitionists. Applying the old doctrines of Puritanism to our established order, it began, on moral grounds, to undermine the structure of our civil society.

It might at first sight, seem anomalous that New Englanders, who have prided themselves on their local self-government, beginning with the town meeting, should play the meddler with the concerns of other people far distant, even though, to do it, they took the name and doctrine of religion. But such is the contradiction of this Puritan character, that whenever it enjoyed a blessing it did not want it extended. [Laughter.] It was ever intermeddling to forbid its extension. In illustration of these facts, allow me to recur to the colonial days.

It is susceptible of proof, that the reason why the Pilgrim Fathers could not live in peace in England, was their tendency to propagate their creed offensively. They came hither, as is popularly believed, to escape persecution. When they came what did they do? The Emperor of France, in his *Idees Napoleonieenes*, (page 40) answers the question when he says it is "almost always seen that in times of trouble, the oppressed cry out for liberty themselves, and having obtained it, they refuse to grant it to others. There existed in England, in the seventeenth century, a religious and republican sect, which being persecuted, resolved to go beyond the seas to an uninhabited world, there to enjoy that sweet and holy liberty which the Old World refused to grant. Victims of intolerance certainly, these independent men will, in the new country, be more just than their oppressors! But, inconsistency of the human heart! the very first law passed by the Puritans founding a new society in the State of Massachusetts, was one declaring the penalty of death to those who should dissent from these religious doctrines." This is the testimony of all history, as I shall presently show.

Before they left England, King James said of them, we doubt not with some truth, that they were pests in the church and commonwealth. When the Mayflower and the Speedwell were on the sea with their freight of Pilgrims, the same perversity among themselves occurred. Their own historian, Elliott, (p. 57,) says, "That these vessels contained the Pilgrim wheat sifted from the three kingdoms; but," he says, "that it needed sifting once or twice more."

[Laughter.] One of their leaders said: "Our voyage hitner (from Holland to Dartmouth,) hath been as full of crosses as ourselves of crookedness." [Laughter.] Later, in 1621, he again said, what was no doubt true, "that they were yoked with some ill conditioned people, who will never do good, but corrupt and abuse others." Oliver, in his history, proves that the captain of the Mayflower was bribed by the Dutch, who had settlements in this vicinity, not to land the Pilgrims in or near the Hudson, where they intended to settle. [Laughter, and a voice, "that's true."] If there are any praying Knickerbockers here—[cries of "plenty," and laughter] I hope that I may not be considered intrusive upon spiritual concerns, if I suggest that it is not too late, even yet, to give thanks for that pious fraud which led to this happy riddance! [Great laughter.]

There is no doubt that, when exiled, as soon as they learned the language in Holland, they began to wrangle with the Dutch about their creed. This will account for the anxiety about their presence in the island of Manhattan. It is a mistake to suppose that the Pilgrims left Holland on account of religious persecution. The reason which they gave for leaving Leyden was that the Dutch would not observe the Sabbath, and the fear lest their children should grow up to be dissipated Dutchmen. [Laughter.] But there were other reasons. They anticipated poverty, and were greatly influenced, as is sometimes the case yet with their descendants, by worldly considerations. [Laughter.] In the language of the time, their hopes of wealth mingled largely and freely with their hopes of heaven. [Laughter.] Adventure toward New England, by the northern company, was not inspired by the yield of gold and silver, though visions of "mines which lay hid in the earth," were not wanting. But their treasures lay in the sea, and their divining rod held its hook and line. [Laughter.] They came here to serve God and catch fish. [Laughter.]—When the Pilgrims went to James for their charter, he asked: "What profits do you intend?" On being told "fishing," he replied, ironically, "So God have my soul, 'tis an honest trade, 'twas the apostles own calling" [Laughter.] It is a pity to spoil the poetry of Mrs. Hemans about the Pilgrims, by painting them as fishermen, who expected to find silver in the mouth of the fish they took; but so it is. We can say of them, with truth, that they "sacrificed to their net, and burned incense to their drag, because by them their portion is fat and their meat plenteous." Their descendants have not forgotten unto this day, to urge that the government of the Union should give them their fishing bounty. It is one among the privileges enjoyed by New England for her godly and apostolic mode of life. [Laughter.] When they catch a cod out comes a tax from a western farmer! But when we catch a catfish or a sucker, out West, we do not get any bounty. [Laughter.]

The Puritan historian Elliott remarks upon the second ship load of Pilgrims, called Weston's men, that they were utterly demoralized; so much so, that one of their numbers, "from a lack of principle, while gathering clams, stuck in the mud and died there!" (Laughter.) The early annalists do not forget to record the fact, that as early as 1626, Capt. Wollastin's company arrived; and that one Morton seduced them into quaffing and drinking, dancing and frisking; and that therefore they were no better than atheists. One of the moral triumphs of the Puritans consists in their having

cut down the May pole of these revelers and captured their juketing captain.

This tendency to make government a moral reform association appears all through their history. It is the especial curse of this nation at the present time. This anti-slavery propaganda springs from it. Read the barbarous and silly codes of laws in Massachusetts and Connecticut, punishing Quakers with death and flogging persons twelve pence for smoking tobacco within two miles of a meeting house; (laughter) or the penal laws against Dissenters voting and against walking in the gardens on Sabbath; or the horrid cruelties against witchcraft and the puerile enactments against making mince pies on a Sunday—(laughter)—which obtained in these colonies, where the foundations of Democratic liberty are said to have been established. Is not the same spirit yet rife which mingles morals and politics, to the detriment of both? (Cheers.) The Maine liquor law and the revenue tax law on liquors spring from the same source. Regardless of the rights of property in the one case, or the spirit of a revenue act in the other, New England bigotry ever strives to cure men's morals by legal penalties. From this same fountain, the bitter waters of civil strife have flowed. In this moral sense, the Constitution is now sought to be construed, administered or nullified. The counsel of the War Department, Mr. Whiting, a Boston attorney, in an elaborate discussion of the war powers and legislative powers, follows the Puritan doctrine, by upholding the "right of the government to interfere with slavery, Mormonism, or any other institution, condition or social status, into which the subjects of the United States can enter, whenever such interference becomes essential as a means of common defence or public welfare." It is always understood, of course, that what is for the common defence and public welfare, is to be decided by the Brahmins of Boston! It being also further understood that we Sooters of the West—being of another and inferior caste—are obliged to confess the infallibility of the Brahminical decision. It is under just such doctrines that proclamations of anti-slavery issue. (A voice: "That's so.") Other sections are not to be consulted. Had the Central, Western and Border States been consulted, the proclamation never would have been issued: and by their help, it never can or shall be executed. (Cheers.) Giving to the rebellion more vigor and unity and to the North discouragement and division—it will only be potent for mischief, by rendering the war a failure and the Union hopeless. This is the direful result of these intermeddling purists of New England. But the proclamation was to end the war. How? By the paper and ink used in its printing? By the language written, or the sound thereof? No—but as a military measure! How? By stirring up the blacks to mutiny, and thus stopping the supply of rebel labor! Well—two weeks are gone. We see no sign yet. Over three months are gone since the threat of its issue; but where are the results? It has made every southern man and woman a police force to guard against an uprising of the blacks; but the great rebellion lives. The war goes on. Gov. Andrews and the negroes may continue to dance their jubiles with their head, and, as usual, to contemplate its results with their heels. What idle and criminal nonsense to expect a rebellion like this to be put down by words—legislative or proclamative—words drawn from the passionate and wild utterances

of New England Puritanism, in press and pulpit!

Rather than yield this censorship over the morals of these States, New England was ready to welcome this bloody strife of brothers. Nor is this the first time she has convulsed the Republic, to propagate her dogmas. In 1798, the same overbearing selfishness was exhibited. In a letter of June 1st, 1798, from Mr. Johnson to John Taylor of Roanoke, it is said:

"It is true, that we are completely under the saddle of Massachusetts and Connecticut; and that they ride us very hard, cruelly inulting our feelings, as well as exhausting our strength and subsistence. Their natural friends, the three other Eastern States, join them from a sort of family pride, and they have the art to divide certain other parts of the Union, so as to make use of them to govern the whole. This is not new; it is the old practice of despots, to use apart of the people to keep the rest in order. And those who have once got an ascendancy and possess themselves of all the resources of the nation, their revenues and offices, have immense means for retaining their advantage."

Could there be a truer description of our present condition, under the lash and spur of this fanaticism? Speaking of this condition and its causes, an eminent New England divine and scholar, Dr. Lord, well remarks, that we were safe in the Union, till the moral balance was deranged and the church and State fell out of their true relations to each other and to moral government. He says further:

"We were tempted almost unconsciously, into that snare by introducing a moral element—slavery—into the reckoning of politics, and thereby brought Church and State together down to that lower level. From that time our glory has departed. Our Christianity has become secular, and our secular glory has been dimmed in having lost the reflection of a more spiritual light. We have substituted speculation for faith, and our speculative discussions have been degraded into angry wranglings. We have made God and man to exchange places: His institutes and His constitutions we have interpreted by the "higher law" of our own conceits. We have converted the Sovereign Law Giver into a politician. We have discussed by our own standards, and determined by vote how it is best for Him to carry on His government of the world. We have inquired not what He has willed and done, but what it is expedient for Him to will, and say, and do, according to a master, a party, or a school. We have popularized our creeds, measured principles by their utilities, and *God himself by His supposed subserviency to our ideas.*"

I propose to give two illustrations of these truths. The first is in your midst. Every Sabbath you have a sermon from Dr. Cheever (hisses,) demonstrating that our failures in battle are owing to the displeasure of God, because of the sin of slavery. (Cries of "Oh!") He makes slavery the terrible crime of the world in his own fancy, and reduces Omnipotence to the task of punishing us by war for its existence. He conveniently forgets that there is another side to the battle, and that when we fail, God sides, by his foolish logic, with the slaveholders. (Laughter.) Parallel with this logic, turn back to 1676 when Randolph came to New England from the parent government, to find out the cause of the Indian war. The answer of the government Massachusetts, furnishes the answer. It officially declared that "these are the great

and provoking evils for which God hath given the barbarous heathen commission to rise against them: For men wearing long hair and periwigs made of women's hair. (Laughter.) For women wearing borders of hair, and for cutting, curling and laying out their hair, and disguising themselves by following strange fashions in their apparel. (Laughter.) For profaneness in the people in not frequenting the meetings, and others going away before the blessing is pronounced. (Laughter.) For suffering the Quakers to dwell among them, and to set up their thresholds by God's thresholds, contrary to their old laws and resolutions, with many such reasons."

Thus it will be seen that the original defects in the Puritan pattern have been copied to this day. Like the Chinese artist, when told to copy a fine and costly piece of porcelain to which some accident had happened, he followed his instructions with such great skill and labor, that he copied the crack which extended the whole length of the model. (Laughter.) Another fact of history not generally accepted, is that the charter granted by King James to the Pilgrims, was for the express purpose of enlarging the gospel by the conversion of the Indians. The charter was intended to start a rival mission to that of the Jesuits among the red men. Of course, commerce, fishing and the gospel were to go hand in hand. But the sequel showed that instead of evangelizing the Indians, they soon began to regard them as red devils, whose extermination was a great duty, inasmuch as a military necessity demanded their rich lands. (Cheers and laughter.) The salvation of the red men was entirely forgotten, in their disputations among themselves as to their own creeds. Their charter was violated. Turbulence and meddling between the various settlements began to prevail. The church ruled with an iron sceptre. No one could be a voter, if he were not a church member. Although the agents of the Puritan Bay State, when they departed from England, prayed for the prosperity of their "dear mother," the Church of England, they were ready to persecute in the wilderness as well those who adhered to that church as those who deserted from themselves. Under the rule of this Puritan church, every form of surveillance was practised. The late spy system in New England churches, as illustrated in the case of the father and son, at Boston, last year, who were accused of disloyalty before a board of deacons, because they were Democrats, find its antitype in the cruel persecutions of the Quakers and Baptists, and in the Salem witchcraft. There was then a general belief that Massachusetts had a devil. That belief prevails yet—outside of Massachusetts. [Laughter.] The micrabable fanatics of 1691-2, who hunted out little girls and poor old women and tried them for witchcraft in meeting houses before godly hypocrites, have their imitators in the zealots of to-day—those minions of power who spy about to accuse and arrest those who differ with them in politics. (Cheers.) Cotton Mather said then: "The Ty Dogs of the Pit are amongst us; and the firebrands of Hell are used for scorching us, and that New England should be thus harrassed! not by swarthy Indians, but they are sooty devils." His saying would have more truth created now, for the present generation.

The same gothic intolerance is observable in their treatment of Roger Williams in 1.35. The persecutions never came to New England with any not

Their system tolerated no contradiction and allowed of no dissent. The statutes of uniformity of England, they re enacted here, by church and public sentiment. This was the source of those dissensions which were to rend their own youthful Republic, and whose intolerant spirit has produced in our time that sectional alienation which deluges the land in blood. The New England Pilgrim drove Roger Williams into the winter wilderness, as he drove Mrs. Hutchinson and Coddington to the same exile, for differences of opinion in religion. He enacted laws forbidding trade with these outlaws for conscience sake. Savages were more kind than these bigots; for the Indians hospitably received the victims of persecution. Disdaining the pope as anti-Christ, and hating the prelate, these harsh Pilgrims set up every little vanity of a preacher as their pope infallible, every village Paul Pry as an inquisitor, and every sister communicant as a spy for the detection of heresy.

It is an unpleasant task to recall the fierce disputes of these "gospel magistrates." The trial of Vane and Coddington, and the trial of Wainwright and Mrs. Hutchinson are fruitful in suggestions bearing on the present time. Eighty-two distinct heresies were passed upon at one time by the Synod at Boston. In these isms of that early day, you will find the type of all the isms of the present; including free loveism, which has its counterpart in the Familists. The history of Puritanism is a catalogue of murders, maimings, extortions and outrages, contrary to English common law, and against every notion of human justice and liberty. Rausack history from the death of Abel to the present, and you will find no such cruelties as those practiced by the prejudiced, dyspeptic Puritans, not only upon the white citizen and the Indian, but upon the simple Acadian peasant, whose distant homes they invaded and destroyed. That iron-visaged man, in his high peaked hat and ruff, whether he played the part of magistrate and elder, or of Dugald Dalgetty, like Captain Miles Standish, impelled either by his "conscience or his cattarh," rises from the dark background of colonial history, the most hateful image ever pictured by Time, the more detestable because many of his victims, as in the far-off Acadia, were the most patient, gentle and tolerant of men! No wonder a New England poet, Halleck, writes:

"Herod of Gallilee's babe butchering deed,  
Lives not on history's blushing page alone,  
Our skies, it seems, have seen like victims bleed,  
And our own Ramahs echoed groan for groan;  
The fiends of France, whose cruelties decreed  
Those dexterous drownings in the Loire and Rhone,  
Were, at their worst, but copyists, second-hand.  
Of our shrined, sainted sires—the Plymouth Pilgrim band."

(Cheers)

Had these Puritans remained in England, they might have become martyrs to their faith, and died glorying in religious persecution. But ruth demands that we should call them by their own names; they were in America the cruel zealots of bitter persecution, the more odious because they professed so differently; the more odious still because they were improved in their own generation by better and nobler men, like Williams, who were their victims. Were there not so much of suffering and malice attendant upon such intolerance, we might dismiss it all into that

— "Limbo broad and large, and called  
The Paradise of fools."

All that relieves New England from the blackness of these reproaches, is her splendid zeal and sacrifice for independence in the subsequent century. Though it is by no means clear that she would not have rebelled against the best government on earth, or even a commonwealth of angels, not according to her own notions, yet the mother country gave her cause, and she vindicated it with spirit.

The boast that the Pilgrims were the fathers of Democratic liberty in this country, is absolutely untrue, unless their persecutions, which led to it, may be considered the cause of such liberty. Allow me to call in certain facts to prove what I allege:—New Plymouth which remained separate from Massachusetts Bay until 1683, is pointed to, as the exemplar in this great work or human progress. The truth is, that Plymouth received its privileges in a mercantile line, from the London, Virginia, and afterwards from the Plymouth Company of adventurers. They left England, because they had not the stamina to remain and contend, like the Hampdens, Sydneys and Miltons, for their English privileges. Bradford, Brewster and Carver may have been godly men; but there were men in the Mayflower who wished a larger liberty than their leaders were willing to accord. The famous "Compact," signed in the cabin of the ship, 11th November, 1620, was forced from the superiors by their inferiors. So says the historian. (Elliott, 104.) I quote:

"The men of birth and education among the Pilgrims, and they were few, did not intend a Democracy. They had no faith in it." The social distinction between "Mr." and "Goodman" still continued. Not until Williams and Coddington, respectively, at Providence and Portsmouth, R. I., established the first Democracy in America, with the majority of the freemen to make laws, and upon the basis that no man should be made criminal for "doctrines," was there any true political or real liberty in New England. In Massachusetts, according to Judge Story, five sixths of the people were disfranchised, because they were not members of the church. The code of anti-Democratic sumptuary laws is the most abominable ever enacted, not merely for its harshness of penalty, but for its caste discrimination. It seems copied from the Gentoos code. Indeed, we know, as Dr. Homes has said, that there is yet in New England the Brahmin and Sooter caste. There is an old law that men might be whipped forty lashes, but gentlemen never except in very flagrant cases. The excesses of apparel were provided against rigorously. Men of mean condition were not allowed to dress in gold and silver lace, or buttons, or points at their knees, or to walk in great boots, [laughter,] or women of the same rank to wear silks, hoods or scarfs. In Harvard College penalties were meted out upon the same Gentoos code of caste. This was Democracy in Massachusetts. In this Commonwealth the directors of a company usurped the power of rulers and magistrates. The elders of the church upheld them. John Cotton wrote with pious horror that "Democracy was not ordained as fit for the government either of church or Commonwealth; as for monarchy and aristocracy they are both of them clearly approved and directed by the Scriptures." The freemen rose against both church and rulers, and after a long contest, the freemen succeeded; but they, too, broke the charter. No one was allowed to be a freeman, but a church member, and the State relapsed into a bigoted church oligarchy.—Then began a new contest for supremacy.

The church, of course, took the side of the oligarchy, the Puritan leaders still struggling against the growth of civil liberty. The republican cast into which the government was finally moulded, was forced upon it, by the freemen, in spite of the elders and magistrates. The very genius of their religion disfranchised the people, and, strange as it may seem, the people disfranchised by the church, owed then their final emancipation into Democratic liberty to the compulsory interposition of Charles II. In the seventeenth century Puritanism muzzled the press and sealed the lips of its victims and enemies, just as in the nineteenth the same inoperative form of Democracy has done the same thing. The wrong-headed fanaticism which refused to consider the Democratic Gospel of Love, clinging to the old Testament with its *lex talionis* for its codes. Familists and Baptists, Quakers and deluded people who gathered sticks for fire on a Sunday, were all punished by the harsh Jewish code. All other crimes not punished by the law already enacted, were to be attended to, according to the old Bible, as the fanatic interpreted it, the "higher law" of their own private judgment being the interpreter. This is the boasted Pilgrim Democracy!

Do we wonder that crimes of the most disgusting and heinous character abounded here? In 1689, the elders in Synod bewailed the great and visible decay of godliness. Apostacies and degeneracies, profaneness, debauchery, cursing, swearing, lying, gaming, Sabbath breaking, idleness, drunkenness and uncleanness constitute the frightful picture of the rule of Puritanism before a half century of rule in Massachusetts. By striving to make the church political they did not make the State religious. The smallest privilege of citizenship was only obtained through grace and saintship, and hence, general hypocrisy and demoralization were the results.

It is not within the scope of this address to show how these men of God treated the Indians. Their doctrine, that lands unoccupied by agriculture it was theirs to take, "*vacuum domicilium, cedit occupanti*," was deduced from the Jewish code, just as they held and traded in slaves, by the same code. What a civilization is this to be commended to the acceptance to-day, of twenty millions of people! The rules for our guidance in national trouble can never come from such a source.

What has New England done for the country? Much every way, as Governor Andrew boasts, but chiefly this, as I think. She has sent to us, as to New York, many liberal-minded, noble men. She has given us Douglas, [cheers,] Seymour, [cheers,] McClellan. [Great cheering— "three cheers for Gen. McClellan."] Liberal, great, but liberal and great because they have repudiated Puritan teaching. [Applause.] Moreover, she gave Samuel Adams for Revolutionary counsel, and, in later days, Rufus Choate, to admonish us of the dangers of sectionalism. In the old war she gave Greene and Stark, neither of them representing the Puritan element. Greene was a Quaker of Rhode Island, and moved South. Stark was a Democrat, and one of his descendants, who, last year, was the Democratic candidate for Governor of New Hampshire, is now battling against Puritanism in that State. In the late war, she gave us Gen. Hull, as in the Revolution, Gen. Arnold, and as now she gives us Gen. Butler. [Groans and hisses for Butler.]

New England voted against Jefferson at first, and her pulpit reviled him as it did Douglas.

She voted against Jackson at first, and her press slandered him, as it now slanders McClellan. Her Josiah Quincys denounced the acquisition of Louisiana, as in later days her Sumners have denounced the South. Her Mathers, of the colonial days, thundered against the Quakers and Baptists, because they differed in doctrine, just as lately, Butler closed the churches of New Orleans because the ministry would not pray as Butler—the Saint—dictated. ["The old traitor" hisses.] She denounced, in early times, the Indians as devils, whose lands were forfeit, as now she denounces slavery, while her speculators slip through our lines to dicker for slave produced secession cottons, ["That's true."] She has been the foe to the Democracy from the days of the Revolution to the present hour. Her Marsaillese is a hymn of apotheosis to John Brown—a horse thief and a murderer. But amidst all these conflicts, she has had in her midst, a minority of liberal, steadfast and patriotic Democrats. I desire to be understood as casting no reflection upon this heroic minority, soon, I trust, to become a triumphant majority. Already Connecticut and New Hampshire give us the signs of resurrection. [Cheers.] The chief cities of Massachusetts will throw off its Abolition incubus, while Portland and New Haven already glory in Democratic Congressmen. [Cheers.]

To sum up the general aspect of this Puritanism: It does not appear to have exemplified but rarely the duty of obedience to the civil magistrate. It never consecrated a savage to God, in accordance with its early charter. Its usurped powers were never used to quell sedition and to strengthen peace. It has always had a squint-eyed intellect which reminds me of—(A voice, "Butler!" great cheering)—looking with two optics to one selfish point; and a eunuch morality ever exclusive and revengeful. (Great applause.) Its solemn pretences to peculiar godliness were the general rule, while Liberty of Conscience and Democracy in polity were the exception. Instead of making the church the tomb of dissentions, it made the church the theatre of strife, and carried into the State the same pretension and bigotry which it illustrated in the church. Its literature was of that vainglorious character, which yet distinguishes the descendants of the Puritans. What it has gained in grace of style it has lost in sincerity. Mark its progress from the Mathers of three hundred years ago to the Cheevers, Beechers and Parkers of to-day.—Swollen with spiritual pride, it complacently assumed to read the designs of Providence as if it was a part of the Godhead! (Cheers.)—Its harshness made the Conformist into a Separatist, the Separatist into an Anabaptist, the Anabaptist into a Quaker, and the Quaker into an Infidel. From step to step in our day, it has run the round from orthodox, beginning with Mucklewraith Cheever, brimful of vengeance against sins "he has no mind to," and winds up in that perfect infidelity and scepticism which Parker preached and Emerson sung. Exalting this life above the next, it is not content with the order of Providence. It must assume control of the Chariot of the Sun, and direct all its shine and shadow. Alas! how fatal has been its direction in national affairs, this red chaos in our system now tells! ("That's so," and cheers.) The Puritanism of the Wilderness of 1630 and 1690 was restricted in its results and evils. Now we see its workings on a grander scale, involving a Continent in its contentions. It is a power. So is Satan. It

is intellectual. So are his ministers. It has pride, stubborn and egotistical. So have had all scourges of the earth, from the Proconsul of Sicily to the Proconsul at New Orleans. Can anyone ask : "How is it possible for such a civilization to be the cause of so great a civil war?" I will answer, because it is the parent of Abolition, and because Abolition, such as Thompson and Phillips taught, found the right soil for their bad seed; therefore it flourished to the overthrow of civil liberty, by the intermeddling with State institutions and social and labor systems, entirely alien to New England, under the Federal Constitution.—Holding to the higher law, and at last obtaining office under its banner, it spread distrust and apprehension of its excesses among one-half of the States, and rebellion, rash and unjustifiable, was the result. Men of no mark—mere pigmies, compared to Webster and Choate—the Andrews and Sumners of the day, inflated with an airy sentimentalism, began their propagandism, to make saints by statute, and Paradises out of politics, and rallied all the isms to the one baneful and hated focus of Abolitionism, and drove the half of the nation to revolt by its contumely and aggressions. (Applause.) Visionaries, mistaking their fancies for the Gospel of Kindness and Peace, intent upon the restitution of the blacks to a liberty they only give them in fancy, destitute of all practical concern for church and State, they have striven, like the classic sorceress, to give a new youth and beauty to the State, by dismembering it. (Applause.) They substitute their Platonism for the Gospel of Christ, and thereby lose that docility and humility which are the very essence of Christianity.

At the New England dinner, not long since, Mr. Beecher took pride in these very characteristics. He gloried in the Yankee because "he was the most prying and meddlesome creature in God's world, the born radical of modern civilization, the pickpocket of creation (laughter,) that to leave New England out of the Union was to leave the head out of the body." (Hisses.) This is the old egotism. It is the same superciliousness which has produced so much scorn South, and is now alienating the West. This claim of all the intelligence and conscience of the land which comes from Boston and is echoed from Brooklyn, is the offshoot of the same phrasical cant, which has sung its own praises through its nasal organ for three hundred years. (Great cheering and laughter.) It has assumed peculiar offensiveness now and here amidst the bloody strife, of which it is a prominent contributor.

I propose to examine the source of this egotistic and arrogant philosophy. It is not from the Gospel. It is not even a bad exaggeration of the old Puritanism, for that had many harsh and rigid virtues. It comes from that ceteric known around Boston as Transcendentalists. Its first organ was the devil. Its worst is the *Tribune*. (Laughter.) Its most clever exponent was Emerson. It has its priests, high and low, including the great Channing, who ministered in holy things with many enlarged graces of heart, to the little Channing, who foists himself into the Senate room at Washington of Sundays, to preach that Abolition hate and retail such slander against the Democracy as the powers at Washington seem most to relish.

But what is this Transcendentalism? Whence is it? It is stolen from Hindoostan by Mr. Beecher's pickpocket of creation. (Laughter.) It is the emanation of Oriental speculation.—This I will prove. The smart Yankee has only

plagiarised what the Vedas contain, what the Brahmins believe. All the poetic prose and prosaic poetry of Emerson; all the vague generalities of Alcott; all the infidelity of Parker; all the sentimentalism of Phillips, come from the Dialogues of Kresshna and Arjoun, called Bhagvat-Geeta, originally written in the Sanscrit, and translations of which, under the auspices of Warren Hastings, are to be found in some of the libraries. This philosophy cannot be called Pantheism, for that absorbs nature and man in God. It is not Materialism, for that absorbs man and God in nature; but it is the absorption of God and nature in man, and that man the Brahmin or the Puritan!—It believes in nothing but the soul. The soul of man is God and nature. No matter, *no color*, nothing but the soul in man; he is all; it is all. One of these disciples—Alcott—holds that the world would be what it should be, if he were only as holy as he should be. This is the nearest approach of this sect to humility. He being all in all—he holds himself personally responsible for the obliquity of the earth's axis. (Laughter.) Do you wonder, therefore, that he holds himself responsible for slavery in Carolina? Another, Emerson, holds that he (Emerson) is God; that God is everything; therefore he (Emerson) is everything. (Merriment.) Do you wonder, therefore, that since he makes the negro a part of himself, that he holds him to be his equal? (Increased laughter.) Or that he believes that everything is—as he is? Do you wonder at the imperurbable impudence and self-sufficiency of the Puritan thus indoctrinated? The Hindoos said: "Rich is that Universal Self, whom thou worshippest as the Soul." The same sentiment is found in the verse of Emerson: "Nothing is, if thou art not; thou art under, over all; thou dost hold and cover all Thou art Atlas; thou art Jove!" Do you wonder that, under this philosophy, the South men and mind were underrated? That the greatness and strength of Massachusetts and the North were overrated? It was under these moonshiny delusions that Governor Andrew foresaw the roads swarm with the myriads, who never trooped to the war, (laughter,) and that Greeley beheld the nine hundred thousand rush to Father Abraham, who are yet to rush. (Laughter.) Turn again to the Hindoo, and hear what the Puritan saith in the Sanscrit. I read from the Geeta; but you will think it is the "universal Yankee," speaking of himself: "I am the sacrifice, the worship, the fire, the victim, the father and mother of this world, the grandsire, (laughter) the preserver. I am the holy one, only worthy to be known. I am the hope of the good, the comforter, the creator, the witness, the asylum. I am generation and dissolution. (Laughter.) I am sunshine. I am rain. I now draw in; I now let out. I am death and immortality. I am entity and nonentity. (Laughter.) I am the beginning, the middle and the end. [Merriment.] Among the faculties, I am the mind." Just what Mr. Beecher holds. [Laughter.]—"Among the animals, I am reason; among the mountains, Hamilaya; amongst the floods, I am the ocean; amongst elephants, I am the everlasting big elephant. [Great laughter.] Of all science, I am the knowledge of the ruling spirit, and of all speaking, I am the oration." [A voice: "That's Sumner." Laughter.] "Amongst rulers, I am the rod." [A voice: "That is Butler." Laughter.] "Among those who seek for conquest, I am the policy." ["That is Abolition." Laughter.] "All the qualities incident to beings, such as reason,

truth, humility, meekness, equality, courage, fame, shame, renown and infamy, come from me!" A Brahmin, that is, one who lives in or near Boston, can attain unto these. All these qualities, says the Hindoo, "hang on me, as jewels and gems on a string, for there is not anything greater than I." How is he to attain all these? The Hindoo again tells us: "He should sit, with his mind fixed on one object alone"—the negro, I suppose; [great laughter]—"in the exercise of his devotion for the purification of his soul, keeping his head, his neck, his body, steady without motion, his eyes fixed on the point of his nose," cross eyed, you see, [laughter,] "looking at no other place around." Thus, and not otherwise, it sees heaven at the tip of its own nose. [Laughter.] Were it not that these directions are written in Book VI of the lectures of Kree-hna, one would imagine they were written by Cotton Mather about himself, or a Boston philosopher in and about the Hub of the Universe. [Laughter.] It was by following these directions of the Vedas that John Fisher Murray, an Irish wit, was enabled to prove that black was white: and by a process of unification which will commend itself to Boston Transcendentalism:—"Black," says he, "is one thing and white another thing. You don't contravene that? But everything is either one thing or the other thing. I defy the Apostle Paul to get over that dilemma. Well, if any thing be one thing, well and good; but if it be another thing, then it's plain it isn't both things, [laughter,] and so can't be two things; nobody can deny that. But what can't be two things, must be one thing; ergo, whether it's one thing or another thing, it's all one. [Great laughter.] But black is one thing and white is another thing; ergo, black and white is all one." [Laughter.] *Quod erat demonstrandum*, that a negro is as good as a white man. [Laughter.] The ordinary perception of mankind would be shocked at such a conclusion, but a Puritan Transcendentalist accepts it as a part of the soul unity, which he derives from looking with solemn introspection into his own deep soul. This is what imparts to Transcendentalism such a sublime egotism. All that is great in invention, in letters, in reason, in war, must emanate from its "over soul." It peeps into all things and some others; "*de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*." Mr. Beecher, in describing the universal meddlesomeness of the Yankee, has but the voice of Brahma, which Emerson echoed, when he wrote:

"There is no great and and no small  
To the soul that maketh all.  
And where it cometh, all things are,  
And it cometh—everywhere."

[Laughter.]

The *Evening Post* wonders how a Union hereafter is possible, with New England out! "Can there be," it asks, "a head without brains, or a body without heart? Where there is a school, there is New England; a free press, New England; a lecture room, New England! Can these be left out, and a soul remain?" Some day, this dream of Puritan complacency may break, and the fact, hard and granite as her hills, remain, that she is left out, and that, too, by the action of many of her own sons in the North-West, whose transplanting has improved the stock and enlarged the culture [Cheers.] Already the painted dream of Universal Emancipation, the offspring of this heathen philosophy, which has been "pressed" upon the ruling powers at Washington,

is dissolving before the hard facts of bloody war. Abolition is but the offspring of these blurred visions stolen from the isms of the East. As Dr. Lord has recently said: "Its gaudy sophistry took its natural popular effect; it assumed to be arrogant, insulting and encroaching. It was envious of God's appointments—the family, the State, the church; and it scrupled not to assail their blood-cemented foundations." In the press, lecture, pulpit, and finally in Congress and the Executive Departments, it has pursued its way and enveloped this nation in garments of blood. It will only awake, I fear, from its gory dream of impossible conquest, when it is left alone in its carelessness, weeping over the victims of its own delusions. "This philosophy has a deeper and worse aim than that of uprooting the State. Already it has sown the seed of dissolution in the church, and scepticism in all creeds. Parker, following the Hindoo and Emerson, found what he called the "outness of God to be the in-ness of man, and so God works with us." Or in other phrase, since God is man and nature man, "many a savage," says Parker, "his hands smeared over with human sacrifice, shall come from the East and West, and sit down in the kingdom of God, with Moses and Zoroaster, with Socrates and Jesus." Thus we are taught in shocking blasphemy that the worst method of life will answer as well as the best. And again, he enjoined his disciples "to obey God, as the spirituality of spirit, which is immanent in all things; in the blush of the rose and in the bite of the dog; in the breath of the breeze and in the howl of the maniac. Believe that the Divine incarnation is in all mankind; therefore, imitate it, and if we sin, ask no forgiveness." Nor need we wonder that, from the same source, the Intercessor for Mankind, the SAVIOR, is sneered at as "the Attorney by which we are to approach the Infinite." Or, that when such systems have their devotees in religion, Abolition has its devotees in political ethics? Or that a spirit of hostile encroachment should mark the career of this cabal of egoistic zealots, and that State lies are outnumbered and constitutional faith dissolved as figments in the crazed imaginations? Alas! this war is teaching the people, too late, that the Federal Union is not to be carried on by the dogmas of Brahma, or the sophisms of Emerson, or the infidelity of Parker? We are taught, too late, that a system of public morality prevalent in one section, is not the guide of duty under the Constitution; that the inexorable laws of economy, of climate, soil, production, supply and demand, are not to be overruled by the poetry of Whittier about the oppressed black, or the vagaries of Sumner about the barbarism of slavery.

I have thus traced the history and philosophy of the Puritanic egotism and self-sufficiency, which has fomented trouble in distant domestic affairs. I have already detained you so long that [cries of "go on! go on!"] from all parts of the house, I will conclude with some practical reflections on the consequences of her conduct.

When the Constitution was made, there were two kinds of interpretation which followed it: that of New England, which tended to centralize power, and that of Virginia, which decentralized power. The one encroached on State rights; the other restrained the encroachment. Under the contention, New England, with her personal liberty bills and higher law, alarmed the South; and the South, in return, pushed her interpretation into actual and violent se-

cession. New England got her advantages in the Constitution for yielding its protection to slavery. They were commercial and profitable. She has yet her tariffs and bounties. She has ever made the most out of the Federal Union. When she was called on to make sacrifices, as in the wars of this country, she was loth to make them. There are even now 16,000 deserters from the Massachusetts regiments. She forgot her hatred of State Rights in the late war with Great Britain. Her Hartford Convention was called to endorse the policy of Governor Strong, of Massachusetts, that no forcible draft, conscriptions or impressments should be made by the General Government upon the States. That Governor refused to accede to the President's requisition for troops, to be used by the President in a war against England, which he could not approve. This smacks somewhat of the late conduct of Governor Andrew, when he sought to impose conditions as to troops in the present conflict. It can be proved that the famous Hartford Convention was a secession body. Its Address urged that "some new form of Confederacy should be substituted among those States which shall intend to maintain a Federal relation to each other;" and concluded with the usual Puritanic appeal to "a higher authority than any earthly government can claim." Later, in the Mexican War, we know how prompt the Puritans were to seek a refuge from national duty in the doctrine of Peace and Disunion; we know how Charles Sumner had found the "true guardian of nations" to consist in arbitration and peace under every possible condition of things; and how the press and the poets of New England laughed at the sergeant of the United States when he beat for recruits. By muskadee and pulpit, the war was discouraged and enlistments checked. But now, when the present war is to be carried on against the South; when Puritanism is to be gratified by the death of slavery; when the nation is rocked by the throes of civil, and not foreign war, the same old vindictive intolerance is aroused which made the early Puritans so infamous. There is aroused the same desire to confiscate which changed the red men into sooty devils, that the Saints might enter in and possess the lands of the Pequods, and the same arrogant assumption of intellect is quickened which will never cease till it assassinate the Republic.

New England may thrive for awhile on the war course, which keep her people busy and money plentiful. So long as this seeming prosperity is kept up, her cry for slavery extermination will be loud. But a day of reckoning is near at hand. Her insane propagandism from press and pulpit, is working out its fruits. The people in the last elections have expressed their detestation of her doctrines. Even the people of New England, from Maine to Connecticut, will begin to reconsider their position. The popular verdict is not yet fully heeded at Washington. The infatuation of Congress continues. But the government and its administrators have felt the shock, and a dead lock, political and military, is the result. Montesquieu has well described our condition: "There is in every nation a general public spirit upon which power itself is founded. When that power shocks that public spirit, the shock is communicated to itself, and it necessarily comes to a standstill." Confiscations and Proclamations have produced this terrible paralysis of the State. [Applause.]

When the people arouse from this terrible

condition, and fully realize what it is and who are its authors, the anathema against the perfidious parricides of the North will hardly be less than that which followed the violence of the southern traitors against the majority of the nation. [Cheers.] Let the Greeleys and Phillipses look well to their necks in that hour of retribution. [Applause.]

In conclusion, Democrats of New York, you have traced with me the footprints in history of this inveterate foe to our Democracy, the Puritanism of New England. You have seen its bitter waters gushing in the wilderness from Plymouth rock, and running through history in the same old channel, until its latest movement now for negro emancipation. You have seen it poisoning the pulpit and the press with its dogmas. You have seen it silently boring like a reptile into the wounds of the Constitution. You have seen the barriers give way and the flood rush in—a sea billowy with fraternal blood. It has obtained power, arms. We know how it has used them, and at what cost. War has been called a wholesale grave-digger, who works for wages! What wages? Ask the Secretary of the Treasury, now in your city to raise new hundreds of millions. At what sacrifice? Ask those who are bereaved and those who are wounded. Ask a quarter of a million of northern, not to count southern men, who have perished in the field or hospital. Alas! they cannot answer. Their rude graves in the distant South answer. Fortunes totter; industry is palsied; bankruptcy threatens, for speculation riots around your money-centres. The tax gatherer, the embalming doctor, the nurse and the army scavengers play their parts in this great drama, and behind it all stands the gibbering fiend of Abolition, determined to make the war, begun in honor and patriotism, end in hate and disunion! It has already determined not to allow the Democracy to save the Union or to attempt it, till they have made sure of its eternal destruction. [Cheers.] But by the God of our fathers I though the Union be shattered; though its bleeding fragments may seek temporary alliances East and West, the Democracy will, if it take a lustre to do it, fight under the old constellated banner, making its order of march an order of battle from now until 1864, for the restoration of the UNION AS IT WAS, by the supremacy of the CONSTITUTION AS IT IS! [Tremendous cheering, during which the audience rose to their feet. Three cheers were given for the speaker and three for Ohio.] Let the middle, and western, and Border States stand firm. (Applause.) I thank you for your cheers for Ohio. She will respond again and again, till 1864 shall restore to power the Democratic party, which alone can give the people this great salvation. (Cheers.) Already I am glad to hear that a hundred associations like this—which was the nucleus of an organization by which you saved New York last fall—are springing up to your aid. [Cheers.] Let us move on in the work. The dissonant din of these ideologues of New England will be drowned in the popular voice; the fratricidal hate they have engendered will be assuaged, and into the lacerated bosom of this nation will be poured the hallowed and healing spirit of mutual confidence and conciliation. Thus will the nation reform itself! (Tremendous and continued applause.)

Mr. Cox closed by saying, that such confidence and conciliation could never come from the spirit of Puritanism; but thanks to New England—aye, to New England—a better and

more Christian spirit had been enshrined in the poetry of Oliver Wendell Holmes, a son of Massachusetts, whose beautiful lyric upon Carolina he had been requested to repeat to the audience by a New York Democrat now in Washington, Frederick F. Cozzens, himself an author known to the whole country. Mr. Cox. then recited the following :

She has gone—she has left us in passion and pride—  
Our stormy-browed sister, so long at our side !  
She has torn her own star from our firmament's glow,  
And turned on her brother the face of a foe !

O, Caroline, Caroline, child of the sun,  
We can never forget that our hearts have been one ;  
Our foreheads both sprinkled in Liberty's name,  
From the fountain of blood with the finger of flame !

You were always too ready to fire at a touch ;  
But we said " She is hasty—she does not mean much."  
We have scowled when you uttered some turbulent  
threat ;  
But Friendship still whispered—" Forgive and forget."

Has our love all died out ? Have its altars grown cold ?  
Has the curse come at last which the fathers foretold ?  
Then Nature must teach us the strength of the chain  
That her petulant children would sever in vain.

They may fight till the buzzards are gorged with their  
spoil,  
'Till the harvest grows black as it rots in the soil,  
'Till the wolves and the catamounts troop from their  
caves,  
And the spark tracks the pirate, the lord of the waves.

In vain is the strife ! When its fury is past,  
Their fortunes must flow in one channel at last ;  
(cheers ;)  
As the torrents that rush from the mountains of snow  
Roll mingled in peace through the valley below.

Our Union is river, lake, ocean, and sky ;  
Man breaks not the medal when God cuts the die !  
Though darkened with sulphur, though cloven with  
steel,  
The blue arch will brighten, the waters will heal.

O Caroline, Caroline, child of the sun,  
There are battles with fate that can never be won !  
The star-flowering banner must never be furled,  
For its blossoms of light are the hope of the world !  
(Applause.)

Go, then, our rash sister ! afar and aloof,  
Run wild in the sun-bine away from our roof,  
But when your heart aches and your feet have grown  
sore,  
Remember the pathway that leads to our door !  
(Applause.)

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

REPORT ON THE PROGRESS OF WORK

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FOR THE YEAR 1912

BY

THE FACULTY

OF THE PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

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T H E

# New-York Weekly Caucasian.

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## THE WHITE MAN'S PAPER.

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THE PROPRIETORS OF THE CAUCASIAN are happy to announce that, "the press being once more free," they can now send their paper by mail. THE CAUCASIAN is issued by the publishers of THE DAY-BOOK, the place of which paper it will take for the present. Through the long and dreary "reign of terror" it has been regularly issued, though at great loss. During that period its proprietors have received a multitude of inquiries for it which they could not supply. That time, however, being now passed, they will be glad to furnish all with the paper who desire it.

The principles of THE CAUCASIAN are the principles of White Mens' Liberties, opposition to Negro Equality, and in favor of an appeal to peaceful agencies to restore the Union and the Constitution. It opposes the outrageous system of arbitrary arrests, the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, and all assaults upon the freedom of speech or of the press. It is also devoted to an explanation of the so-called Slavery Question, and stands firmly for WHITE SUPREMACY, and a defense of the rights and welfare of the Producing and Working Classes, now imperilled by the doctrine of Negro Equality, High Tariffs, Paper Currency and Excessive Taxation.

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